OP

ANNALES. THE TRUE AND ROYAL HISTORY OF ELIZABETH, QUEENE OF ENGLAND.

William Camden

STC 4497 1625

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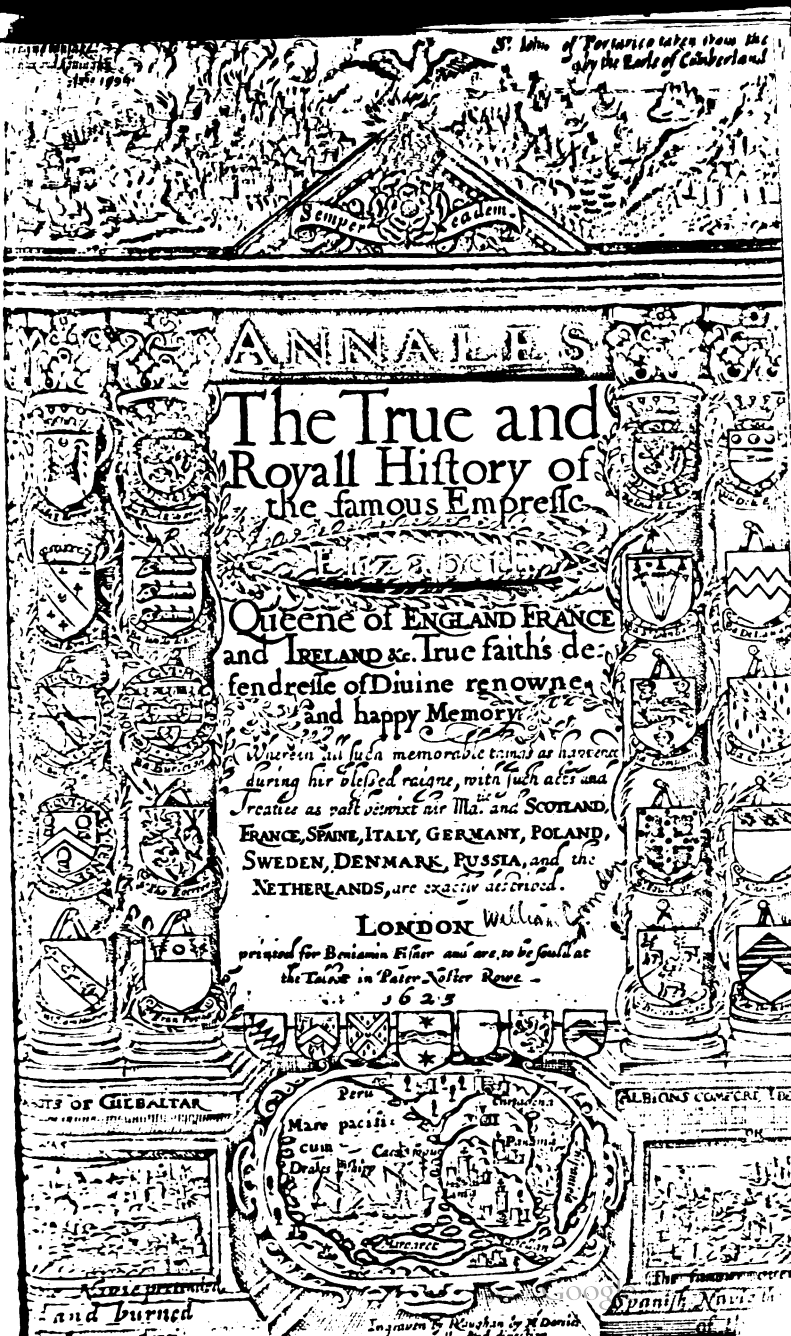


ANNALES

The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth

Queene of ENGLAND FRANCE and IRELAND &c. True faith's defendresse of Diuine renowne, and happy Memory.

Wherein all such memorable things as haueing during hir blessed reigne, with such acts and Treaties as past betwixt hir Ma. and SCOTLAND, FRANCE, SPAINE, ITALY, GERMANY, POLAND, SWEDEN, DENMARK, RUSSIA, and the NETHERLANDS, are exactly described.

LONDON

printed for Benjamin Fisher and are to be sould at the Talbot in Pater-Noster Rowe.

1625

William Camden

Semper eadem

Peru

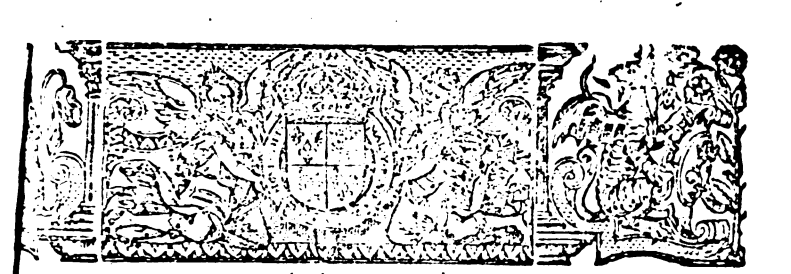
Mare pacificum

Drake

Cadiz

Spanish Navy

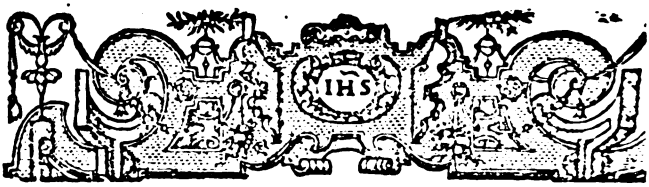
and burned



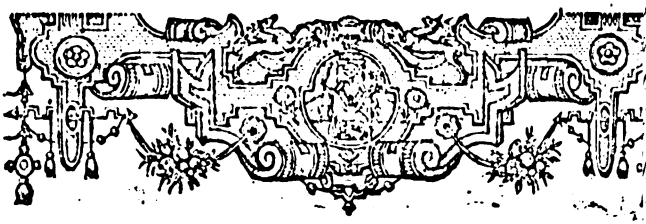
explication of this Bookes FRONTISPICE.

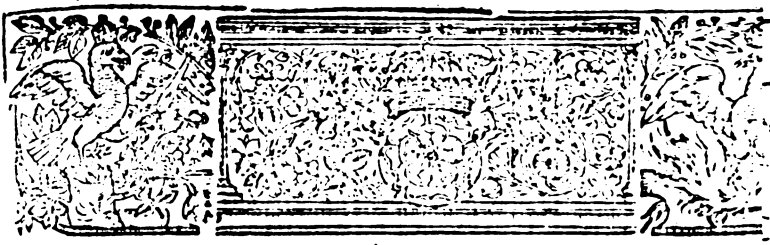
Arms Palms, Laurell bows,
HOENIX, to you shows
all prudent brest,
ELIZA S peace did rest:
rs did vphold her Crowne,
rested her renowne.
d support this land;
ing foes withstand:
eas d her Maiesty
dreadlesse chiualry;
to Knighthood raise,
made them props and stayes.
ds added to their worth
our to their birth.
ds she most delighted,
of the Garter, knighted.
ir Ancestors place,
, one of Noble Race:
wns, all she did restore,
had won before:
ch her wise selfe's choyce,
oes to have there voyce:
ese valors (vnder God)
ect Spaine a heauy rod.
which on each side are plac't,
ne we to euce disgrac't:
, England's Generall,
at famous Admirall,
d with force surprise
rey with their victories.
whose fame no Age can blot
his Thundring shot
ge his victorious force
d'd with remorse

Those that with bended knees did him entreat,
He would not them nor theirs of life defeat. (show
Now vnderneath DRAKES famous ship is (blo
(Whose bright renown swift Honors trump hat
How he therein did circuit earth's whole frame,
And in his voyage added to his fame.
The glory of a prize won through his paine,
The CACAFOGVE, Royall Ship of Spaine.
At the two corners, two great Spanish Fleets
Your gazing eyes with admiration greets.
One is consum'd by vnquench't flames of fire,
The other is ore'whelm'd through NEPTVNES ir
Which moralizeth, our good God doth bend
His wrath, gainst those that Albions ill inten
Which wrath did fall most mercilesse on Spain,
And euer will to their disgrace remaine.
One thousand (doth) fiue hundred eighty seuen,
Their ambitions with infamy, make euen.
The Port of Gilbaltars straights, sure can tell,
How that a Spanish Fleet (by DRAKE) there
The very seas will witnesse, that with foure
Of royall Ships, he burnt two hundred more.
If you enquire from whence those Royals came;
From Englands shore, Spaines fury for to tame.
To end, the Fleet of Eighty-eight doth show,
England was ayded in that ouerthrow
Giuen to Spaine, by God, whose potent hand
Preseru'd ELIZA S glory, and her land.
Gainst those that owe true Religion spight,
Both seas and earth, for Albions cause will fight.
Not to the seas let's bend, but to that power
Which must preserue vs, at the dreadful houre.
And as 'tis meet so let vs prostrate fall
Vnto our Hope, our Aide, our Generall.



Here reade the dayes,
when Britanns groun
With blessings all,
was compast round.





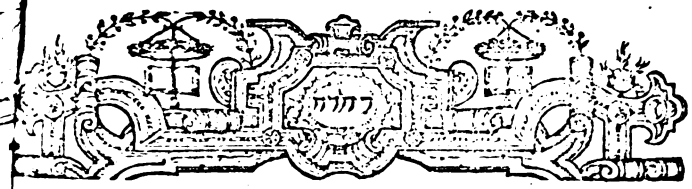
TO THE MOS

Auguſt, moſt Sacred, and moſt excellent Maieſty of

IAMES THE FIRST,

Emperour of Great Britan king of France, Ireland an Virginia, defendor of the Faith.

The Tranſlator of theſe ANNALLS wiſheth to Hi periall Maieſtie, bleſſedneſſe, perpetuall health, with all ha pineſſe, proſperitie, and felicitie, in both worlds.



THE FRENCH Epistle dedicatory to His *sacred Majesty of Great Britanne.*

EXcellent monarch; heere is the first-borne of a Labour, as vnhoped for as the occasion is extraordinarie, which prostrates it selfe, with all humilitie, at the feete of your Maiestie, to doe you an Homage of his Birth, and in payment to you his first duetie, craues leaue to wander the world, and visit his friends.

In these vnhappy times, which lately made *France* (my mistrey) the sad obiect of pitie, and the mournfull subiect of good

good peoples sorrowes; on a day, sitting vpon the sh
Babylons gulph, aspecting with watty eyes the deplo-
state of Christs true Church, which in the throng of th
series was sore wounded with iniuries, appearing as
had attained the decrepit age of a dying life, which b
forth her last gaspe: And as I expressed by my teares the
of her afflictions, and by my sighes the desires of her c
rance, my eyes imitating in their glances the wishes
soule, sought for the place where the great god *Pan* v
feed and keepe his flockes at noone day: I discouered a f
some sparkes of the Sunne of Iustice, which in this l
country of *Goshen* shines perpetually, whilest an eternal
couers *Egypt* with the gloomie clouds of darkenesse. Th
suddenly I directed my Vowes; which God prosper
happily by his prouidence, that (after many dangers,
ous and toylsome iournies) I at length arriued here, wh
found

A PEACEABLE KING, in whom is brightly disce
an harmonious vnity of all christian & roial vertues, the
pire of that great Empress of vertue, *Piety*, from whence
thers deriue, & the admirable Oeconomy of Charity, cor
cted with Prudence, educated by Experience, and that exp
ence drawn from diuers examples of precedent ages, & pr
of this present; which produceth in him all kindes of acti
both iust and necessary, by which he freely giueth himself
the *Church* and *Common-wealth* for pledge and caution of th
peace and prosperity.

AN HAPPY NATION (which vnder the fauoura
Scepter of such a Prince, in whom the sacred fountaine of
most exquisite graces of heauen, abounding with all sort

ity, hath aboue others the honour to settle the Church
rist, and with her, Piety and Iustice her constant follow-
whom the benigne aspect of heauen causeth to flourish
oy and perfect peace, whilest a cruell Warre spoiles and
kes both neighbouring countries and remoter parts,
vnheard-of torments and excessiue sorrowes.
d, who calls himselfe the Prince of Peace, stiles himselfe
he King of Warre; to shew, that he rules all worldly af-
s with his incomprehensible eye of prouidence, as well
ith his inuincible hands of all-powerfulnesse. But, to
e plaine to all mens vnderstandings how farre God is a-
t Warres, Strifes, and Contentions; and on the contrary,
vmuch he loues Peace and Vnitie, it is said, Blessed be the
eable, because they shall be thereby knowne to be the e-
of Christ, and heyres of heauen.
Your Maiesty (great Monarch) on whose head God (as his
enant here on earth) hath placed three Crownes; beares
the warlike Sword of *Mars*, and the peaceable Olue
ch of *Minerua*, as did that *Pallas*, whom the Athenians
for their titulary goddesse, because she presided in peace
ell as in warre. But what is the expedition of Warre, to
bdeuing vnder his lawes, by the sweetnesse of Peace,
assions of men? to bring them to reason, and to settle
m in a firme and assured rest? what to vanquish by force a
e, to the conquering of whole nations hearts by loue?
e them, in stead of gayning them? The multitude, won-
at the Sonne of God, who calm'd the greatest tempest,
out, What is he whom both Seas and Windes do obey?
so, happy King) when I saw at my landing so many ex-
ttest effects of your rare wisedome, the peace & happinesse
of

of your subiects, with the tranquillitie & blessedne sse
diuine soule; I could not but likewise exclaime, *Ah!*
this IVST MASTER, *and prudent King, whose admirab*
workes so many wonders!

God gouernes, from the highest place of heauen, the
and from the lowest place of it, the heauens: because h
uidence and almighty power, being infinite, fills all pla
vnlimited. For though by his omni-presence hee be
where, yet he is included no where.

Your Maiestie, who by the excellent and harmonio
der of your wise dispensation, doe rule with a melodi
delightfull harmonie, with One of your Kingdome, a
Three; & from the farthest place of Great Brittanne, all
Brittanne; presiding by your power in all places, dispos
your wisedome all things neere and farre, and perfe
them by your iustice: you cause all the dependences of
essence to be found in all places, and all things to be bu
and the same thing, & each thing to be as all things. And
as to the humane body, that excellent part of the brain, w
the Anatomists call the admirable lines or traces, by thei
pentine courses and turnings, exquisitely folded and vnite
gether, whose number is no lesse infinite than the worko
ship thereof most rare; doth so excellently refine the vital
rits, that they are sent thither from the heart, which m
them moueable, and serue as instruments of Conceptio
Iudgement, and Memory: Your Maiestie doth in like ma
receiue in your Spirit, which is the most admirable and
quisite peece of that great imperiall body, of which your M
iestie is the head, the aduises and counsailes, the requests a
demonstrances, which from the heart of your estate, as i

ts of it, are sent to you, for to passe them thorow
rinth of Rarity) your iudgement, where you refine
with the diuers considerations of your prudency, that
ne necessary instruments of peace, the tranquillitie
perritie of all your subiects.

entrance or beginning of a raigne is most commonly
and difficult, yea dangerous and painefull; not onely
ares, but also tedious and troublesome: so that it had
better for some kings to haue neuer raigned, or else to
ended their dayes at their beginning. This moued the
opher *Solon* to sing these verses to *Mydas* king of Phry-
ne entrance of his Cities:

Le puissant Dieu de tout Souuerain Maistre
Ne sçauroit mieux les hommes secourir,
Qu'entre mortels ne les laisser point naistre,
Ou estans nez, les faire tost mourir.

t your Maiestie (great King) who by the speciall grace of
and the prudence wherewith he hath endued you, farre
e all other Princes, haue found the entrance of your raign
ous, delightfull and secure: and being grounded vpon
protection, enuironed with the blessings, & conducted by
prouidence of that Soueraigne dispenser of Scepters and
wnes; you haue hitherto raigned, to the admiration of all
world, PVISSANT AND MAGNIFICENT, RICH
CONTENT, HAPPY AND GLORIOVS; and in all,
ect and accomplisht.

PVISSANT AND MAGNIFICENT indeede, sith that
ch full power and authoritie you raigne ouer so many pu-
issant

issant Nations, which God hath subiected to your Maie vnder the homage and duety which you daily pay vnto h as to the onely soueraigne King of kings.

RICH AND CONTENT, in possessing them peacea without opposition; extracting pleasure of all that can be c tributed for the glory of God, which you seeke for your ov contentment.

HAPPY AND GLORIOVS also, sith that (by those te monies of loue which God giues you, and the thankesgiu which your Maiesty yeeldeth him) you haue vpon all occ ons free accesse to his incomprehensible Maiesty, a fami entertainment with his infinite goodnesse; Heauen being wayes open to your contemplations, and whatsoeuer yo Maiesty can thinke most exquisite, rare on earth, fauoura to your wishes, is all bent for your felicitie. Oh how hap is your sacred Maiestie! what mortall can apprehend it? ho glorious! and who is he that can expresse it?

But behold, this is the chief point, ouer which my consi rations cannot pass without staying; & yet rest they neuer little, they enter as it were into a labyrinth for a while. Go graces and blessings fall most commonly into vngratef hands, who dispence thereof the more niggardly, by ho much they receiue them aboundantly: and the most part men erre so farre, that in stead of worshipping in them t soueraigne power and prouidence of God, they striue to c cell him; nay, it lies meerly in their owne vnpowerfulnes that they doe not ouerthrow his incomprehensible Emp and Throne of glory. By meanes whereof, it falls out that ofttimes chances to them, as to those subalternal Deities, wh for putting themselues in *Iupiters* bedde, were by a boysterou win

suddenly metamorphosed into strange shapes.
your Highnesse (mighty King) makes vse of it, as fire of
nature; you returne those blessings to heauen againe
with your praises and thanksgiuing: you disperse them a-
gain by your royall liberality; for whosoeuer hath the
ur to approach neere your Diuinity, is enlightned with
ames of your diuine vertues. And as *Salomon* did build
with the stones of mountaines, and Cedars of Libanus)
altars to God: so you make therof instruments, and ma-
ls to prop the house of God.

Soueraigne authority vpon the people, meetes often-
times with violent hearts, which makes him not vnlike the
motion of the Sunne; so swift, that it is terrible; and so
stable, that it would consume away if it should last long:
your Maiesty knowes well how to temper your Autho-
rity by your Iustice, & likewise your will by your prudence;
so much that this first course is moderated by the second,
which is yearely, and runneth from West to East by the ob-
lique Zodiaque circle: by this sweet, temperate and mode-
rate course you order the seasons in your Monarchy: you cause
a delightsome Spring, that produceth diuersity of flowers in
abundance; a rich and pleasant Summer, which yeelds all
kinds of fruites plentifully, by which you reward paines and
labours, you reflect the desires, you content the hopes of euery
one, according to your wise dispensation. And as God is not
contented meerely to bring forth his actions in the highest
heauen, but by his Spirits administration, descends from that
palace of glory, to the lowest deep, runing & flying thorow all
quarters of this Hemisphere, to dispose all things by his al-
mighty powerfulnesse: Your Highnesse (pruden: King) imi-
tating

tating the proceedings of that incomprehensible Monarc
Heauen and earth, which alone is a patterne to your se-
raigne Maiesty, do not anchor your actions in that Impe-
Hauen of your glory, the kingdome of England, which,
uerned by the Soueraign authority of your Highnesse, as
primum mobile, carries those to others which are ioined to h
by the bands of one only power, Scotland and Ireland:
also the fame of your rare vertues spreads all ouer beyond
seas, your admirable prudency, & your immortal pen, the f
of your deep learning, at which nations being amazed, adr
with reuerence, so rare and accomplisht a Maiesty.

But what East wind driues my sails into so wide an Oc
carrying away my endeuours farre beyond the reach of
power? Stay, my thoughts; whither runne yee? Rest con
ted. My curiositie, what seekest thou? Silence, my tong
what dost thou say? Oh! would my skill, which is so sm
dare to aspire to so high a taske, so weake and rashly to th
to penetrate thorow so bright a sunne? so short, and prest
to sound his depth? *Good King* pardon these hardy glance
my spirit, enlightned with a diuine light, and animated by
extraordinary vertue. Those which aspect the beames of
Sunne, within the Sunne, thinke a long time after they beh
still a Sunne before their eyes; not being able, by withdra
ing the sense of the obiect, to draw the Idea of the spirit. T
since I haue had the honour to see in so *happy* and *glor*
deeds your *actions*, in your *actions* your *vertues*, in your *ver*
your *Maiesty*, and your *Maiesty* in it *selfe*; these rare and exc
site obiects, as so many Sunnes, haue so rauished my senses
eyes, that they seeme to see them alwaies present before th
Moreouer, the Idea which is remayning in my intellect, h

brou

ought them to such extraordinary designes, that if my forces were correspondent to my desires, and my vnworthinesse to the dignity of the subiect which animates me, I had alreadie proclaim'd your diuine perfections from one end of the earth to the other, yea from the earth to the heauens: and taking for my auditors so many blessed soules, which there gloriously inhabite, I should haue recited to them, with the admirable actions of your incomparable vertues, these glorious and blessed deeds which issue thereof, and the most excellent glory which your Maiestie thereby inherites; at least, how in these the fearefull troubles of my sad, afflicted, and sorely desolate Countrey, which so farre oppreſt her, that losing the sight of her owne reason, she had almost lost her selfe in it selfe; or, as I may well say, spoyled her selfe with her owne strength and defence. Your Piety (all-rare Prince) which is all-Iustice, cast her compassionate eyes vpon the deplorable and most lamentable condition of her poore oppressed brood: your Iustice, which is all-Charity, lent her eare to their wofull & sorowfull complaints: your Charity, which is all-Prudence, opened her heart to their needy miseries and extreme wants, and your Prudence (which hath alwayes the eyes, the eares, and the heart open at all times to such poore afflicted wretches, who doe implore of your Maiestie like pious actions) making at that time a charitable distribution, euer bound both publike and particulars to vow their heartie prayers to Heauen for your health; & their true seruices to the world for the prosperitie, greatnesse, pleasure and contentment of your Maiestie.

But the worthinesse of the subiect, and my insufficiency, having deterr'd me from so high an enterprise; I haue moderated

ted my designes, which aspired so high, and placing them
meane region, I rul'd my endeauours by my might, doing
best to finde out, as well for my owne satisfaction, as for
good of others, to whom I communicate as many conso
ons for miseries, and instructions of this wicked ages e
rience; in which we see regenerated what remained of w
men, instruments, materials and labours, to perfect the w
of this ages iniquity, the lees of ages past, which with
muddy wine troubles the braines, corrupts the manners,
debaucheth the noblest functions of manie: I haue dest
ted them for to seek out the growth, beginning, and prog
of this happy and magnificent reestablishment of Euan
call truth and puritie, the first and soueraigne cause of
Maiesties glory, the securitie of your estate, and prosperiti
your people, which in this flourishing Empire hath t
crowns, of which your Ma:is the first Monarch, who rec
from Gods fauourable grace, by the hands of your relig
prudence, so great a perfection, that it makes the whole w
most wonderfull: a prop so solid, that when the raine is
len, the stormy streames and impetuous floods come ag
it, and when the windes haue raged strongly, and blown
riously at it, it could not be shaken, but still remained fi
strong, constant, and alwayes a flourishing pillar of secur

And my designes haue so happily, though vnfortuna
succeeded, that when I had collected my senses, and prep
my selfe for this Work, I found it ready done by one of
Ma: subiects, in the Latine History, which he hath dige
into yeares, describing such things as passed during the r
glorious raigne of that heroick & inuincible Princesse, ab
her sexe, full of magnanimitie, rare in Piety, admirable in

Infailes, wonderfull in her courage, and blessed in all her
prises, that incomparable Queene ELIZABETH, who
ier time vndertooke to build the royall worke of this hap-
restablishment, vpon the ground and ancient foundati-
laid by her ancestors, for a time slackt and decayed; but
her Maiesty had gloriously raised it to the last Story, the
the rest vnto your most sacred Maiesties care, to perfect,
hath truely brought it into that happy and magnificent
te now flourishing, hauing vtterly dissipated the many
rs and abominations, which here (before her raigne) a-
nded; as he, who bearing Armes after *Ionathan*, slew the
listines, who fell dead before him.

Had I not regarded others, but my selfe onely, I had suffici-
matter to content my curiositie (in enioying, with rest &
ce, the sweet fruit of a labor meerly premeditated) with-
bringing it to this most tedious & no lesse pennible, than
ultaction. But as my naturall disposition & reason pos-
my inclinations, still to practise, study and labour for the
mon good, though neuer so much preiudicial to my par-
ar affaires; and as this Piety, of which I carefully sought
mystery (directly opposite to the mysterie of iniquitie ri-
in these later times) permits me not to bury my talent in
earth, how small, and of little value soeuer it be; and like-
the experience which I haue purchased in the diuerse
ages, forraigne abodes, accesse, frequentation, and know-
of this my peregrination, taught and assured me, that
History cannot but be welcome, kindly receiued, deerely
shed; and preciously valued of an infinite number, as
your Maieties subiects, as others, to whom their igno-
in the language, interdict [illegible] And my

selfe in the vnderstanding of it, found that it was in its r
kednesse and simplicity, adorned with the most rare draugh
most liuely and naturall colours, which can be found eyth
in Art or Nature, and in the chiefest parts thereof, filled wi
exquisite and solid instructions, which the best able can giu
the most curious wish, and the most subtle and ready wi
apprehend; iudging, that the more it is knowne, the mo
glory comes thereby to God, the more seruice to your sacr
Maiesty, the more prosperitie to your blessed raigne, the mo
strength to your powerfull state, and the more terrour to
your foes: I haue done it in the French, my natiue languag
which is now the only tongue that entertains the commer
of conceptions, amongst the diuersitie of nations, to shew t
the world, that among an infinitie of memorable causes an
things, remarkeable effects and successe, at least this magnif
cent peace and prosperitie, which begun to bud forth vnd
the raigne of this most prudent, pious, magnanimous, truel
Catholike and Christian Empresse (who can neuer be by an
duely praised, and to this day propagated & continued in th
your Maiesties most blessed and peaceable gouernment, wit
so illustrious splendor, that though it be enuied of many, yo
it is admired of all) proceedeth directly from the reestablish
ment of Christs true and pure seruice; and by so many, di
uerse, happy, glorious, and particular deeds most eminent, ari
sing to this triumphant nation, is plainly manifested, that tru
ly the only meanes well and happily to raigne, is sincerely to
serue God, who defends those that defend his Faith, and ho
nours them that honour him: For to such as first seeke th
tranquillity and aduancement of his raigne, all things fall ou
answerable to their wishes; also that the seedes of iustice are

d in the fields of peace, to be reaped by the peace-makers; ety hath both the promise of the present and the future nd that indeed it is the originall source from whence ng all other vertues.

our sacred Highnesse (pious Monarch) hath already seene peruſed the manuscripts of this worke, which I presented our Maiesty some moneths agoe, to receiue from you, as my Oracle, direction, whether I should publish it or But since it hath pleased your most sacred Ma: to ho- these lines of mine with your iudicious approbation, I caused them to be printed, and vpon this expresiue cau- as earnest of your gracious fauour, I assure my timorous es, that your Ma: will be pleased to see the same now in fect shape. Sith your Highnesse daign'd to grace it with benigne beames of your goodnesse at its birth, I prostrate your feete, as a *preludium* of my industry, and the premises my most humble seruice. And if I may be so happy, as to this my labour once more approued, & my oblation gra- ly receiued of your Ma: I hope that my courage, anima- with so good fortune, will performe a greater enterprise; so great a fauour, rousing vp and reuiuing my spirits, will ke my labours so fruitfull, that I may be able in time to my selfe of my vowes and duties, & pay vnto your Ma: ith a better labour) more agreeable seruices, & to the world er fruits of my study.

once thought to detaine it captiue vnder silence, fearing to enture so vnpolisht a peece of worke among so many orthies (who haue already settled their worth in the beleef others) lest they, by the shril sound of their lustre, might ob- re this worthlesse worke: neyther would I haue exposed (but

(but vnder your Maiesties protection) its fortune to the m-
lignant malice of this age, its honest meaning and simpliciti
to the scoffes and wicked interpretation of hellish slanderou
tongues, and base worldlings, my contentment to the desp
sings of the enemies of its originall, my talent and its gaine, t
the pillage & ransacking of those, who (being partially intere
sed, hauing their eyes & iudgements blinded with affected in
terest) perhaps will discharge their passions herein, paying m
labours with ingratitude, and my holiest intentions with per
secutions. But sith 'tis in a maner a translatiõ which represent
faithfully the authors conceptions (so well approued, that i
is a true proofe of his ingenious industry; which will suffici
ently content the most curious, cleare the Reader of doubt
and chiefly those doubts conceiued by this works ill-willers;
the worst which can befall me, is to be a caution of my deeds
and faults, and in neyther changing, adding, or diminishing
free & absolue me from all blames: sith Piety, which begot it
expressely commands me; and Charity, which brought it
forth, graciously summons me to publish it, and to bestow
the profit & pleasure thereof vpon my neighbours, to whom
questionlesse it will be most delightfull, pleasant, and vsefull.
And truly those which it most concernes, haue had, of a long
time, that power vpon my owne proper benefites, sith my
contentment consists not in the praise of Printing, but to
please and profite thereby the vertuous and gracious. The
courses of this worlds affaires, and the diuerse inclinations of
men, instruct me that it will be beneficiall to diuers, yea to the
enemies hereof, who for not vnderstanding truely the Latine
hitherto, could not haue a true knowledge of its particulari-
ties. And for as much as your Maiesties gracious approbati-
on

assures me of your royall protection, and God which hath serued it heretofore, doth warrant me from all misfortunes, I venture this assay of my luck, and publish this commerce of my talent, both vnder his Diuine prouidence, and your Maiesties leaue and authority, that it may therfore wander the world with security, and yeeld contenting pleasures to those who shall honour it with the gracious beams & fauorable aspect of their eies: I doubt not but it may meet with receaable mindes, fauourable spirits, pure hearts, and sincere affections, who will reade it without passion, censure it (with meekenesse) without partialitie, to draw thereby the good which I intend them. May it therefore be acceptable to your most excellent, most August, and most Imperiall Maiestie, to whom I dedicate and consecrate it, vpon the Altar of my sinceritie, in testimonie of my humble seruices, deuotions, and to purchase to my selfe the dignitie to be entitled,

Your Majesties most humble,

and most obedient seruant,

P. D. B.

Illustrious, and Gracious:

EARNE
CICERO
that King
ORATORI
vvho telle
vs, that t
course of th
mutable li
is inconstan
and the worldly fortunes of morta
truely vaine and variable, doth very e
loquently commend History, calling
The witnesse of times; intimating, tha
wee could not attaine to the know
ledge of seuerall actions, done at sundry
seasons, but by her helpe, and how
much the science of Histories profits
is proued, in regard they are the hand-
maids to Prudence and VVisdome, the
which may be easily and truely purcha-
sed out of the deeds and examples of o-
thers, there written. How much it con-

As there is nothing in this world in euery respect blessed, & in each particular happy; so there is no constancy in humane things especially, and according to Saint *Ierome*, of the felicity of this world, whilest we seeme to possesse it we part from it. We see, and dayly experience proues vnto vs, what the condition and state of this life, with the goods of it is, the motion of it being (as Saint *Gregory* saith) so swift, the possession so vncertaine, as now we bee fatted in the fragrant pasture of prosperity, now pined and languishing, & on the bare commons of misery, so that neither in weale or woe, there is any constancy, but all things are tud-

¶ duceth

duceth to the good gouernement of Common-wealths to haue the examples of Councels before our eyes, it appeareth, in regard of the general respect the wisest men haue had to them. Neither are true Histories a little commodious for shunning of horrible alterations and calamities: for they recite the examples of all times, for the punishments of Seditions, Treasons, and such other abominable Crimes, the which escape not vnpunisht, no not in this life: Out of which examples we may collect most wholsome instructions, for the good vsing of our both priuate & publike Offices, that such Euils may be shunned in vs, which were punished in others; the which is true wisedome, according to that in the Prouerbe:

Other mens harmes
are wise-mens armes.

Plato.

Plato saith, that a certaine *Æyptian* Priest reprehended the *Greekes*, calling them Children, because they had no knowledge in Antiquity, they had no skill in the passages of former times, they were indued with no ancient and graue Science: For euen as children, through the imbecillity of their capacity, and slendernes of their intellect, cannot discerne Vice from Vertue, good from bad: so they, whose mindes doe comprehend no knowledge of former times, deserued not to be called men, in regard they exceeded not children in vnderstanding.

For which cause, learned men in all Ages, haue not onely read diligently, but also written Histories carefully, by which kind of writing, they haue purchased vnto themselues a liuing name.

The *ANNALS* of this Heroicke Empresse, Queene ELIZA-

STVAR the 11h Family SACKV not lon had wo perienc the Roy there b pulled the bou it, two full Ros wit, the Noble of *Lenox* DOVVI and E two rar thers, o vertuou laudable uersatio Of the a Noble branch cut from Tree of nour; RICHA the most and mo ble Earle *Dorset*, a ron of *Bu hurst*, of and bless memory All which this yeere within th space of 5 moneths, ously and peaceably slept with Christ.

BETH, I confesse, I haue rashly vndertaken to translate: for the Subiect deserued a farre better and more skilfull Pen-man, in regard I am a Stranger: Yet, to shew the desire I haue to doe this Noble Nation seruice, (as bound in duety) I haue faithfully the best I was able, finished my Enterprize, which I hope will be very beneficiall to all Honourable and impartiall Readers, as most vseful, & fit for these present times.

And as therefore in my former Bookes, I haue chosen Patrons Honourable and beneficiall, by whose authority, fauour, and countenance they might more happily be published, so I could finde none more worthy the dedication of this Royall and true History, then your Honours, whom I know, aboue all persons, to tender most the blessed memory of this matchlesse Queene, who in her life time so much

honoured

honoured and affected you, or your Noble Ancestors and illustrious Predecessours, that they (for their deserts and vertues) were by her Maiestie graced with the most honourable Dignities, and highest places of Honour in this Kingdome: And also, because your Honours bee addicted to History, fauourable to humane arts, religiously deuoted, & piously affected. VVherefore I, in most submissiue manner, request your Honours to accept this worthy Oblation, with a mild aspect, cheerfull countenance, and vsuall Clemency, from him who vnfainedly wishes to all your Honors in generall, and to each of them in particular, perfection of ioy and happines, as,

The true Admirer, and humble obseruer of your Graces, of your Honours, and of your Vertues:

Abraham Darcie.

TO THE NOBLE AND VVEL-DISPOSED READER, indued with either of these rare Vertues, *Iustice, Valour, Honour, Temperance, Magnanimity, Clemency, Truth, Liberality, Ciuility,* and *Courtesie*; Health and happinesse in IESVS CHRIST.

Of Iustice.

IVSTICE is a constant and perpetuall will, to give impartially euery man their iust due: the one is generall, diuided into politicke and œconomicke: the other speciall, diuided in distributiue and commutatiue; her directiue parts are to do good acts, and fly from bad ones. It stands therefore much in need of Religion, Piety, Obseruance, Obedience, Thanksgiuing, of expulsion of iniuries, also of Truth, Affability, Amity, and Liberality.

ALl-Vertuous and impartiall Reader, here is presented to thy iudicious view, the Translation of a Master-piece of History, in its owne originall Language truely most rare; which I (for the worthinesse of the Subiect) wish with my soule, I could haue Englished accordingly: But though my

my poore straine & weake capacity would not permit mee to equalize the eloquence and elegancie thereof, yet I can assure you, I haue had a speciall care, to doe it faithfully: And truely I must confesse ingenuously, doubting of my weaknesse in so important and laborious a Worke, (because I am a Stranger borne) I haue sought the best helpe I could, from those that are holden good Schollers, for the perfecting of the English phrase and stile, but it hath beene amended so contrary to my expectation, that I haue beene forced to peruse it againe, best I was able, and as the time & Presse would giue me leaue. I beseech you therefore to beare with it, not doubting, but (as I haue obserued the inuention and meaning of my Author) it will affoord you sufficient content: and if I may bee so happy, as to drawe gently the gracious aspect of your eyes vpon these my worthlesse Lines, I will euer be bound to your Noble fauour, for a milde and courteous Censure, in respecting the affection and desire I haue, to imploy my time about that which may tend to immortalize the Honour and Glory of *Englands* dreaded, and vndaunted Nation; in striuing to make vulgar the heroicke Acts

Of Valour.

VALOVR, whic[h] moderates feare, Hardinesse, is a V[illegible] which encourages o[illegible] blame or defend t[illegible] iustly: her mediocr[illegible] betwixt cowardnesse [illegible] temerity. To her be[illegible] Magnanimity, Mag[illegible]cency, Patience, [illegible] Perseuerance.

Of True Honour.

TRue HONOVR, wh[illegible] belongeth to Libe[illegible]lity and Iustice, is a [illegible]uine Vertue, subiect [illegible]ther to fortune nor for[illegible] it is that which all go[illegible] and vertuous men air[illegible]at, & leuell their actions.

Of Temperance.

TEMPERANCE is [illegible] morall Vertue, whic[illegible] moderates sensuall ve[illegible]luptuousnesse, and th[illegible] couetousnesse thereof [illegible] and the dolour or griefe [illegible] which is still, as it were, [illegible] linked with couetousnes[illegible] shee mediates, or is a [illegible] meane betweene Intem[illegible]perancy and Stupidity [illegible] shee is perfected & made [illegible] whole by Bashfulnesse & [illegible] Honesty: shee keepes vn[illegible]der her, Abstinency, Con[illegible]tinency, Sobriety, and [illegible] Chastity: To her do be[illegible]long, Gentlenesse, Clemency, Humility, Meek[illegible]nesse, and Moderation.

Of Magnanimity.

MAGNANIMITY belonges to Force.

Acts, and Diuine Vertues of *Albions* best Queen, and the most Religious, learned and prudent Empresse that euer liued on earth: and Soueraigne Head, or supreme Ruler, next God, ouer this flourishing Kingdome, ayming thereby more at the conseruation of her glorious memory, then at any thing else. I therefore doubt not but this worke will soone purchase your kind fauour, and louing commendation: and so I commit you to the Almighty, wishing you his blessings, and the perfection of Happines, I rest,

A true deuoted to your Vertues,

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

and Courage: it ... vertue, and ... spur to pur- ... supreme honours; ... mediocrity or mean ... betwene *Superba* and ... dimity.

Of Clemency.

CLEMENCY is a morall vertue, which ... asswaging anger, quen- ... fires or choler, ... produce pious acti- ... the mediates, or is ... meane betweene Cru- ... and too great Indul- ...

Of Truth.

TRUTH, by which, in all our actions & hu- ... society, we should ... things as they be: ... meane or moderati- ... betweene Simulati- ... and dissimulation.

Of Liberality.

LIBERALITY is a Vertue truely Noble, ... most Diuine, apper- ... ning to Iustice: This ... cellent Vertue mode- ... ting the desire to a- ... and riches, rules the ... purchasing of goods, and ... ders expences, to pro- ... in vs, and bring ... to the world rare ... honour is a meane be- ... betweene Auarice and Pro- ... ligity.

Of Ciuility.

CIVILITY is also a morall vertue, which consisteth in vttering gracefully a speech or discourse in Company: by this Vertue, both praise and a good opinion is acquired: it is a meane betweene Mirth and Melancholy.

Of Courtesie.

COVRTESIE is a Vertue truely morall, by which we purchase loue, in shewing our selues gracious and officious to those who stand in need of vs: it is a meane betweene submission and rudenesse or harsh disposition.

THE AVTHOR TO THE READER.

WILLIAM CECIL, *Baron* Burghley, *Lord High Treasurer of Eng* (*about* 16. *years past*) *opened vnto me* (*farre my thought*) *first, some memorials of State o own: afterwards, those of the Kingdome; and them, willed me to compile a* Historie *of* Q. E. beths *Raigne from the beginning. I know not to what intent, vnlesse wi be prouiding for the propagation of the Queenes honour, meant to take a of my abilitie in this kind. I obeyed, and indeed not vnwillingly, lest I sh be thought to haue been wanting to the memory of the best Princesse, his e ctation, and truth it selfe; which to me equals them both. For shee being e ped, and hauing hidden herselfe, my hope is to finde her there, or no where.*

But in the first entrie, a most intricate difficultie deterred me: I felt v whole masses of writings, & instruments of all kinds, well enough digested the computation of the times, but very confused for varietie of argument; examining whereof, I was couered with dust and sweat. I diligently collec together fit matter, harder to find out than I expected: but he dying, mine industrie slackt. And after that, that incomparable Princesse had rendred her mine soule to heauen, I waited a while with a greedy expectation, not only w but if some one, of so great a number of learned men, who by her bounty aboa in riches & leisure, would repay this due and deserued thanks. But when I h certainly obserued, that weightier affaires hindred some that were best able performe it; others, (I know not for what causes) with specious excuses refus it: Afterwards, I left soones betook my self to my interrupted study, & embrac it more vehemently than before. I sought all manner of helps on every side, di dulous, volued & reuolued Characters of Kings & Peers, Letters, Consultati ons held at the Councell-Table; I ran through the instructions & letters of Am bassadors, & likewise the Records & Iournals of Parliaments, Acts & Statut & read ouer al Proclamatiõs. For most of which (as I ought) I hold my self chie ly bound to sir R: Cotton *kt. Baronet, who with great expence, & happy labo hath gathered together most choice variety of Histories & Antiquity: for at h torch, he willingly suffered me to light my taper. So as* (Reader) *if in this I haue do any thing pleasing vnto thee or profitable, thou owest him the merited thanks*

I haue also made search throughout mine own Cabinets; & although I am a admirer of venerable antiquitie, I am not iniurious to later things: I haue see & obserued much, & haue from elder men than my selfe, worthy of belief, wh were present when these were acted, & studious on both sides, in this diuision o

ceiued them, & haue weighed thē in the ballance of my Iudgment, lest by a deceiueable credulity I should incline towards those which in the study of TRVTH, as it hath been the only spur to prick me forth to worke: so hath it beene mine only Scope. To detract from Historie, is less than to pluck out the eies of a beautifull creature, and for a meretrion, to offer poison to the Readers vnderstanding.

Of things which are wont to hinder the light of Truth, I purposely abandoned as much as in me lay, haue vncased IGNORANCE & FALSHOOD, by the witnesse pure & neat, drawn from the sa. VNSKILFVLNESSE & Crimes, DOVBT & FALSITY haue I dispelled, as well as I could, by the light incorrupt faith, out of these monuments aboue all exception; & it from them haue gotten no lesse knowledge of those things, than they which had long & great imployment in the Common-wealth. I haue auoided IVDICE, as an abuser of the Iudgement, which so infects the mind in Religion and the Reipublique; that like them that haue sore eyes, they see clearly. I haue not feared DANGER, no not from them, who by their power think the memorie of the succeeding Age may be extinguished. Let them remember, that as many as haue beene iniurious to Writers, loue the Truth, haue procured to themselues dishonour; to them glorie.

Force of a LITTLE GAINE misse-led me not; To make the dignitie of a mercenarie, I (who haue alwaies contented my selfe with a meane fortune) held sordid and seruile. I haue left no place to the SVSPICION OF FAVOR OR PRIVATE GRVDGES; for of these I am to write of. Scarce two I know to me by any benefit, by iniury, not one; that I should be reckoned a-mong the PARTIAL or the OFFENDED. These which are aliue, I haue scarse mentioned. Inueighing against the enemies of my Countrie, I haue held it right, to hunt after the name of a good Patriot, with the aspersion of an ill Man. These things haue I been carefull of, that (as POLYBIVS commands) I SACRIFICE ONLY TO TRVTH. Neither shall any man, I hope, finde any thing in me, that ingenious liberty (ioyned with modestie) of speech, worth an Historian: That, which vnder a false disguise ioyned with the poison of detraction personates libertie, and is so pleasing to euery eare, I detest from my heart. Things MANIFEST, I haue not concealed, things DOVBTFVL I haue not interpreted: the more ABSTRVSE, I haue not been too inquisitiue of; the vnsearchable intents of Princes (saith that Prince of Historie) and what out of reasons of State pretend, is not fit to inquire; & being doubtfull, not explored. And with HALYCARNASSÆVS, I am iustly angry which the ignorant critiques, who go about to know or find out more than is iustly permitted to the rest, although I know, that matters militarie and politique are

the proper subiects of an Historian, yet I neither could nor ought to o
Ecclesiasticall affaires (for betwixt Religion and policy there can be no
uorce. But seeing the Writer of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, may lawfully ch
lenge these things, as proper to himself, I haue not touched at them other
than as it were with a light and cursory hand; whereas it is the Law
dignitie of an Historian, to run through the most eminent actions, and no
dwell upon small ones: I haue not therefore laboured in them, yet there are
sages of lesse cõsequence, which may concern another professor, though not h
I haue not omitted any circumstances, by which, not only the euents of thin
but their reasons also and causes may be known; That of POLYBIVS ple.
me exceedingly, If you take out of History, WHY, HOW, TO WHAT END, a
WHAT IS DONE. and whether the Actions answer the intents, that that
maines, is rather a mocking than an instruction; And for the prese
may please, but will neuer profit Posteritie; I haue not betrayed my IVDG
MENT to affection for writing with an impartiall minde, I haue rather de
red to finde out the affections of other men. I haue inserted little of mine ow
treating of matters in another kind, it being a controuerted point, whether
no it be lawfull for an Historian to doe it. Let euery one abound in his ow
sense: I haue thrust in no occasions, but such as were truly spoken; or those
duced to fewer words: much lesse haue I fained any. I haue seldome vsed Se
tences, nor beautified my discourses with those obseruatiõs which the Gree
aptly call ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ, my intent being as it were insensibly to instruct t
minde. I haue shunned digressions; I haue vsed formall words; I haue not ne
lected discriptions of places, pedigrees, nor Chronologies, following, as neere
is possible, the order of the Times; beginning the yeare (as our Chronologe
were wont) from the first of IANVARY.

I haue inscribed my discourses with the name of ANNALS, because I place
uery passage in his owne yeare; and because TACITVS directs vs, that great
illustrious Actions should be committed to Annals; whose principall office i
to take care, that Vertue be not obscured, and by the relation of euill words o
deeds, to propose the feare of infamie, with posteritie. And that sterile and co
tracted kind of writing (such as mine is) is for Annals, of all other, most fit

With these beginnings I applyed my mind to write, with this resolutiõ I pro
ceeded, & intended to bestow the rest of my time and industrie, in the beautify
ing polishing, and exornation of these Annals: and then by my last will, to be
queath them to my honorable friend IAMES AVGVSTVS THVANVS, who hat
begun a Historie of his owne Times, with great truth and modestie; lest that,
strangers are wont be, a man most deare vnto me, should like a traueller in
forraine Countrie, be ignorant of our affaires. But this resolution I was force

not by what fate) to alter; for a great part being sent vnto him, some
[illegible] past, whē they were like rough-drawn pictures scarcely begun, defor-
[illegible] blots & imperfect places, swarming with errors & patches thrust
[illegible] fell from a hasty pen, & ill vsed by Transcribers: Out of these he took
[illegible] were inter-weaued some things into the eleuenth and twelfth Tomes
[illegible]orie, hauing first polished them by adding, altering, substracting, but
[illegible] good iudgement (according to that order of the worke which he pro-
[illegible] himselfe) (for he intended a vniuersall Historie of his owne Time) se-
[illegible] some few things concerning ENGLAND and IRELAND, omitting many
[illegible] not only fit, but peraduenture necessary for vs to know; and I had heard
[illegible]ond the Seas, the Historie of English affaires was much (and not with-
[illegible]proach) desired; I therefore betook me to my intermitted study, read all
[illegible]aine, corrected, added diuers things, refined the eloquution, yet with-
[illegible]ectation; for it sufficeth me, if I may place this Booke like a picture in
[illegible] colours, vnskilfully done, in a commodious light.

[illegible] when all was done, I was much perplext & irresolute, whether I should
[illegible]bit or not. But CENSVRES, PREIVDICE, HATRED, OBTRECTATION,
[illegible]ch I foresaw to display their colors, and bid battell against me, haue not so
[illegible] deterred me, as the desire of TRVTH, the loue of MY COVNTRY, and the
[illegible]orr of that PRINCESSE, (which deserues to be deare and sacred amongst
[illegible]sh men) did excite me against these, who shaking off their allegeance to-
[illegible]ards their Prince and Country, did not cease beyond the Seas, to wound aswel
[illegible] Honor of the one, as the glory of the other, by scandalous libels, conceiued by
[illegible]malice of their own hearts; & now, (which they sticke not to confesse) are
[illegible]t to publish a Book to remain to posteritie, is a monument of their wicked-
[illegible]ds. As for me, I desire nothing more, than to be like my self, & they like them-
[illegible]s. Succeeding ages will giue to euery one their deserued Honor. I confesse
[illegible] sorrow, that I haue not done so wel, as the height of the argumēt requires;
[illegible] what I could, I haue done willingly. To my selfe, as in other writings, so
[illegible]er in these, haue I giuen satisfaction. But I shall hold it more than suffi-
[illegible]t if out of an earnest desire to conserue the memorie of things, of truth in
[illegible]ting them, & instructing mens minds with that which is wise and honest,
[illegible] be ranked only amongst the lowest writers of great things.

WHATSOEVER IT IS,

AT THE *ALTAR* OF *TRVTH*,

I Dedicate, and Consecrate it { TO GOD, MY COVNTRIE, AND POSTERITIE.

ROR AND PAT

TERNE OF PRIN-

SIR,

I COVLD not but shelter this Historie vnder your most renowned Name: for to whom can I commit the Story of Her, who whilst shee liued, was the ioy of England, the terror and admiration of the VVorld,

CES, THE MOS

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY, CHARLES

but to your HIGHNESSE, who is the Fame and Honour of this ſpacious hemiſphere & Great Britaines both hope & ſolace, by your princely valour & conſtant vertues, no leſſe dreaded and admired abroad than feared & beloued at home.

A true admirer & humble Obſerver of your diuine worth A. Darcie.

BRITANNE, &c.

This Noble Princesse's Father was *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, created Viscount Bindon, by Queen *Elizabeth*, the first yeare of her raigne, second son to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.

To the Highly Borne Princesse, *Frances* Duchesse Dowager of *Richmond* & *Lenox*.

AND

To the noble Prince, her Cosin, *Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surrey, Earle Marshall of England.*

This Duke of N the Duchesse of *mond* and *Lenox*'s C father, had two wiv first, was the noble cesse *Anne*, Daugh King *Edward* the fo by which he had is young Prince, who young: The othe the Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Edward Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, by whom he had issue, the *Henry Howard*, whose son succeeded to the Dukedome of *Norfolk*, (which Dukes eldest son, Philip *H* was by Queen *Elizabeth* al created, and summoned in Parliament where he sate as Earl of *Arundel*, the primary Earledome of *England*, in the right of his Mother, sole daughter and heire to Henry *Fitz*- Earle of *Arundell*. He was this Noble Earles Father) *Thomas* Viscont *Bindon*, and a Daughter, who w cheste of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Countesse of *Nottingham*, Aunt to the now Duchesse of *Richmond* a aex: This said Duke of *Norfolke*, after a long sicknesse, tooke his iourney peaceably to Heauen, at his h in *Kimmyhall* in *Norfolke*, the first yeare of Queene *Mary*.

AND

To the Illustrious fauourers of *Vertue, true mirrors of Honour*, and exact patternes of Nobilitie

William Earle of Hartford, &c.

AND

To the Noble Lady, Frances his Princely Countesse.

Edward Earle of Dorset, Baron of Buckhurst.

AND

To his noble sisters, the Lady *Anne Beauchamp*, And the Lady *Cecilia Compton.*

This Earles grandfather *Lord Edward Seimor*, son to *Edw.* Duke of *Somerset*, was restored to his honours & patrimonie by Queene *Elizabeth*, who created him *Earle* of *Hartford*, and Baron of *Beauchamp*, in the Tower of *London*, the second yeare of her raigne. This noble Countesse's grandfather, also was created Earle of *Essex*, &c. by Qu. *Elizabeth*, the 14. of her raigne, he died in *Ireland*, 1575. and was magnificently buried at *Carmarden* in Wales, where he was borne.

This illustrious Ear honourable Ladies gr ther, was a most prude learned man, for his h deserts and Princely d from an ancient an noble blood, was crea Q. *Elizabeth*, Baron of *hurst*, next by her M enstalled in the royall of the Garter, one of ximate privy Counsell Lord High Treasurer *gland*, &c. Chancellor of the V sity of Oxford. Here White hall 1608.

Anno 1572. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*, was created Earle of *Lincoln*, by Queene *Elizabeth*, for his Noble services, and faithfull seruice to his Soueraigne Lady. The same day her Maiesty created Sir *Walter Deuereux*, Earle of *Essex*; He died the eighth day of *Ianuary*, *Anno* 1585. and was with great solemnitie buried at *Windsor*

To this right Honorable Lord, *Theophilus* Earle of *Lincolne*, he was great Grand-father.

Theophilus, Lord CLINTON, *Earle of* LINCOLN.

Thomas Earle of Suffolke, knight of the most honorable Order of the Garter.

This worthy Earle (t sisters to *Thomas Howa* last Duke of *Norfolke*, martiall valour, was P ly vertue, and by Q *Elizabeth* created Lord *Howard of Walden*, and place in the high Court of Parliament, among the E as Baron of *Walden*. And Q. *Elizabeth*, partly to re his warlike exploits, (for shee imployd him in sundr services, to his immortall honour and commend made him Knight of the Garter.

Anno 1597, The 23. of *Octob.* the Lord *Charles Howard*, for his Princely deserts, and illustrious birth, was created by Q. *Elizabeth*, Earle of *Nottingham*: Likewise for his worthy services done to his Prince and Countrie, in generously repelling *Spaines* inuincible Nauy of 88, being Lord High Admirall; As also for his Martiall valiancy, in the sacking of *Cadix*, with the Earle of *Essex*: her Maiestie honour'd him with the Garter, the noblest order of Knighthood.

Charles Earle of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham.

John Baron of Elsemere Viscont Brackley, Earle of Bridge-water.

This Noble Earles F Sir *Thomas Egerton*, V *Brackley* Baron of *El* Lord high Chancell *England*, was a Noble of admirable parts, excellently well seene in the La *England*, industrious in State affaires, which mou'd Q *zabeth* to choose him her Maiesties Solicitor, *Anno* And for his other deserts, *Anno* 1593. she Knighted Next she made him Master of the Rolls; and finally, Keeper of the great Seale of *England*, *Anno* 1594.

...m Cecil, for his graue ... and excellent ver... by Q. *Elizabeth* cre... ...ons of *Burghley*, he ... one of her Maiesties

William, Earle of Salisbury, &c. And *William Earle of* Excester, &c.

William Baron of Compton, Earle of Northampton.

This noble Earles grand... ...ther, Sir *William Compton*, ... for his worthinesse, creat... Baron Compton by Quee... *Elizabeth*.

...Councell, Lord High Treaturer, and Chancellor of *Cambridge* Vniuersitie. He was there two Noble Earles, gra... ...ith issued of two of his Sonnes.

To the no lesse Illustrious than Noble,

...RY CARY, ...ber-lain to Queen ... his cousin (for he ... ...e to *William Ca*... ...ce to the body of ... the eight, by the ... *Anne Bulle*... ...ter of Queene *E*... ...this *Henry* was by ... *Elizabeth*, created ... Baron of Hunsdon, by her Maiestie, made Knight of the Garter; ... the Lords of her Priuie Councell, and governour of ... ...ke. To this Noble Lord *Henry*, Viscont *Rochford*, hee ... ...ndfather; and this Illustrious Lady *Barkley*, was his ...ghter and heire.

Henry Lord Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, Viscont Rochford.

AND

The Noble Lady, Elizabeth Barkeley, now married to Sir Thomas Chamberlaine.

Rob. Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Baron of Parke.

AND

Henry West, Baron de la Warre.

Peregrine, the Father to th... generous Lo: *Willoughby*, w... re bored in his ancestors Ho... nors, by Qu. *Elizabeth*, wh... created him Baron *Willough*... of Eresby, the 13. of her ra... 1582. (before thee sent hi... with the Garter to the Kin... of *Dennmarke*) being the G... of the Duchesse of *Suffo*... sole daughter and heire ... the Lo: *Willoughby* of Eresby.

Also, Sir *William West* (This Lord *de la Ware's* gran... Sire) was created Baron *de la Ware* by Queene *Elizabe*... being Nephew to *Thomas West*, Lord *de la Ware*, and Knig... of the Garter, in King *Henry* the eight's daies; who de... without issue, *Anno* 1570.

...1594. WIL... ...AM POVLET, Noble Lord, Grandfa... was (in the time of ... ...ne, JOHN Lord ...ouse of *Winchester*) by ...ne ELIZABETH ... a Peere of England, ... that High Court ...liament, among the ... and Peeres of the ... at Baron Saint *John* ...ley. He died the first ... of January 1598. and ... ...ually buried by ... ...ndesbours, at *Basing*.

IOHN POVLET, *Lord Saint John Baron of Basing, heire apparant to the Lord* Marquesse of Winchester, &c.

The truly Pious Lady Frances Wray, Countesse dowager of *Warwicke*.

AND

The Lady Elizabeth, daughter, and sole heire to *Francis*, Lord *Norrice*, late Earle of Barkshire Viscount *Thame*, and Baron of *Ricot*; wife to the right Noble & worthy, *Edward Wray*, Esqu.

Sir *Christopher Wray*, for his great deserts, & the noble fa... milly, from whence hee was derived, was; by Qu. *Elizabeth* Knighted; and for his rare wisdome, being expert in the Law, was aduanced (to his great Praise, and immortall fame) to diuers Honourable dignities in this Kingdome: First, he was made Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and then Lord Keeper of the Priuy Seale. He was one of her Maiesties most prudent Counsellours, and Father to this Religious

...ble Dowager of Warwick: Also Grandfather to these Noble Brothers, Sir *Iohn Wray*, Knight; *Edward Wray*, ...*Edward Wray*, Esquires. *Anno* 1572. Sir *Henry Norrice*, was for his Noble worth, created by Queene *Elizabeth*, ...*Barone* of *Ricot*. He was this Noble Ladie ELIZABETH WRAY her Grandfather.

...DLEY, *Lord* ...*rth, Baron of* Kirtling, AND *the vertuous* ...*his only Si*... the Lady Mary Cummingsby.

Anno 1574. *Roger* Lord *North*, Baron of the ancient Baronry of *Kirtling*; for his Vertues and Prudency, was in gracious fa... ...our neere Q. *Elizabeth*, who re... ...ceiuing him much, made vse of his faithfull seruices, in diuers honourable affaires of importance. *Anno* 1574. he was, by her Maiestie, sent Ambassadour Extraordinary into *France*, to giue King *Henry* the third good

This worthy Knight was the last which her Maiesty Knighted.

Also, this noble Esquires Father, Sir *Thomas Sadleir*, son to Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, was the last knight banneret, of *England*, Chancellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, and Priuy Counsellor, to King *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the sixt, Queen *Mary* and Queene *Elizabeth*.

To the Honour of the right Worshipfull Sir Arthur Capell, & his noble Sons.

AND

The Nobly descended *Ralph Sadleir*, Esquire; of Standen in *Hertfordshire*:

...land to condole with his Maiestie, after the death of K. *Charles* the ninth. And although this Noble man, was ...ated Baron by Q. *Elizabeth*, yet I haue erected these lines to his noble and immortall memory, for his Vertues Glo... ...ble duty and humble seruice which I must euer owe to his illustrious Grand-Children; The Lord *North*, Sir *Iohn* ... Captaine *Roger North*, *Gilbert North*, and the noble Lady *Cunningsby*.

A PREPARATION AND INTRODVCTION TO THE HISTORY.

THE All-glorious, All-vertuous, incomparable, inuict, and matchlesse Patterne of Princes, the Glory, Honour, and mirror of Woman kind, the Admiration of our Age, ELIZABETH, Queene of *England*, was by the Fathers side truely Royall, being Daughter to HENRY the Eighth, Grand-child to HENRY the Seuenth, and great Grand-child to EDVVARD the Fourth: of the Mothers side indeed vnequall,

Qu. Elizabeths extraction by the Fathers side.

yet nobly descended, and had many great Alliances spred through *England* and *Ireland*. Her great-Grandfather was *Iefferay* of *Bolene*, descended from the famous House of *Norfolke*, who, in the yeere 1457. was Maior of *London*, and was then graced with the Dignitie of Knighthood: a man of much integrity, and of such reputation, that *Thomas*, Baron of *Hoo* and *Hastings*, Knight of the Order of S. *George*, gaue him his daughter and heire to wife: he was of so great meanes, that he married his Daughters into the famous houses of the *Chenies*, *Heidons*, and *Fortescues*: he left a great Patrimonie to his sonnes; and by Will gaue a thousand pounds sterling to the poore of *London*, and two hundred to the poore of *Norfolke*: Hee had to Sonne, *William Bolene*, who was made one of the eighteene selected Knights of the *Bath*, at the inauguration of *Richard* the Third. To whom, *Tho.* Earle of *Ormond* (who was had in so great estimation with the Kings of *England*, that hee only of all the Peeres of *Ireland*, had place and voice in the Parliament, and before the Barons of *England*) gaue him his Daughter and Coheire to wife; he had by her (besides the Daughters which he married to *Shelton*, *Caltrop*, *Chaire*, and *Sackuil*, beeing very rich, and of renowned Race) *Tho. Bolene*, who beeing but a Youth, *Thomas Howard*, then Earle of *Surrey*, and afterwards Duke of *Norfolke*, a famous Warrier,

Warrier, chose him to bee his Sonne in Lawe, and gaue him his Daughter *Elizabeth* to wife. HENRY the Eighth employed him in two honourable Embassies, after hauing made him Treasurour of his House, Knight of the Order of Saint *George*, and Vicount *Rochford*, afterwards Earle of *Wilton* and *Ormond*, and Lord Priuie Seale. He, amongst other Children, had *Anne Bolene*, who beeing sent in her tender yeeres into *France*, was seruant to *Mary* of *England*, Wife to *Lewis* the 12. afterwards to *Claudia* of *Brittaine*, wife to *Francis* the First; and after her death, to *Mary* of *Alanson*, who from her cradle, was a speciall fauourour of the Protestants Religion in *France*. Afterwards, she being returned into *England*, and entertained to be one of the Queenes Maids of Honour, in the twentieth yeere of her age, King HENRIE being eight and thirtie, fell vehemently in loue with her, for the modest behauiour which accompanyed her beauty, and the *French* iollity which seasoned her modesty: but not being able to ouercome her chastity, he sought to haue her to wife, in hope to haue a Linage by her.

The birth of the Lady Anne Bolene.

Now before, (to take this matter a little more deepely) after he had liued seuenteene yeeres with *Katherine* his wife, who was of a pious conuersation, and of the *Spanish* grauitie, but subiect to aborsements, that of all her Children, shee brought

foo rth none liu ing, but MARIE, he begunne to distaste her, by the cunning practice of Cardinall *Wolsey*, who was then raised to the highest degree of power and authority about the King, but in some fort ouer swayed by his owne affections: For being displeased with *Charles*, the fifth Emperour, Nephew to *Katherine*, because he had denyed him the Arch-bishopricke of *Toledo*, and then aspiring to the Papasie, his hatred to him, and his loue so affectionately carried toward the *French* King; he so wrought, that he purposed a wife for *Henry* out of *France*. The King beeing prone to his pleasures, prepared this scruple of conscience, That the marriage which he had contracted with *Katherine*, who before had beene wife to his brother *Arthur*, was forbidden by the Diuine Lawe, although Pope *Iulius* the second had giuen a Dispensation for it. Afterwards he did inculcate into the Kings eares, how greatly he had offended God in marrying *Katherine*, and how grieuous a sin he should wallow in if hee kept her: that hee had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; that God had powred his wrath vpon so vnlawfull a Marriage, not suffering a Male to liue, that was begotten of her, and that if there were not a lawfull Heire assigned to the Kingdome, no other thing was to be expected, but that those mortall and cruell wars which had beene but lately lul'd asleepe, should be awakened

King in loue Anne of Cleve.

The reason why he put away his wife.

ned with new ſlaughters of his people; and therefore that he ought, for the taking away of all ſcruple from his conſcience, to repudiate her, and that by aſſuring himſelfe of a Succeſſor in a lawfull line, he ſhould prouide for the ſafety of his ſoule (which and likewiſe yeeres had been polluted with inceſt) for ſo many of his Kingdome.

Theſe reaſons cauſed the King to entreate Pope *Clement* the Seuenth, to depute ſome to take knowledge of this cauſe, and either to confirme the Diſpenſation by authority of holy Scriptures, or abſolue him of the Sentence of Excommunication, and to declare this marriage to be of no force, and that it might be lawfull for him to marry any other woman whom he ſhould thinke fit, notwithſtanding any Canon to the contrary. Hereupon the Pope delegates Cardinall *Wolſey*, and the Cardinall of *Campepe*, to whom he ſecretly gaue a Bull to this effect, that he approued of the Kings vowes, and granted his requeſts ſo farre as God would giue him leaue, if the marriage which he had contracted with *Katherine* ſhould be found vnlawfull, and ſo declared to be. But this Bull was to bee conceal'd or publiſht according to the ſucceſſe of the Emperours Affaires in *Italy*. Then theſe queſtions begun to be moued euery where, whether it were lawfull for a man to take his brothers wife? or, it beeing prohibited by the Diuine Law, whether the Popes

Dispensation could make it lawfull, or no? And when many Academies of Christendome, and the most learned men had giuen their opinions, and resolued that such a Marriage was repugnant to the Laws both of the Old and New Testament, howsoeuer the Popes Dispensation might legitimate it. The King became more passionatly amorous of the Lady *Anne* of *Bolene* then euer, and the Cardinall (repenting himselfe too late of what hee had begun) grew discontented, and wrought so vnder hand, that the Pope by his pontificall authority refused to confirme the opinions of the Academies, and by delayes after delayes, the busines was drawn into length, both at *Rome* & in *England*. The Cardinall feared *Bolene*, who for the loue that shee bore to the Euangelicall Doctrine, hated his proud and insolent carriage; and the Pope feared the Emperour, who at that time was powerfull in *Italy*, who maintained, to his vtmost power, the cause of *Katherine* his Aunt: neither would the Pope prouoke HENRY, because hee had lately employed both his paines and pence, to redeeme him from the Emperours men, who kept him prisoner. HENRIE boyling in choler for this refusall (yet dissembling it) both by Ambassadours and Letters, continually solicited, and humbly prayed the Pope, (and after him the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, by request signed with their owne hands, which they

The King conuerts the Pope to his expeditions.

The Prelates and Peeres doe the like.

they caused to be carried and presented at his feete) to confirme by his Apostolicall Authority, what the two Academies of *England*, of *Paris*, and many others, and very learned and most entire men, both within and without the Realme, had set down for a truth, and were ready to mainiaine it, both by word and writing: representiug vnto him, that it would be a remarkeable vnhappines, if He should not obtaine this fauour from the Apostolicall Sea, He beeing the onely man that had employed his Sword, his Pen, his word and power, to defend the authority of the Pope, and resisting many that stroue against it, should bee the onely man to bee denyed the benefit of it; and therefore they coniured him to grant it, for feare that intestine warres should rise for the right of Succession.

Notwithstanding, the Clergie fearing lest the Pope should proscribe the Kingdome, and excommunicate the King, by seuerall Letters put him in mind of the sad discord which had been betweene Pope *Alexander* the Third, and *Henry* the second, King of *England*, and representing vnto him many reasons of importance, infinitely besought him, almost in the very same words that *Gilbert*, Bishop of London did at the same time, (*viz.*)

WEe most humbly beseech you, to shut vp for a time your burning zeale within the bounds

bounds of modeſtie, leſt by interdicting the Kingdome, or cuting off the King from the communion of the Catholike Church, you cauſe the ruine of many particular Churches, and irreuokeably turne from your obedience both the King and infinite numbers with him. Cutting off brings deſpaire, whereas dreſſing the wound often cureth. And therfore, if there be a wound, it is more expedient, if it may bee your pleaſure, to labour preſently to cure it, leſt by cutting off a moſt noble member of the Church of God, you trouble beyond expreſſion, as matters now ſtand. The Blood-Royall cannot be ouercome till it hath ouercome, and is not aſhamed to yeeld after it hath conquered. Hee muſt be wonne with meekenes, and ouer-ruled with admonitions and patience. What is it to haue loſt ſome temporall things by patience, or by a continuall patience to loſe more, as the times now are? Whether is Seuerity to bee withdrawne, when ruine and ſlaughter threaten a People? To caſt many goods into the ſea, when the prouoked waues with the confuſion of hideous ſurges threaten a Ship-wrack?

But the Pope and Cardinals could not endure that the Papall authority ſhould be queſtioned in matter of Diſpenſation, and all maner of contempt for the ſpace of fiue yeeres little more or leſſe, neglected

lected to lend an eare thereto, but were of opinion that the King ought to be cited to *Rome*: Insomuch, that this Prince, who was full of courage, being stirred vp to wrath by the arrogancy which some Ecclesiasticall persons had lately shewed, thought that for the iustnesse of his cause, hee was vniustly dealt with, most vnworthily for his Royall dignitie, and most ingratefully considering how much good he had done for the Church of *Rome*; that almost all at one time hee diuorced *Katharine*, depriued *Wolsey* of his goods, and drew a great summe of mony from those Bishops who had acknowledged the authority of his Delegation, to the preiudice of his Royall preeminence; accepted the title of *Soueraigne head, next vnder Christ, of the Church of England*, which was offered vnto him by a Synod, and by both the Vniuersities of *England*; with the consent of the Peeres of his Kingdome, made *Anne Bolene* Marchionesse of *Pembrooke*, for the noblenesse of her extraction, and the merit of her vertues, (so are the words;) hauing apparelled her in Royall Robes, he married her, and commanded her to be sacred, Queene. *Clement* the Seuenth was much displeased, (but to little purpose) iudged the former marriage to be of force and Canonicall, and pronounced that the King had incurred the penaltie of the great excommunication.

The King seeing himself contemned, renounceth the Pope.

Married Anne.

Of this Marriage was ELIZABETH borne at

(*) *Greenwitch*

Greenwich, vpon *Thames*, the seuenth day of *September* 1533. Shortly after, the marriage contracted with *Katherine*, was iudged by authority of Parliament, incestuous and void, and that with *Anne*, lawfull by the Diuine Law, and ELIZABETH Heire of the Kingdome, if Issue-Male of the Royall Line should fayle. All sweare fidelity to the King, and to the Heires which he had or should haue by *Anne*. And as it was considered vpon, that *Paulus* the Third would againe at *Rome* proclaime against this Marriage, and that within the Realme certaine Religious Women of *Kent*, suborned by some religious men, cast out at randome some indiscreete words against *Anne*, ELIZABETH, and the King, as if they had been strucken with some diuine fury. The Title of the *Soueraigne head of the Church of England* is giuen to the King, with all manner of authority for the reforming of errours, heresies, and abuses, and the oath of fidelity to the Heires which hee should haue by *Anne* is confirmed. Neuertheless three yeeres scarce passed, but giuing himselfe to new Loues, to distrusts, to wrath, to murther, and to bloud; to make way to his new Loue *Iane Seymor*, he accused *Anne* (who had miscarried of a Male-Childe) to haue defiled his Bed, and for a light suspition put her into the hands of iustice, where being examined, shee so resolued the obiections which were made vnto her, that the whole multi-

A Nunne of Kent suborned.

Authoritie of Ecclesiastical given to the King.

multitude which were there present, iudged her innocent, and that she was circumuented. She notwithstanding is condemned by her Peeres, and being told of it, sent to the King, and pleasantly thankes him for many benefits which shee had receiued from him, *viz.* that shee not being very noble by extraction, hee had vouchsafed to adde to her condition, the dignity of Marchionesse, to make her his companion of honour, and to raise her vnto Royall Maiestie: And which is more than all this, that not being able to aduãce her to an higher on earth, he pleased to lift her vp to heauen, where shee should enioy eternall glory with innocent soules. Shee tooke her punishment quietly and Christianly, wishing all happines to the King, and pardoning all her enemies. *Anne beaded.*

The day following, hee married *Iane*, and by authority of the Parliament, declares the marriage with *Anne* to be no lesse vnlawfull and voyd, than the marriage with *Katherine*, and that MARIE and ELIZABETH, their Daughters, were illegitimate, and to be excluded from the Succession of the Kingdome. *Iane*, being in labour of EDWARD, (who succeeded his Father in the Kingdome) dyed before hee was borne, and hee cut out of her wombe.

The King being but little grieued for the death of his Wife, forthwith applyes himselfe to new

Loues both in *Italy* and *France*, to procure friends: Neuertheleſſe, as he was of an ambiguous minde, and fearefull of euery thing, leſt the Papiſts ſhould riſe in Rebellion, and the Nobles moue ſedition, or ioyne with his forreine enemies, hee cauſed ſome to be beheaded for light and trifling matters, & ſome before euer they were heard; and euery houre hee puniſhed the Papiſts, as Traytors which did perſeuere in defending the Popes authoritie; and beeing tranſported with couetouſneſſe, hee tooke occaſion (and ſubiect by the vices of humane frailtie, as of idle and free liuing) to demoliſh the great Monaſteries, as he had done the ſmaller, that were full of venerable antiquity and Maieſty, tooke all the riches which had beene gathered of many yeeres, and at the ſame time burned Proteſtants aliue for Heretiques, by vertue of a Law called the Law of the *Six Articles*, made againſt thoſe which did impugne the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, touching *Tranſubſtantiation*, *the celebration of the Eucharift vnder one kinde*, *the ſingle life of Prieſts*, *Vowes*, *priuate Maſſes, and auricular confeſſion.* In ſo much, that at one time, and in the ſame place, hee exerciſed his crueltie againſt the Papiſts, cauſing them to be hanged and quartered: and againſt the Proteſtants, cauſing them to be burned aliue. By which acts, he made himſelfe terrible in his owne Kingdome, and to be holden a Tyrant abroad: and firſt, being

The King exercised cruelty in Papists and Heretiques, also against the Monasteries.

The Law of Six Articles.

being reiected by *Marie* of *Lorraine*, daughter to the Duke of *Guise*, whom hee desired as riuall to *Iames* King of *Scotland* his Nephew: afterwards, of *Christian* of *Denmarke*, Dutchesse of *Milan*, Grandchild to *Charles* the Fifth. In the end, seeking the friendship of the Protestants of *Germanie*, with much adoe he obtained *Anne of Cleue* for his wife. But beeing as readie to distaste Women as to loue them, turning his heart away from her as soone as he had marryed her, put her away, as not beautifull enough for a Prince, grounding himselfe vpon this, that shee had beene betrothed before to the Duke of *Lorraine's* Sonne, and that shee had some womanish weaknesse that made her vnfit for marriage. But it was to take in her stead *Katharine Howard*, daughter to *Edmoud Howard*, and Neece to *Thomas* of *Norfolke*, whom he beheaded the yeere following, accusing her to haue violated her chastity before shee was married, and opens the Royall-Bed to *Katharine Parre*, a Knights daughter, and the second time Widdow.

He marries and diuorces Anne of Cleue.

Katharine Parre.

Now when through intemperancy of his youth, he perceiued the vigor of his body to decay; being angry with the French King for hauing ayded the *Scots* against the *English*, hee reconciles himselfe, and makes alliance with the Emperour *Charles*, against the *French*, who hauing quite forgot the diuorce of *Katharine* his Aunt, secretly giues him hope

Reconciles himself to the Emperour Charles.

Moves the Question to the Children.

to reconcile him to the *Church of Rome*. After, hauing resolued to set vpon *France*, thereby so much the more to worke himselfe into the Emperours friendship, and quickly to cure the vlcers of his conscience, propounded to the Parliament, which was then assembled, that when hee should happen to dye, and his Sonne EDVVARD without issue, MARIE should first succeed to the Crowne, and afterwards, shee leauing none, ELIZABETH. That if neither left any, the Crowne of *England* should deuolue vpon such as he would designe eyther by Letters Patents or by Will. Which passed for a Law, with the good liking and consent of all, and that the penaltie of *Læsæ Maiestatis* should be inflicted vpon any that should goe against it.

Take Bologne.

Being returned from *France*, after he had taken *Bologne*, and consumed much treasure, and beeing sad and heauy to see *England* deuided by new opinions which daily sprang vp, and *England* groaned for sorrow to see her selfe so exhausted of her riches, her Money corrupted with Brasse, her Monasteries, with the Monuments of great antiquity, ruined, the bloud of Nobles, Prelates, Papists, and Protestants promiscuously spilt, and entangled in a *Scottish* warre, hee died with a perpetuall fluxe of Grease flowing from him, caused by a poysonous inflammation in the thigh: *An.* 1547. he breathed his last. A magnanimous Prince, but I know not what

Dyed.

what confused temper of spirit he had: great vertues he had; and no lesse vices.

EDVVARD his sonne hauing scarce attained to the age of tenne yeeres, succeeded him, and had for his Protector, *Edw. Seymor* Duke of *Sommerset*, his Vnkle, vnder whom the *English* hauing taken vp armes, for to reuenge the violated faith of the match agreed vpon betweene *Edward* and *Marie* Queene of *Scotland*; the *English* obtained a notable victory ouer the *Scots* neere *Musselborough*; this pernicious Law of *Six Articles*, and others which had beene established by King HENRY the Eighth, against the Protestants, are suppressed, and those which tended to the abolishing of the Popes authoritie confirmed; the Masse abrogated; the Images taken out of the Temples; the Bookes of the Old and New Testament imprinted; the Diuine Seruice celebrated in the vulgar Tongue; the Eucharist distributed vnder both kindes: But neuertheless the auaritious sacriledge fell rauenously vpon pillaging the goods of the Church, Colledges, Quiers, Hospitals, as things iudged to bee for superstitious vses: ambition and enuy among the great ones, audacitie and disobedience among the Commons, so insolently exulted, that *England* seemed to be raging madde with rebellious tumults, taking sides, deprauation of money, and withall, the euils that are accustomed to be during the minority

King Edward the Sixth succeedeth his Father.

The doctrine of the Gospel is brought in.

A miserable reigne vnder a King that is a Childe.

nority of a King; these wasted and consumed within the Land: Also, dammage was receiued abroad; as the losse of Forts which the *English* had made in *Scotland* and in *France*, and the Towne of *Bologne*, which had cost so much, which, to the shame of the name of *English*, was deliuered vp into the French Kings hands for money, with all the Fortresses of the Countrey of *Bologne* which the *English* had built, the Cannons and Munitions of warre; when *England* was so disioynted by diuision, that it was not able to keepe them; and *Charles* the Emperour hauing no will to ayde it, although he was intreated, in consideration of the alliance with him, excusing himselfe for that it had beene conquered since; no, not to accept of it, being offered vnto him *gratis*. And to adde an ouer-plus of infelicity, the Protector not being wary enough of the subtilty and deceits of *Dudley*, Duke of *Northumberland*, is by vertue of a new law condemned of Felony: for, entring into counsell how to take away the liues of some of the Kings Councellors, *to wit*, of *Dudley*, and some others, hee lost his head, and his Sonne by a priuate Law bereaued of the greatest part of his patrimony, and of his Fathers honours. The King being vnprouided of his faithfull Guard, is snatched away (vncertaine whether by sicknesse or poyson) before hee was ripe, leauing an incredible griefe with his people for

The Protector is sacrificed to death.

for the great and excellent vertues which hee had, farre surpassing his age.

At the same dolefull and heauy time, *Dudley* hauing broken the fraternall amity that was between the Protector and *Tho. Seimor* his brother, vpon occasion of an emulation of Women, which was betweene the Queene Dowager, wife to *Thomas*, and the Dutches of *Somerset*, the Protectors wife, amongst other things, to conuict *Thomas*, of *Crimen læsæ Maiestatis*, that he intended to reduce the King into his owne power, and to marry ELIZABETH the Kings Sister; shee indeed ignorant of the matter, grew vp in yeeres, and was in singular fauour with EDWARD her brother (who neuer saluted her, but called her his *sweet Sister*;) as also with the Peeres, and the Common-people. For she was full of grace and beauty, and worthy of Soueraigne Authority, of modest grauity, cleere and quick-witted, of a happy memory, and indefatigable in the studies of best letters, insomuch that before she attained to the Age of 17. yeeres, she very well vnderstood the Latine tongue, the French, the Italian, and the Greeke indifferently. Neither wanted shee skill in Musicke that was beseeming a Prince, and she sung and plaid cunningly and sweetly. With *Roger Ascham*, who was to guide her in her Studies, she read the Common places of *Melanchon*, all *Cicero*, a great part of the History of *Titus Liuius*, the

Elizabeth fauour with her broth

Her studie

choice Orations of *Isocrates* (wherof she translated two into Latine) *Sophocles* Tragedies, and she read the New-Testament in *Greeke*. By which meanes she adorned her tongue with pure words, and instructed her mind with the best documents, and good learning, not for pompe or ostentation, but to recreate her life, and frame her selfe to vertue, that among the learned Princes of her time, shee was held Miraculous.

But the death of EDVVARD interrupted the studies of the Liberall Arts: For scarce was he expired, but *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* (who earnestly coueted the Kingdome for *Iane Gray*, to whom he had affianced his Sonne) vsed some persons to perswade her to quit the right which shee had to the Kingdome, for a certaine summe of money, and great possessions in Land. She modestly answered, that they ought first doe well to agree with *Mary* her elder Sister, because that during her life, she could pretend no right to it. Anon after, by the publike voice of a Cryer, *Iane Gray*, HENRY the Eighth's Neece by his second Sisters Daughter, was proclaimed Queene of *England*: the cause thereof being sought out, was found to bee, that in regard of a Lawe by Act of Parliament, which had neuer been duely abrogated, MARIE and ELIZABETH had beene declared illegitimate, (although that by the same Lawe the King

their

their Father had declared, that after EDVVARD the Sixth, if Issue fayled, that they should succeede him in order) and that by the Ciuill-Law of *England*, such Sisters could not hereditarily succeede EDVVARD, because they were not Cousin Germanes, but (as our learned in the Law say) of the halfe Blood. They adde likewise, that HENRY the Eighth had by his last will nominated *Iane Gray*. Moreouer it was shewed, what danger there were, if MARIE and ELIZABETH should marrie stranger Princes, which would re-establish the Popes authority, which was reiected out of the Kingdome. And to that purpose they produce Letters Patents that EDVVARD the Sixth a little before his death had perfected, and many of the Peeres, Bishops, Iudges, and others, by their signes in writing had fortified; neuertheleſſe, the good-will that the Lords and the Commons bore to the Daughters of HENRIE the Eighth, within twentie dayes had driuen away this storme, and MARY proclaimed Queene through all parts of *England*, who comming toward the Citie of *London* with an Armie, ELIZABETH (not to bee wanting, her Sisters cause and hers being yet disquieted) went accompanied with fiue hundred Horse to meet her vpon the way.

Mary is proclaimed. Elizabeth ioynes with her.

In the first Assembly of the Parliament that MARY caused to bee holden, what things soeuer had

beene decreed against the marriage betweene Qu. *Katharine*, and HENRY the Eighth, were abrogated, and it was iudged lawfull by the Diuine Law, and at all times, and at all places auaileable for these reasons, Because it had bin contracted by the consent of both their Parents, of most Illustrious Princes, of most graue Personages as well of *England* as *Spaine*, and with a graue and constant deliberation of the learnedest men of Christendome, and consummated by the procreation of Children. The same religious Seruice, and administration of the Sacraments which were in vse at the decease of HENRY the Eighth, are re-established; notwithstanding without any mention of acknowledging the Popes authority, which thing put the Queene and Cardinall *Pole* into great trouble and vnquietnesse, who thinke that for matter of the marriage, consent of Parents, and the iudgement of the wise, did but onely depend vpon the Dispensation of Pope *Iulius* the second: and were very angry that the vse of the Sacraments were permitted to those who were not as yet well and duely receiued into the Church, without the authoritie of the Pope. But the States of the Kingdome (and MARY bethought her selfe of it) feared to receiue and acknowledge the Popes authority which they had already shaken off, neither could they suffer that the Queene should quit the Title of *Soueraigne head of the*

the Church of England, to which the most part of them, Prelates, Peeres, and Common-people, had sworne to HENRY the Eighth, his heires and successors, and there were many of them that had got their riches from those of the Church. But tooke it greatly to heart to forsake him, perswading herselfe that all the right that she had to the Kingdome of *England*, was vpholden by no other meanes, then by the power of the Pope, who gaue sentence of her side, after her Father had declared her illegitimate. Verily, many at that time had the Popes power in such hatred, and a strangers yoke, that within tenne dayes after that MARY was married to *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, *Tho. Wyat*, and many others of *Kent*, brake out into rebellion; perswading themselues, that this marriage was made to no other end, but the more rigorously to presse them downe vnder the *Romane* yoke, by the strength of *Spaine*, and dispatch ELIZABETH out of the way, who was next heire to the Kingdome of *England*. *Charles* the fifth Emperour knowing what spirits were in *England*, and that Cardinall *Pole* was going with power of Legate from the Pope, cast a blocke in the way (not without the Queenes counsell) lest he should trouble businesse not as yet established, that he should not come into *England* till fifteene moneths were expired, when the third Parliament was ended, and the marri-

The Eng[illegible] with muc[illegible] adoe subi[illegible] themselu[illegible] to the po[illegible] of the Po[illegible]

age of MARY and *Philip* should be celebrated by the Dispensation of Pope *Iulius* the third, because they were allied in the third degree, and that the Emperour *Charles* himselfe had heretofore contracted to marry her, being then vnder age, for time to come. At last, being dismissed from the Emperour, he came into *England*, by demands and obtestations propounded orders, that the lawes against Heretikes might be re-established, all Lawes published against the Sea of *Rome*, since the twentieth yeere of *Henrie* the eighth abolished, and the whole body of the Kingdome reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. The which with great difficulty he obtained, yet not before the goods taken from the *Monasteries*, *Colledges*, *Bishops*, *&c.* by *Henry* the eighth, and *Edward* the sixth, were confirmed vpon like Couenant, to the Queene and the possessors, lest the Kingdome should be disquieted. Foorthwith hereupon, he absolued both the Clergie and people, of the crime of Schisme, and Pope *Iulius* the third, himselfe with great ioy, celebrated a solemne Masse at *Rome*, ordained Prayers, published a Iubile, and granted a plenarie Indulgence to all who had giuen God thankes for the reunion of the Kingdome of *England*. Then is sent vnto him *Anthony* Viscount *Montaigue*, *Thomas Thurlbe*, Bishop of *Ely*, and *Edward Carne*, to giue thankes for the pardon which he had granted for the Schismes, and

Vpon what conditions they were reconciled to the Church of Rome.

Reioycing for it at Rome.

in

in the name of the King, the Queene, and the Kingdome, and that due submission and obedience should be performed to the Pope and See of Rome. *Iulius* then being deceased, *Paulus* 4. gaue them audience and publike conference in the Apostolike Palace, and in the Hall of Kings, receiued their obedience, approued the pardon and absolution granted by Cardinall *Pole*: And for the well deseruing of *Mary* and *Philip*, he, out of the fulnesse of his power, erected for euer *Ireland* to be a Kingdome, and adorned and marked it with dignities and Royall preheminences. The which the States of *Ireland* had liberally offered to *Henry* the eighth, and the Queene a little before vsed and enioyed the same. But these things are not for this place.

Ireland erected a Kingdome by the Pope.

The *Romane* Religion seemed then to be well established in *England*: howbeit the Ecclesiasticall company seeing that *Mary* was now fortie yeeres old, growne dry and sickly, scarce hoping for any offspring, began forthwith to be afraid of ELIZABETH: For they knew she was brought vp in the Protestant Religion, and obserued that all men cast (as vpon a rising Sunne) both heart and eye vpon her. Therefore they seriously consult from the very beginning of *Maries* Raigne, how to preuent that the Religion now called backe, should receiue any detriment by her. The wiser and more consciencious sort iudged it to be an exceeding foule crime

The Papists feare Elizabeth.

to

to destroy Royall Linage, and *Mary* herselfe, who was a godly Princesse (though displeased with her Sister, for the discord of their Mothers) yet certaine sicke-braind fellowes (who neither durst vndertake any thing, nor performe any thing by right or wrong to establish the Catholike Religion) did thinke it fit. And it happened very commodiously, for them, that *Tho. Wyat*, *Peter Carew*, *Iames Crofts*, and others for the Protestants, seditiously endeuoured to doe rash and turbulent things, labouring with all haste to mary ELIZABETH to *Edward Courtney*, Earle of *Deuon-shire*. She, as being guilty hereof, is thrust into prison: first of all vncertaine rumors are dispersed, that she was a partaker of sedition, thereupon many are brought in question for their heads, and others brought to the Racke. *Croft*, with a religious asseueration openly affirmed, that she was no way guilty, and out of all offence for sedition. *Wyat* also, it was thought, (who was ready to vnder-goe his last punishment) would haue accused her, and hee openly professed the same: Neuertheless she is put into the hands of Keepers, who hurry her this way and that way, at length her Seruants and Maides are laide in fetters; harder dealing then her dignity deserued.

They persecute her.

In the meane time, the *French* King, *Henry* the second, by priuate Letters, full of loue, comforts her, and by many and great promises seekes to draw

The Kings of France & Spaine comforte her.

draw her into *France*; whether for loue, or by deceit to beget her a greater danger, I will not say, to make way to the Queene of *Scots* his Neece to the Crowne of *England*, after Queene MARY. In like manner, *Christian* the Third, King of *Denmarke*, who long before made profession of the Protestants Religion, endeuours all he can, and treates vnder-hand to marry her to *Frederick* his Sonne.

Which when the Papists of *England* perceyued, they againe threaten perill and mischiefe, and fearing her, cry out, that all of the Romane Religion, Queene and Kingdome, are in ieopardy while shee subsists, therefore necessarily to condemne her, eyther *Læsæ Maiestatis*, or as a depraued Heretique: and during that storme, whilest cruelty was rigorously exercised vpon the meaner sort of Protestants, *I. Storie*, Doctor of the Law, and others, cunningly giue it out in all places, in seuerall assemblies, that they vnderstood it was practising to extirpate and ridde out Heresie (ayming at her) without sparing the smallest branches. Notwithstanding, moderating her selfe (imitating the Mariner when a storme violently increaseth) heard diuine Seruice, according to the rule of the Romish Church, came often to Confession, and verily beeing oft rudely and churlishly disturbed by Cardinall *Pole*, the terrour of death made her confesse her selfe to bee a Romane Catholique. Howbeit

Shee is for feare of death constrained to follow the Romish Religion.

MARY hardly beleeued it, not forgetting that herselfe, being forced by the same apprehension, had by Letters written to her Father with her owne hand (which I haue seene) renounced for euer the authority that the *Pope* pretended to haue in *England*, and acknowledged her Father to be [*Soueraigne Head of the Church of England*] and that the marriage betwixt him and her Mother was incestuous and vnlawfull. Neyther could the *Cardinall*, and other Prelates, perswade themselues to it, who to assure the Romane Church, wished her to be taken out of the way. But *Philip*, MARY's Husband, and other *Spaniards*, being more iust on ELIZABETHS behalfe, would not heare of that; Not that the fortune of an afflicted Princesse mooued them so much to mercy, as their owne reason circumspectly aduised them. Because (fore-seeing) if ELIZABETH were cut off, that by *Marie*, Queene of *Scots*, (next Heire to the Kingdome of *England*, now married to the *Dolphin* of *France*,) *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, might be ioyned to the Scepter of *France*; then which, nothing could be more fearefull to the greatnes of *Spaine*, with whom they haue continuall warres.

They goe about to send her out of the Kingdome, and exclude her from the succession thereof.

When therefore without impietie they could not put ELIZABETH to death, many thought it would be most aduisedly done, to remooue her farre from *England*, and marry her to *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of

of *Sauoy*. Neyther did this pleaſe *Spaine*, who before had purpoſed her for *Charles* his ſonne. And *Thomas Cornwallis*, who was of the Queenes Councell, likewiſe diſſwaded it, telling Her, that the people of *Englād* would hardly beare it, yea in no wiſe ſuffer it, that the next Heire of the Kingdome ſhould be carryed away into a forreine Countrey: At which time, MARY, for her inueterate hatred to ELIZABETH, and becauſe ſhee refuſed to marry with *Sauoy*, grew to that heat of anger, that ſhee ouer-charged her with reproaches, and often-times would not ſtick to ſay, that *Marie*, Queene of *Scotland* was the certaine and vndoubted Heire of the Kingdome of *England*, next to her ſelfe. Theſe conſultations holden againſt ELIZABETH, were taken away by a warre which MARY denounced in the behalfe of her Husband againſt *France*, which although that was the prime and principall cauſe, ſhee neuertheleſſe alledged others, and thoſe moſt true, *viz.* That *France*, againſt the Lawes of couenant, had nouriſhed and ſuſtained by his Agents and miniſters, the Rebellions of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and *Tho Wyat*, the machinations and workings of *Dudley* and *Aſhton* againſt her perſon, ſent out Pyrats againſt the *Engliſh* Merchants, furniſhed *Stafford* with Ships and Armes to poſſeſſe the Caſtle of *Scarborough*, had attempted by wicked practices to ſurprize *Callais*, permitted *Engliſh* mony

to be counterfeited and adulterated in *France*, and inuaded the Low-Countries, which the *English* by couenant are bound to defend. In this flaming warre, and the *Scots* stirred vp by the *French* inuading the Frontiers of *England*, *Calais* is lost, the Castles of *Lubanck*, *Newnambrig*, *Mere*, *Oyes*, *Hammes*, *Sandgate*, the Castle and Towne of *Guinss*, and amongst the frequent Funerals of Prelates, which sad presage seemed to fore-shew the displeasure of the diuine power, MARY., neglected of her Husband, and with concocted griefe for the losse of *Callais*, (which had beene *Englands* rightfully two hundred yeeres) with a Feuer and the Dropsie, the seuenteenth day of Nouember 1558. departed, hauing reigned fiue yeeres & foure moneths: A Princesse of a holy behauior to al, her piety to the poore, liberalitie to the Nobles, and Clergie, can neuer enough be prayſed. But, the time was infamous, by the incredible crueltie of Prelates, who polluted *England* through all parts, with a most sad & dreadfull spectacle, in burning the Protestants aliue. For (as some haue obserued) there were more consumed of all rankes, Bishops, Ministers, and common people, by this vengible and direfull way of death these fiue yeeres, than *England* saw in all the seuen and thirtie yeeres of HENRY the Eighth.

Calais lost.

Qu. Mary dies:

In the reigne of *Iohn*, Christians against Christians with vs, began to tyrannize with flames. The same

same day that MARY dyed, within a few houres after, Cardinall *Pole*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, tormented with a quartane Feuer, expired. A man whom pietie, learning, and integritie, had made much more famous than the splendor of his Royall Race, though hee was Nephew to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*.

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FINIS.

THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST High, Mighty, and Inuincible Princesse, Queene ELIZABETH, of most happy and neuer-dying memory:

OR

ANNALLS

Of all the most remarkable things that happened during her blessed Raigne ouer the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, &c.

The first yeere of her Raigne, Anno 1558.

After that for certaine houres, the decease of Queene MARY had beene concealed, the Peeres, Prelates and Commons of *England*, being at that time assembled together in Parliament: First, notice was giuen to them of the vpper house, which were in a manner strucke silent with griefe and astonishment for a while. But they presently after rowzed vp their

Queene Maries death is knowne.

ke 1. 1558.

spirits and amazed senses, moderating their mournings with ioy, either not to seeme altogether sad, or sorrowfull, that Queene ELIZABETH succeeded the Crowne; or else ioyfull, that by the death of Queene MARY, the succession thereof fell to her Maiesty: so they bent their cares to publike affaires, and with a common accord and firme resolution, concluded and agreed, that by the law of succession in the 35. yeere of King HENRY the eighth, ELIZABETH was, & ought to be declared true and legitimate Heire of the Kingdome. Therefore at that instant *Nicholas Heath*, Lord Archbishop of *Yorke*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, carried the first newes to those of the Lower-house, giuing them to vnderstand, with much sorrow and sighs, that death preuenting the course of nature, had depriued them of a Queene, no lesse fauourable to the Roman Religion, then kinde and louing to the Common wealth, and that each member of the Vpper-house had receiued such extreme griefe thereby, that they seemed to be comfortlesse, without hope of consolation, if God (through his speciall grace & fauour towards the English Nation) had not reserued for them ELIZABETH, another Daughter to King HENRY the 8. to succeed her Sister, and that her right to the Crowne was so euident and true, that no man could, nor ought to make any doubt or question thereof, and that the Peeres and Prelates of this Realme had all, with one accord and voice determined, that she should be forthwith publisht Queene, and proclaimed Soueraigne, if they were so pleased to condescend thereunto. Which words being scarce vttered, the whole Assembly immediatly, with a common acclamation cryed aloud, GOD SAVE QVEENE ELIZABETH, *that her Raigne may be long and happy.* And immediatly, the whole Parliament rising, she was openly proclaimed Queen by sound of Trumpets (first in *Westminster-Hall*; and then soone after, thorow the whole City of *London*) by the title of Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and Defendresse of

Queene Elizabeth is proclaimed Queene by the Kings & Heraulds of Armes.

of the faith, with the happy applauſe and ioyfull ſhouting of all the people (vndoubted preſages, truly moſt happy) for indeed no Prince was euer cheriſht of his people and Subiects with more ardent and conſtant loue, and zealous affection, then this Queene was, nor none receiued and welcommed with more reſpect and ioy, then ſhe hath beene, nor bleſſed and prayed for with more vowes and prayers, ſo often iterated, as this happy Princeſſe hath beene all her life time: chiefly, when ſhee ſhewed her ſelfe in publike, or openly abroad.

Queene ELIZABETH was about fiue and twenty yeeres of age when her Siſter died. But ſhe was ſo rarely qualified by aduerſity, and ſo well accompliſht and accommodated by experience (which are moſt effectuall Tutors) that ſhe had purchaſed Prudence and Iudgement, farre aboue the capacity of her age, and of her pregnant wit and admirable wiſdome: ſhe gaue ſufficient proofe and worthy teſtimony in the election and choice that ſhee made of her Priuie Councellors; for ſhe tooke into her Priuie Councell, the aforeſaid *Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, a Prelate no leſſe prudent, then modeſt and diſcreet, *William Poulet*, Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, Lord high Treaſurer of England, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earle of *Arundel*, *Francis Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*, *William Herbert*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Edward*, Baron of *Clynton*, Lord high Admirall, The Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlaine, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *Iohn Maſon*, Sir *Richard Sackuile*, Knights, and *Nicholas Wotton*, Deane of *Canterbury*. All which had beene Priuie Councellors to Queene MARY, and profeſſing her owne Religion. Shee adioyned to them by temporizing (according to the time) theſe vndernamed (who were all Proteſtants, and had had no office at all) nor charge of gouernment in Queene MARIES Raigne) *William Parr*, Marqueſſe of *Northampton*, *Francis*, Lord *Ruſſell*, Earle of *Bedford*, *Thomas Parr*, *Edward Rogers*,

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Her Maieſtie makes choice and election of a priuie Councell.

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Ambrose Caue, *Francis Knollys*, and *William Cicill*, who before had beene Secretary to King EDVVARD the sixth, a noble Gentleman, most wise, vnderstanding and iudicious, whose learning and worth exceeded many others: and a little after she brought in Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom she made Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England*. She so ordered and tempered them in place with all those which succeeded since in such sort, that they were true, faithfull, and affectionate to her Maiesty, and she alwaies free, and not subiect to any.

Maiesty hath a chiefe care at all first to re-establish the true Religion.

At these happy beginnings, her first and chiefest care was, to re-establish the Protestant Religion: the which, as much by the instruction and knowledge that shee had receiued thereof from her infancy, as also by her owne particular iudgement, she firmely held and maintained to be very true, and most conformable to the holy Scripture, and to the sincerity of the primitiue Church, & so effectually resoluing in her heart to settle and re-establish the same, that she imployed to that purpose some of her Councellors, being the most intimate: & with the rest of the other Lords of her most honorable Priuy-Councel, she tooke order that the Ports & Hauen-Townes should be fast shut, secured, and fortified. The Tower of London, she committed to the care of one, whose fidelity and loyalty had been fully approued; a new Commission she sent to *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex*, Lord Deputie of *Ireland* who with a Garrison of three hundred and twenty Horse, and one thousand, three hundred and sixty foot, yeelded in submission the whole Countrey, which otherwise had not bin quiet nor peaceable. Also, the like Commission shee sent, with a clause or restraint, not to conferre any office to Iudges and Magistrates, for to hinder the Conuocation of the Assembly of the iurisdiction by the authority there appointed. New Iustices and Sheriffes shee likewise established in each County, and tooke order, that no money nor coine should be transported by exchange out of the Realme to forraine Nations beyond Sea; and that the Preachers should desist and abstaine

Ordaines settles Iudges and Magistrates.

from

from treating of questions, or disputing about Controuersies in Religion, and withall, concerning State-affaires out of the Kingdom, she gaue order that Ambassadors should be sent to all Christian Princes, to let them vnderstand Queen MARY's decease. She therefore appointed and sent with all speed to the Emperour *Ferdinando*, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, with letters of her owne hand-writing, by which shee gaue him notice of her Sisters death; and that first, by Gods speciall grace, next, by her hereditary right, and through the generall loue and consent of all her Subiects, she succeeded these her Crownes and dignities. And that now she desired nothing more than to maintaine the loue, and to encrease the ancient amitie, which of long time had beene betweene the Houses of *England* and *Austria*. To the King of *Spaine*, who at that time was in the Low-Countries, she also sent Ambassador the Lord *Brook*, Baron of Cobham, with the like Embassage and Commission, by which shee of new imployed and delegated the Earle of *Arundell*, *Turlbey*, Bishop of *Ely*, and L. *Wotton*, who before had beene delegated, and appointed by Queene MARY for the treatie of peace in the Citie of *Cambray*: and adioyned to them *W. Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*. She also secretly sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* Ambassadour to the Princes of *Germany*, to inflame them in the zeale of Gods pure Religion. To the King of *Denmarke*, *D. B.* was sent Ambassador: and to the Duke of *Holsatia*, also *Armigild Waade*.

Booke 1558. *Her Maiestie takes great care for forraine affaires.*

Philip King of *Spaine*, hearing of the death of Queen MARY, fearing one way to lose the title of King of *England*, and the force of that Realme, which were vnto him most vsefull and profitable, and likewise that the kingdomes of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, should be vnited to the Crowne of *France*, by the meanes of the high and mighty Princesse, the Queene of *Scotland*, hee therefore treats seriously of a match with Queene ELIZABETH, with promise to obtaine a speciall dispensation from the *Pope*. And to that effect imployed the Earle of *Ferie*, who had visited her MAIESTIE, by the like

Queene Elizabeth is earnestly solicited to marriage with Philip King of Spaine her Sisters Widdower.

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like meanes as he had done Queene MARY in her sicknesse. This Sutor puts Queene ELIZABETH into great anxiety and perplexity, considering how inconsiderate and ingratefull her Maiestie might seeme to be in refusing a Christian Prince, who had already obliged her in other things much, but yet more in this, as to seeke her to his wife, through his owne free desire and motion.

The French King likewise was in an extasie, considering how important and dangerous it was to *France*, if *Spaine* her enemy should vnite & adioyne to his kingdoms, the Realmes of *England* and *Ireland*: therefore hee vseth his best endeuours at *Rome*, by the intermission of the Bishop of *Angoulesme*, to hinder the grant of such dispensation, shewing to that end, that Queene ELIZABETH was held for Supportresse of the Protestant Religion, and (rather than faile) went about to declare her illegitimate: But all this most secretly and closely, for feare to irritate *England*, before that his affaires were throughly well settled. The Earle of *Ferie* contrariwise, on the other side, labours as hard to bring this marriage to passe, and to that end giues the English Papists to vnderstand, (who were dispersed throughout all parts of the Realme) that it was the sole and onely way left for them to preserue their Religion, and defend their ancient dignities and honours: and that if they should contemne it, hee could not but deplore the misery and calamity of *England*, as being out of money, vnprouided of men trained vp, and vnskild in the military discipline, void of fortification, and lacking munition and garrisons for Warre, and her Councellors of State depriued likewise of good aduice. And indeed to speake truely, *Englands* affaires were at that time in a most miserable case, and lamentable state: for *England* had warre on the one side with *Scotland*, and on the other side with *France*; and was in a manner vndone by those debts that King HENRY the Eighth, and King EDWARD the Sixt had run into, and her treasury was exhaust and empty, and the Town of *Callais* had

had beene but newly loſt, and the whole Countrey of *Oyes*, with all the munition and furniture of warre. The people here were diuided into contrarieties, through differency of religion, and the Queene left without any powerfull friend to aſſiſt her; hauing no alliance at all abroad with forrain Princes.

Book 155

But when as her Maieſtie had more ſeriouſly agitated her ſpirit, and carefully conſidered in her minde the propoſition of this match, ſhee findes the holy Scripture expreſſely inioyning, that no woman ought to ioyne with him who had beene her ſiſters Husband, no more than it is lawfull for a man to marry his brothers widdow; and therefore that ſuch marriages were directly illegitimate, and wholly forbidden by Gods Law; although the *Pope* ſhould neuer ſo much grant a Diſpenſation. And moreouer, that if ſhe ſhould contract it by vertue thereof, ſhee ſhould acknowledge and proue her ſelfe illegitimate, ſith ſhee was iſſued from the match that King HENRY her father had contracted, after his diuorcing and putting away *Katherine* of *Spaine*, for hauing beene his brothers wife, which neuertheleſſe had beene approued iuſt and lawfull, according to the Diuine Law by all the Academies of Chriſtendome, and likewiſe the Synod of *London*, as well as that of *Katherine*, vniuſt and vnlawfull. Her Maieſtie therefore endeuours to ſtop, preuent, and hinder by little and little the courſe of King *Philips* ſuite, by an honeſt anſwer, truely modeſt, and well-beſeeming the chaſte integrity of her conſtant virginity, and chiefly grounded vpon ſcruple of her conſcience. But he, notwithſtanding all this, ſurceaſed not his ſuite, but perſiſted therein, vrging her with feruent and frequent Letters: By which ſhee obſerued the manners and behauiours of ſo great a King, compounded with grace and graue modeſty, and truely worthy his Maieſtie, the ſaid Letters being much by her admired, in the often publiſhing of them; yea, her Maieſtie taking pleaſure to imitate them, vntill ſome Nobles of her Court began to defame

Her Maieſtie refuſed to marry with the King of Spaine.

The reason why.

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defame and speake against the matchlesse pride and practices of the Spaniards. Also, some of the intimate Lords and fauorites of her Maiesties Priuy-Councell, fearing lest the tender and young spirit of a Maide, often moued, might easily condescend to their desires, told to her MAIESTIE secretly, that both her Maiestie, and friends, with the whole Realme of *England*, were vndone, if in such Dispensations, or in any thing else whatsoeuer, she should giue any credit, or make the least estimation of the *Popes* authoritie and power, since that two of them had declared and published her Mother illegitimate, and vnlawfully ioyned in wedlocke with King HENRY the Eighth. Also, that by vertue of such Declaration, the most high and most mighty Princesse the Queene of *Scotland* should pretend right to the Crownes of *England*, &c. and that the *Pope* would neuer retract nor goe from that iudgement, and that her Maiestie should not expect nor looke for any thing good or iust from the *Popes* hand, who had beene enemies, and shewed themselues vniust both towards her Maiestie, and her Mother: And that the French King laboured hard, vsing his vtmost power and best endeuours at the *Popes* Court in *Rome* for to cause the high and mighty Princesse *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, to be acknowledged and declared Queene of *England*; yet Queene ELIZABETH neuer intended nor meant in her heart to match with the King of *Spaine*, being quite contrary to her vertueus disposition; hauing a feruent desire and settled resolution to ground and aduance the true Protestant Religion, to which shee was most zealous. Therefore deeming that shee could not vndertake or vphold a worthier thing, more agreeable to God, nor more efficacious for to quench the flames of the pretended loue of so importunate a Sutor, then to labour to procure an alteration of Religion with all possible meanes and speede which could be, not doubting in so doing to alter likewise the will and intent of King *Philip*: Whereupon and forthwith her Maiesty consulted and tooke aduice with her most intimate and

and sincere Priuy Councellors, how in abolishing the Roman Religion, she could conueniently settle, in stead of it, the true Catholike and Christian Faith, and examining what dangers might succeed and happen thereby, and how they could be preuented and auoyded: who fore-see and iudge what dangers could be procured either out of the Kingdome, or within the Realme: without, either by the Pope, who surely would not misse (raging with his excommunications) to expose the Realme as a prey to whosoeuer could inuade it: Or by the French *King*, who taking such opportunity at the occasion, by that would slake and delay the Treatise of Peace, which was already begun in the City of *Cambray*: or else, and rather in the behalfe of the Royall Queene of *Scotland*, would declare open war with *England*, vnder colour of Enemies, and Heretiques, and would possesse thereunto *Scotland* to condiscend to it, which at that time was at his command and disposing: Or by the *Irish*, who were most addicted to Papistry, and much apt and giuen to rebellion; or by the King of *Spaine*, who was then most mighty and powerfull in the *Netherlands*, *Englands* neighbouring Countries.

Vpon this, throughly and well considered, they first resolue: that for the Popes excommunication, her Maiestie should not feare, accounting it but as a brutish rage and fury, and that if a Peace was offered by the French *King*, it was behoofefull and requisit to entertaine it; if not, to seek it by all meanes, because in it, it would cōprehend the loue of *Scotland*, yet neuertheless not to forsake or disparage any kinde of waies, the Protestants of *France* and *Scotland*. Also, that it was requisite to fortifie and strengthen the Towne and Garrison of *Berwicke*, with the rest of the Frontires of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and by all meanes possible to increase and maintaine such formal loue, and the ancient alliance with those of *Burgundie*.

Within the Realme: first, by such Nobles who had bin

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Booke I. 1558.

deiected from the Queenes Priuy Councell; next, by such Bishops and Church-men, who should be degraded and put out of their benefices and places; and after, by those Iustices of the peace, that were for each County: as also, by the common people, who vnder Queen MARIES raigne were most affectionate to the Roman Church. Therefore they deemed and thought good, first, to depriue such of their offices, and reprehend them by the seuerity of Laws, as Queene MARY had formerly vsed the Protestants: and therefore, to admit and institute, in each place and office of command, the Protestants onely, and to settle them in euery Colledge of both Vniuersities, and by the like meanes to discharge and turne out all Papists-Professors, and Rectors there, and also such Schoole-masters and Tutors of *Winchester*, *Æton*, and other free Schooles: and for those, who being possest onely of a desire of Change, (though Protestants) had begun to inuent a new Ecclesiasticall Policie, that it was likewise requisit to reprehend them in time: and to suffer and tolerate but one and the selfe-same Religion through the whole Realme, for feare that diuersities of Religion should kindle seditions betwixt & among the people of *England*, being a warlike Nation, both couragious and generous. Therefore speciall charge and care was giuen to Sir *Thomas Smith*, a worthy Knight, truely iudicious and wise, also to the noble Gentlemen, *M. Parker*, Master *Bill*, Master *Coxe*, Master *Grindall*, Master *Whitehead*, and Master *Pilkinton*, (who all were most learned and temperate) for the correcting of the *Liturgie*, which had been before penned and published in English in King EDWARD the Sixt's raigne, without making any more priuy thereunto, but the Lord Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earle of *Bedford*, *I. Gray* of *Pyrg*, and *Cecil*.

The Queene rebukes, and reprehends

But certaine Ministers, impatient of delay, by the length of time which ranne and past away in these things, desiring rather to runne before good Lawes, than to expect them,

them, in their feruent zeale began to preach the Gospell of Christs true Doctrine, first, priuately in houses, and then, openly in Churches: at which, the Commons, curious of nouelties, ranne thither, and whole flockes of people resorted to their hearing, from all parts and places, in great multitudes, contesting so earnestly one with another (the Protestants against the Papists) vpon questions of controuersies in Religion, that, for to preuent tumults and seditions, and also the occasions of further quarrels and strifes, the Queenes most excellent Maiestie was, as it were, compelled of necessity to defend expressely by strict Proclamation to all in generall, not to dispute any more, nor enter into any such questions: yet notwithstanding, giuing full leaue and authoritie to reade to her people the holy Gospell, and the Epistles and Commandements, (but not as yet to make any explication thereof) and to haue the Lords Prayer, the Apostolicall Creede, and the Letanie in the vulgar tongue. And for the rest, shee ordained the Romane stile to be obserued, vntill that, by the authoritie of a Parliament, the whole forme of Gods Diuine Seruice should be settled, and of new instituted: and in the meane while, her Maiestie solemnized Qu. MARIES Funerall; which glorious preparation made then a most magnificent show, in *Westminster*: and shortly after, shee payed to *Charles* the Fifth his honours, who two yeares afore (rare example of all *Cæsars*, and more glorious than all his victories) in conquering himselfe, had renounced his Empire, withdrawing himselfe from this mortall life, to liue for euer wholly with God.

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Book 1.
1559.

THE SECOND YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1559.

Queene Elizabeth re-establisheth and creates diuers Nobles.

AT the beginning of this yeere, Queene ELIZABETH re-established, and restored of new, *W. Parr* to the dignity of Marquis of *Northampton*, who vnder Queene MARIES raigne had beene degraded of that honour.

Her Maiesty also reconferred the Barony of *Beauchamp*, and Earledome of *Hartford*, vnto *Edward Seymor*, a noble Gentleman, who by the force of a priuat Law, the malice and enuy of his aduersaries, had beene depriued of the greatest part of his Patrimony, and Ancestors honours. Her Maiestie likewise honoured with the Title of Viscount *Bindon*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, second sonne to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, (who was father to the gracious Princesse *Frances* Dutchesse of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, now

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now liuing.) Moreouer, her Maiestie created Sir *Henry Carie*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, who was allyed to her Maiesty by the Lady *M. Bullen*; and that Noble Gentleman, *Oliuer Saint Iohn*, shee made Baron of *Bletso*, who all were free from the Popish Religion. After this, her Maiesty is conuayed in pompe and Royall Magnificency, from the Tower of London to Westminster, thorow the Citie of *London*, with incredible applause, and generall acclamations, (which, as her Maiestie was equally venerable, in sight and hearing, increased meruailously) and the next morning, her Maiestie was there inaugurated with the right of her Ancestors, and anoynted by *Owen Oglethorpe*, Bishop of *Carlile*, when as the Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, and diuers other Prelates, had refused the performance of that duty, through a suspicious feare of the Roman Religion; conceiued partly, because her Maiesty had beene brought vp from the Cradle, in the Protestant Religion: and partly also, that she had a little before, forbidden a Bishop (at the Diuine Seruice) from lifting vp and adoring the Hoste: and likewise permitted to haue the Letany, Epistles & the Gospell in English, which they held as execrable: Yet Queen ELIZABETH was truely godly, pious, and zealously deuoted: for her Maiestie was not so soone out of her bed, but fell vpon her knees in her priuate Closet, praying to God deuoutly: Certaine houres were by her Maiestie reserued and vowed to the Lord. Moreouer, her Maiestie neuer failed any Lords day and holy day to frequent the Chappell; neither was euer any Prince conuersant in Diuine Seruice, with more deuotion, then her sacred Maiestie was. Shee zealously heard all the Sermons in Lent, beeing attyred in blacke, and very diligently gaue attention thereunto, according to the ancient vse and custome, although shee said & repeated oftentimes, that which she had read of HENRY the third, her Predecessor, that her Maiestie had rather in her Prayers speake to God deuoutly, then heare others

On Wednesday the 23. day of Nouemb. Queene Elizabeth rode from Hatfield vnto the Charterhouse, to the Noble Lord NORTHS House, where her Maiesty lay fiue dayes, and rode in open Charet, from the Lord NORTHS House, along Barbican, entring into the City at Cripple-Gate.

and so came to the Tower, from thence to Westminster, where she was inaugurated.

Booke I.

1559.

Q. Elizabeths opinion concerning sacred things. She calls a Parliament, which is held the second yeere of her reigne.

speake of Him eloquently. And concerning the Crosse, our blessed Lady, and the Saints, she neuer conceiued irreuerently of them, neither spake her selfe, nor suffered any others to speake of them, without a certaine kinde of Reuerence.

Within few dayes after, there was a Parliament held, in which was enacted by a generall consent: First, that Queen ELIZABETH was and ought to bee, both by the Diuine and Ciuill Law, and the Statutes of this Realme, (and as I may vse their proper termes and forme) the lawfull, vndoubted, and direct Queene of *England*, rightly and lawfully descending from the Royall Blood, according to the order of succession; which was likewise formerly enacted by Parliament, in the fiue and thirtieth yeere of King HENRIE the Eighth; yet neuertheless, that Law was not abolished, by which her Father excluded both her and her Sister MARY, from succeeding him in the Crowne: And therefore it was thought by some, that the Lord *Bacon*, vpon whom her Maiesty relyed, as an Oracle of the Law, had forgotten himselfe, and was destitute in that particular of his wonted Prudencie, in not foreseeing the euent: and especially, because the Duke of *Northumberland* had obiected the same both against her Sister MARY, and her selfe; and to that end Queen MARY had abolished it, in as much as concerned her selfe. At which time, there were some that drew against her Maiestie most dangerous inuectiues and conclusions, in such manner as if she had not bin lawfull Queene, although the Lawes of *England* many yeere agoe determined, *Que la Couronne vnefois prinse oste toute sorte de defaults*. That the Crowne once possessed, cleareth and purifies all manner of defaults or imperfections. But many, on the other side, commended the wisdome of the Lord *Bacon* therein, as vnwilling, in regard of such confusion of the Lawes and Acts, to open a wound already closed vp with the Time: For, that which made for Queen

ELIZABETH

ELIZABETH, seemed to tend to the shame and disgrace of Queene MARY. And therefore shee held her selfe to the Law made in the fiue and thirtieth yeere of King HENRY the Eighth, who restored and vpheld, in a certaine manner, each of their Honours.

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Propositi to reform Religion.

Afterwards, there was in the Parliament likewise propounded, that forasmuch as concerned the Crown of *England*, and the ancient iurisdiction in Ecclesiasticall matters, should be re-established, with the Lawes of King HENRY the Eighth, against the Sea of *Rome*; and of EDVVARD the Sixth, in the behalfe of the Protestants, which Queene MARY had vtterly abolished; ordaining, That all Iurisdictions, Priuiledges, and Spirituall Prehemineances, which heretofore were in vse, and appointed by Authority, for to correct Errours, Heresies, Schismes, Abuses, and other Enormities in Ecclesiasticall Affaires, should for euer remaine as vnited to the Crowne of *England*; and that the Queenes Maiestie with her successors, should likewise haue full power to appoint Officers by their Letters Patents, to execute this Authority: neuertheleſse, vpon this charge, that they should not define any thing to be hæreticall, but that which had beene declared such long agoe, by the holy and Canonicall Scriptures, or by the foure first Oecuminike Councels, or others, according to the true and naturall sense of the holy Scripture; or which should afterward in some Synod, by the authority of the Parliament, and approbation of the Clergie of *England*, be declared, That euery Ecclesiasticall Magistrate, and such as receiue pension out of the publike Treasure, to aduance and promote themselues in the Vniuersities, to emancipate Pupils, to inuest Domaines, or receiue seruants of the Royall House, were oblig'd by Oath, to acknowledge her Royall Maiestie, the sole and soueraigne Gouernour of the Realme (for as much as concerneth the Title of Soueraigne Head of the Church of *England*, it pleased her not) in all things, or causes as well

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The 18. of March.

well spirituall as temporall, all forraigne Princes and Potentates excepted, entirely excluded, to informe of any causes within the Lands of her obeysance.

But there were nine Bishops that sate the same day in the vpper House of Parliament, and opposed themselues, and were wilfully refractary against these Lawes (beeing then but foureteene aliue) namely, the Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishops of *London*, of *Winchester*, of *Worcester*, of *Landaff*, of *Couentrie*, of *Exceter*, of *Chester*, and of *Carlil*, with the Abbot of *Westminster*. And amongst the Nobility, there were none that gaue aduice that *England* should bee reduced againe to the vnity of the *Romane* Church, and obedience of the Apostolike Sea, except the Earle of *Shropshire*, and *Anthony Browne*, Vicount Montaigue; who, as I said here before, was in Queene MARIES Raigne, sent in Ambassage to *Rome*, by the States of the Kingdome, with *Thurbey*, Bishop of *Ely*; who by a feruent zeale of Religion, insisted sharpely, that it were a great shame for *England*, if she should retire so suddenly from the Apostolike Sea, vnto which it was but lately reconciled; and more danger, if by reason of such reuolt, it should be exposed (by the thunder of an Excommunication) to the rage of her enemies: That by order and authority of the States, hee had, in the name of the whole Kingdome of *England*, offered obedience vnto the Pope, and hee could not but acquite himselfe of this promise. And therefore he tryed and endeuoured to preuaile so much by Prayers, that they would not retyre or draw backe from the Sea of Rome, of which they held the Christian Faith, which they had alwaies kept. But when these things were brought to the Lower House, there were many more than in the vpper House, that consented ioyntly to these Lawes. Wherevpon the Papist, murmuring much, said, that of a deliberate purpose, they had elected the most part of the Deputies amongst the Protestants, aswell of the Shires, as of the Cities & Corporations;

tions, and that the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Arundell*, the most powerfull and mightyest amongst the Peeres, had industriously bribed the suffrages for the profit which they drew, or hoped to draw thereby.

Spirits then disagreeing for matters of Religion, by one and the same Edict, all persons were forbidden to speake irreuerently of the Sacrament of the Altar; and permitted to communicate vnder both species: And a Conference appointed against the last of *March*, betwixt the Protestants and the Papists, in which the States of the Land should bee present; and for the same, to keepe and hold elect, for the Protestants, *Richard Coxe*, *Whitehead*, *Edmund Grindall*, *Robert Horne*, *Edward Sandes*, *Edward Guests*, *Iohn Elmar*, and *Iohn Iewell*: For the Papists, *Iohn White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Rad. Bain*, of *Couentrie* and *Lichfield*, and *Thomas Watson* of *Lincolne*; Doctor *Cole*, Deane of Saint *Paul*; Doctor *Landgal*, Arch-Deacon of *Lewis*, Doctor *Harpesfield* of *Canterbury*, and Doctor *Chatsie* of *Middlesexe*. The Questions propounded, were these following: Of the celebration of the Diuine Seruice in the Vulgar Tongue: of the authority of the Church, for to establish or abolish Ceremonies, according as it is expedient, and of the Sacrifice of the Masse. But all this Disputation came to nothing; for after some conference, and writings deliuered from the one to the other side, and not agreeing vpon the forme of the disputing, the Protestants began to triumph, as obtayning the Victory, and the Papists to complaine of their hard vsage, for not beeing aduertised but a day or two before: and that Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the Lord Keeper (being a man little read in Theologie) and their great Enemie, sate as Iudge, although he was but meerely appointed for Moderator. But the truth is, that hauing thought more seriously vpon this matter; they durst not, without expresse order frō the Pope, call in question such high points which are not argued in the Church of Rome. And they

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They establish a Disputate betw. Protest. and Papists

The succe thereof.

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cryed of all sides, *When is it, that one shall knowe, what hee ought truely to beleeue, if it be alwaies permitted to dispute of Faith? Disputers of Religion alwaies returne to the Scepters, and such like things.* And the Bishops of *Lincolne* and *Winchester* were so offended with it, that they were of opinion, that the Queen, and those that had caused her to forsake the Church of Rome, should be excommunicated, and punished with imprisonment for it: But the wiser sort, that it must be left to the Iudgement of the Pope, for feare that those which were her Subiects, should not seeme, in doing this, to shake off their obedience due to their Princesse, and to display the Ensigne of Sedition. And that was not hidden to the Pope, who beeing also presently moued with Choller, commands Sir *Edward Carne* of Wales, a Ciuill-Lawier, who had beene Ambassad our at *Rome* for HENRY the Eighth, and MARY, and was then for Queene ELIZABETH, to quite this charge, and (to vse the same termes) *by the vigor or force of the commandement that was made vnto him, by the Oracle of the liuely voice of our most holy Lord the Pope, in vertue of the most holy obedience, and vpon paine of the greatest Excommunication, and losse of all his goods,* not to goe out of the Citie, but to take vpon him the administration of the Hospitall of the English: And did it, to hinder, that hee should not giue notice of the secret traines of the French, against Queene ELIZABETH, as he had done before, with a great care, for the loue he bore to his Countrey. Neuertheleſſe, some thought that this old man, voluntarily chose this exile, for the zeale he bore to the Roman Religion.

Sir Edward Carne is detained at Rome.

In the meane time, (I omit for a while the affaires of the Church and Parliament, to obserue the order of time) the Embassadours of *England* & *Spaine*, which treated of Peace in the Citie of *Cambray*, were in debate with the *French* about the restitution of *Calais*, but they could not in any manner obtaine it, although they should haue propounded

Disputes and strifes for the Towne of Calais.

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to quit the of three Millions of Gold, which *France* ought by lawfull obligation. The *Spaniard*, who otherwise altogether different from Peace, held the *English* side, and surely with as much trueth as honour, because the Queene had lost this Town by his occasion; & fore saw that it was expedient for *Flanders*, that it should be in their obedience. The *French* interrupted him, saying, that shee alone could not recompence the damages which the *English* had done them, their Townes beeing taken by the *Spaniards* by reason of their ayde; and many Borroughs in base *Brittaine* were sackt and burned; many Ships taken, and their Commerce or Traffique, which is the sinewes of War, broken: That they had disbursed infinite summes of money, to hinder their firings; that *Calais* was the ancient patrimony of *France*, and that if it had beene lost by Warre long agoe, it had also then beene recouered by Armes; therefore, that it ought not to be restored, and that the States of *France* had so resolued. That surrendring it, were, to put weapons into their Enemies hands, and withdraw for euer the Kings Subiects from his obedience: and therefore that it was an vniust thing for the *English* to demand it. The *English*, on the contrary, maintained, that they demanded it with reason and Iustice; because, say they, during one, yea, two ages, he had tooke *Englands* part, and that they had not onely conquer'd it by Warre, but that it was also falne vnto them by hereditary succession, and by cession made by vertue of the pactions and agreements, in exchanges of other places, which the Kings of *England* had likewise granted to them of *France*. That these damages ought not to be imputed to them, but to the Spaniards, who, against their will, had drawne and associated them in this Warre; in which, through the losse of well-fortified places, & the taking of many of their Captaines, they had receiued much more damage than the *French*, and had had no profit therby. That all that the States of *France* order or decree, is

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not reasonable, because it is only profitable; and that *Calais* could not be lawfully or iustly detayned, seeing that by the Conditions already agreed vpon, all the places that were taken in the late Warres, were restored vnto other Princes.

To which, the *French* replyed, that it was done in consideration of the marriages which ought to be contracted with the other Princes, and hereupon propounded to marry the first Daughter who should issue by the mighty Princesse *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, and the *Dolphin* of *France*; with the first Sonne that might be procreated by Queene ELIZABETH, to whom she should bring in dowry the Towne of *Calais*; and that for this cause, the Queene of *Scotland* should quit her right which shee had vnto the Kingdome of *England*; or otherwise, to marry the first Daughter which should be borne of Queene ELIZABETH, with the eldest Sonne that should descend from the Queene of *Scotland*: and hereupon the *English* should renounce the right which they pretend vnto the Realme of *France*, and the *French* should be discharged of all the debts they ought to *England*, and that *Calais* should in the meane time remaine in their hands. But these propositions being vncertaine for another time, they sought to win time, and increase the delayes, but were contemned by the *English*, who made as if they seemed not to haue heard them. As they stood vpon these termes, the *Spaniard* hauing aduice that Queene ELIZABETH did not onely breake the marriage which hee had offered her, but likewise changed many things in Religion, began to giue ouer the desire which he seemed to haue before the restitution of *Calais*; and his Ambassadours almost losing their patience, were somewhat of accord with the *French*: for the rest made account to continue the warres no longer for *Calais*, vnlesse the *English* would contribute more men and money as before, and would aduance it for fixe yeere.

This

This raised the heart of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, who assured the *Spaniards* that the Queen of *Scotland* his Niece was truely and vndoubtedly Queen of *England*, and therefore that the King of *Spaine* ought to imploy all his forces, if he made any account of iustice, to cause *Calais* to be deliuered into the hands of his Niece, the direct Queene of *England*. But the *Spaniards*, which suspected the power of *France*, not hearing that willingly, tryed secretly to draw out of *England* the Lady *Katherine Gray*, the yonger Niece of King HENRY the Eighth, for his Sisters sake, to oppose her to the Queene of *Scotland*, and the *French*, if Queene ELIZABETH should happen to decease, and to hinder thereby that *France* might not be augmented by the surcrease of *England* and *Ireland*; And strongly insisted, that there should be a Truce betwixt *England*, and *France*, vntill such time they should agree together, and that in the meane time *Calais* should be sequestred in the hands of the King of *Spaine*, as an Arbitrator of honour. But that was refused as much by the *French* as the *English*.

Queene ELIZABETH had well presaged that: for shee could not hope for any good from the *Spaniards* side, seeing that she had contemned and despised to marry with their King, and changed Religion. She also had knowledge, that the treatie of *Cambray* was not made for any other purpose, but to exterminate & roote out the Religion of the Protestants. And truely the consideration of her Sex, and the scarsitie of treasure, made her Maiesty finde, that peace was more to be wisht for than warre, though most iust. Also, it was her ordinary saying, that there was more glory in settling a peace by wisdome, than in taking vp armes to make warre; neither did shee thinke that it was beseeming either to her dignity, or to the dignity of the name of the *English*, to relye vpon the defence of the *Spaniard*. And she thought therefore, that it was better for her to make a peace aside and separably, and to go thorow

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A treaty of peace with the French King.

and conclude for *Calais* with the King of *France*, being sollicited thereunto by continuall Letters from the Duke of *Mont-morancy*, Constable of *France*, and the Duke of *Vandosme*, as also by message of the Duke of *Guise*, who sent the Lord *Gray* (who had beene taken prisoner at *Guienne*, and released to that end. And for to conclude this agreement, *B. Caualcance*, a Lord of *Florence*, was employed, who from his infancy had been brought vp in *England*, with whom the *French* King hauing conferred in secret, did hold that it should be safer to treat thereof by new Commissioners in such priuat Country-houses of the Kingdomes of *England* or *France*, that were of no great note. But Queene ELIZABETH being mooued, shewed her selfe to be of a manly courage, in declaring that shee was a Princesse absolutely free, for to vndergoe her affaires either by her owne selfe, or by her Ministers: and although that during the reigne of her Sister, nothing was concluded, but according to the *Spaniards* aduice, and that shee would neuertheless, without giuing him the least notice, or taking his counsell, dispatch these affaires betweene the Deputies of both sides, not in an obscure and priuate place, but openly in the Castle of *Cambresis*, neere *Cambrai*. This offended no lesse the *Spaniard*, than the refusall and contempt of his marriage with her Maiestie, with the alteration of Religion, had done heretofore. Neuertheless, the *French*, who was crafty and cunning enough, to discouer how she was affected to match with *Spaine*, prayed her Maiestie first of all to take away two scruples from them, before the yeelding of *Calais*; to wit, that they forsaking that Towne, before they were assured whom shee should marry, it might easily fall into the hands of the *Spaniard*, because that he would haue her Maiestie, if possible, vpon any condition, and that there is nothing so deare, but women will part with it to their beloued husbands: the other, whether, as the *Spaniards* boast, that the *English* haue such

The Castell in Cambresis.

such neere alliance with them, that they ought to ioyne in armes with them against all Nations whatsoeuer, to these it was answered, that her Maiestie bore such motherly affection toward the Kingdome of *England*, that she would neuer part with *Calais*, for to fauour a husband, and that although her Matie shold grant it, yet *England* would neuer suffer it. Moreouer, that betwixt her Maiesty, and *Spaine*, there was not any such alliance, but a meere forced amitie, and that her Maiesty was most free for any contract with any Prince which might be commodious and beneficiall to *England*. Vpon this, it was thought good and expedient, that the Commissioners of each part should equally vse their vtmost endeuours in the Castle of *Cambray*, to agree all differences, and to conclude a peace. Therefore Queene ELIZABETH sent for *England*, as Commissioners, *Thurlbie* Bishop of *Elie*, the Lord *Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord high Chamberlaine to her Maiesty, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of the two Metropolitan Sees of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*. For the *French King*, *Charles* Cardinall of *Lorraine*, Archbishop and Duke of *Rheims*, the chiefest Peere of *France*, *Anne* Duke of *Mont-morancy*, Peere, Constable, and great master of *France*, Lord *Iames Aulbon*, Lord of Saint *Andrewes*, Marquis of *Fronsac*, and Lord Marshall of *France*, *Iohn* of *Moruillier*, Bishop of *Orliens*, and *Claude Aubespine*, Secretary of the Priuy-Councell of *France*. These ioyntly agreed and concluded such Articles as are heere set downe almost in the same words.

That none of these Soueraignes shall goe about to inuade each others Countries, nor giue assistance to any that should intend any such designe: if any of their Subiects should attempt any thing tending to that effect, they should be punished, and the peace thereby not infringed nor violated. The commerce should be free; and that the Subiects of each Prince, who haue ships of Warre, before they goe to Sea, shall giue sufficient caution not to robbe each others subiects. The fortifications

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Articles of Peace, made and agreed upon 'twixt the Queen Maiestie and the French King, Henry the second.

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tions of Aymouth *in Scotland shall be rayſed; that the French King shall enioy peaceably for the ſpace of eight yeeres,* Calais, *and the appurtenances thereunto; as alſo, ſixteene of the greateſt peeces of Ordnance; and that time being expired, hee ſhall deliuer it vp into the hands of Queene* ELIZABETH; *and that eight ſufficient Merchants, ſuch as are not ſubiects to the French King, ſhould enter into bond for the payment of fiue hundred thouſand crownes to be payed, if* Calais *were not reſtored, notwithſtanding the right of Queene* ELIZABETH *ſtill to remaine firme and whole; and that fiue Hoſtages ſhould bee giuen to her Maieſty, vntill ſuch time as theſe Cautions ſhould be put in, if, during that time, ſomething might be attempted or altered by Queene* ELIZABETH, *or her Maieſties Subiects, of her owne authority, command and approbation, by Armes directly or indirectly, againſt the moſt Chriſtian* French *King, or the moſt mightie Queene of* Scotland, *they ſhall be quitted, and diſcharged of all promiſe and faith plighted to that purpoſe; the Hoſtages and the Marchants ſhould be freeed: if either by the ſaid Chriſtian King, the Queene of* Scots, *or the* Dolphin, *any thing ſhould be attempted againſt the Queen of* England, *they ſhall bee bound to yeeld her the Poſſeſſion of* Calais, *without any further delay.*

A Peace is concluded & agreed vpon betweene the Queenes Maieſty and the Queene of Scotland.

At the very ſame time and place, and by the ſame Deputies, there was alſo a peace concluded betweene the Queen of *England*, and *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queene of the *Scots*: whereupon they brought vnto the *Engliſh* & *Scots*, certaine Articles, concerning the grant of ſafe conduct for thoſe who had ſpoiled and rob'd the Frontiers, and for the Fugitiues of the Countrey: About which, there being a meeting at *Vpſaltington*, betweene the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Cuthbert Tunſtall*, Biſhop of *Dunelme*, *Gu.* Lord *Dacre* of *Grilleſland*, and *Iac. Croſt*, Captaine of the Town and Caſtle of *Barwicke*, all *Engliſh-men*, on the one part: the Earle of *Morton*, the Lord of *Home*, and S. *Cler.* Deane of *Glaſco*, all *Scottiſh-men*, on the other part: They proclaimed

med thorowout all *England*, the Peace concluded between the Queene of *England*, the King of *France*, the *Dolphin*, and the Queene of *Scots*, which seemed very harsh vnto the people, and conceiued to be much dishonourable, in regard that *Calais* which they had lost, was not restored, the Protestants laying the fault vpon the Papists, and they vpon the *Baron Wentworth*, a Protestant, who hauing beene vnder the gouernement of Queene MARY, accused in that behalfe, and not brought to publique hearing, was againe taxed, and brought to iudgement, but vpon hearing, was freed by the sentence of the Peeres. But *Rad. Chamberlaine*, who had beene sometime Gouernour of the Castle of *Calais*, and *Iohn Hurleston* of the Fort of *Risbanc*, were adiudged to dye, as guilty *de lesa Maiestate*, for abandoning their places; howsoeuer their censure was remitted. The Parliament being ready to breake vp, those which were there, thought good to aduise the Queene, forthwith to marry, the great ones being vnwilling to yeeld to that, for feare lest some of them might be thought to make this proposition out of some hope which they might haue for themselues. Hauing then appoynted *Th. Gargraue*, Deputie of the Lower-house, to deliuer this message, he addresses himselfe to the Queene, with a few choyce men: Hauing first by way of preamble intreated admittance, and excusing himselfe with the graciousnesse of her Maiesty, and the importance of the affaires he had to deliuer, by this meanes procured audience, and in this manner spake vnto her

The Lord Baron Wentworth, and others, are called in question, and brought in compasse of the Law, concerning the losse of Calais.

The whole Parliament doe exhort Queene Elizabeth to marry.

ADAME:

There is nothing which wee continually begge at the hands of God with more ardent Prayers, than the perpetuity of that happinesse, which your

Thomas Gargraue's Speech made to her Maiesty to that purpose.

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your iust and vigilant gouernement hath hitherto procured vnto the English Nation. But wee cannot conceiue how this should alwayes continue, vnleſſe that (which wee cannot hope for) you ſhould continually reigne, or by diſpoſing your ſelfe to marriage, might leaue Children, which might inherite both your vertues and Kingdome together; the Almightie and good God ſo grant. This (MADAME) *is the ſimple and vnanime deſire of all the* Engliſh, *which is the conceit of all others: Euery one ought to haue a care of that place and eſtate hee hath, and Princes eſpecially, that ſithence they are but mortall, the Common-wealth might bee perpetuis'd in immortalitie. Now, this eternitie you may giue vnto the* Engliſh, *if (as nature, age, and your beauty requires) you would eſpouſe your ſelfe vnto a Husband, who might aſsiſt and comfort you, and, as a Companion, participate both in your proſperities and aduerſities. For queſtionleſſe, the onely aſsiſtance of an Husband, is more auayleable in the ordering of affaires, than the helpe of a great many ioyned together, and nothing can be more repugnant to the common good, than to ſee a Princeſſe, who by marriage may preſerue the Common-wealth in peace, to leade a ſingle life, like a Veſtal Nunne. Kings muſt leaue their Children their Kingdomes, which were left them by their Anceſtors, that by them they may be embelliſht, and be ſettled; and the* Engliſh *haue neuer had greater care, than to preſerue the Royall Houſe from defaut of Iſſue. Which is freſh in memory, when* HENRY *the Seuenth, your Grand-father, prouided marriage for* ARTHVR, *and* HENRY *his Children, being yet of tender yeeres; and how your Father procured in marriage for* EDWARD *his ſonne, hauing ſcarce attayned to eight yeeres of age,* Mary *the Queene of* Scots; *and ſithence, how* MARY *your Siſter, not*

with

withstanding shee was deepely strucken in yeeres, married Philip *the King of* Spaine. *So, as if the want of Issue be ordinarily giuen by* GOD *as a curse vnto priuate Families, how great an offence is it then in a Princesse, to be a voluntary author of it to her selfe, sithence so many miseries ensue thereby; that they must needes pester the Common-wealth with a multitude of calamities; which is fearefull to imagine? But,* MADAME, *wee, this small number of your Subiects, who heere humble our selues at your Maiesties feete, and in our persons, all* England *in generall, and euery English-man in particular, doe most humbly beseech, and with continuall sighs coniure your Maiestie, to take such order, that that may not be.*

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This is the whole summe of what he spake vnto her, with a great deale of eloquence, and more words.

To whom, in few words, shee answered thus;

Her Maiesties answ to them a

IN a thing which is not much pleasing vnto mee, the infallible testimonie of your good will, and all the rest of my people, is most acceptable. As concerning your instant perswasion of mee to marriage, I must tell you, I haue beene euer perswaded, that I was borne by God to consider, and, aboue all things, doe those which appertaine vnto his glory. And therefore it is, that I haue made choyce of this kinde of life, which is most free, and agreeable for such humane affaires as may tend to his seruice onely; from which, if eyther the marriages which haue beene offered mee by diuers puissant Princes, or the danger of attempts made against my life, could no whit diuert mee, it is long since I had any ioy in the honour

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of a Husband; and this is that I thought, then that I was a priuate person. But when the publique charge of gouerning the Kingdome came vpon mee, it seemed vnto mee an inconsiderate folly, to draw vpon my selfe the cares which might proceede of marriage. To conclude, I am already bound vnto an Husband, which is the Kingdome of England, *and that may suffice you: and this* (quoth shee) *makes mee wonder, that you forget your selues, the pledge of this alliance which I haue made with my Kingdome.* (And therwithall, stretching out her hand, shee shewed them the Ring with which shee was giuen in marriage, and inaugurated to her Kingdome, in expresse and solemne termes.) *And reproch mee so no more,* (quoth shee) *that I haue no children: for euery one of you, and as many as are* English, *are my Children, and Kinsfolkes, of whom, so long as I am not depriued,* (*and God shall preserue mee*) *you cannot charge mee, without offence, to be destitute. But in this I must commend you, that you haue not appoynted mee an Husband: for that were vnworthy the Maiestie of an absolute Princesse, and the discretion of you that are borne my Subiects. Neuertheleſse, if GOD haue ordayned mee to another course of life, I will promise you to doe nothing to the preiudice of the Common-wealth, but, as farre as possible I may, will marry such an Husband as shall bee no lesse carefull for the common good, than my selfe. And if I persist in this which I haue proposed vnto my selfe, I assure my selfe, that GOD will so direct my counsels and yours, that you shall haue no cause to doubt of a Successour: which may be more profitable for the Common-wealth, than him which may proceede from mee, sithence the posterity of good Princes doth oftentimes degenerate. Lastly, this may be sufficient, both for my memorie, and honour*

of my Name, if when I haue expired my last breath, this may be inscribed vpon my Tombe:

Here lyes interr'd ELIZABETH,
A Virgin pure vntill her Death.

And moreouer then this, they instituted in this Assembly of State, certaine Orders, to preuent any forcible attempt vpon the person of the Queene; to restore tenths, and first fruites to the Crowne, and to establish in euery Church an vniformity of publike Prayer, termed the *Letany*, and the forme of administring the Sacraments vsed vnder EDVVARD the Sixth, with very little alteration; with a penaltie vpon such as should deprauе them, or vsurpe any other then that forme: to attend Diuine Seruice, Sundayes and other holy dayes, vpon twelue-pence damage, to be imployed for the poore, for euery such default cõmitted. As also cõcerning seditious broyles against the Queen, the sale of Deaneries, all maritime Causes, the trafique for Cloth and Iron, mutinous and vnlawfull Assemblies: And (to omit the rest, sithence there is no order imprinted) things concerning the possessions of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops; intending, that they could neither giue, or farme out the Church-Liuings, but onely for the space of one and twentie yeeres, or for tearme of three liues, as they say, to any other person but the Queen and her successors, the reuenews of former Arrerages still reserued. So as this reseruation of the Queene, which onely tended to the benefit of her Court, who abused her bounty; and the Bishops, who were carefull enough for their own profit, continued still in force, vntill King *Iames* came to the Crown, who vtterly cut it off for the good of the Church. But there was no Act for it; howbeit in the former Parliaments of Kings there was often. Those who were restored to their

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goods and honour, were, *Greg. Finch*, *Baron Dacre*, and *Tho.* his Brother, whose Father was put to death vnder HENRY the Eighth; *H. Howard*, who was afterward Earle of *Northampton*, and his three Sisters, the children of *H. Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, who, about the death of King HENRIE the Eighth, had his head cut off for very small offences: *Ioh. Gray* of *Pirg.* brother to the Marquesse of *Dorset*: *James Croft*, and *H. Gates*, who were conuicted of Treason, *de lesa Maiestate*, vnder Queene MARIS Raigne, and diuers others.

The Lyturgie appointed in English.

The Parliament being dismist, the Lyturgie conceiued in the Vulgar tongue, was forthwith sent vnto all Churches; the Images, without any adoe, taken from the Temples, the Oath of Supremacy proposed vnto the Bishops, to the Papists, and other Ecclesiasticall professors, who for the most part had formerly lent vnder King HENRY the 8. and all that refused to lend, depriued of their Benefices, Dignities, and Bishopricks. But, certes, as themselues haue certified, in the whole Kingdome, wherein are numbred 9400. Ecclesiasticall Dignities, they could find but 80. Pastors of the Church, 50. Prebends, 15. Rectors of the Colledge, 12. Arch-Deacons, and so many Deanes, 6. Abbots, and Abbesses, and all the Bishops that were then in Seance, and were 14. in number, besides *Anthony*, Bishop of *Landaff* (who was the calamity of his Sea.) Also *N. Heath*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, who, for nothing, had voluntarily left the Chancellorship, & liued many yeeres after in a little house of his owne at *Cobham* in *Surrey*, seruing God, and studying good workes, and so acceptable to the Queene, that she refused not to visite him in that obscure place, with admirable courtesie. *Edward Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, who was sent Ambassador to the Emperour, the Pope, and the King of *France*; but such a one, as mixt his Authority with such a sharpnes of nature, that he was noted of diuers for cruelty, and kept prisoner the most part of his life. *Cuthbert Tunstal*

Papist Bishops deposed and discharged from their Benifices.

of

of *Durham*, a man most expert in Learning, possest of many honours within the Kingdome, besides, employ'd as Ambassadour abroad, in diuers waighty Affaires; contested rudely (being yet very young) against the primacy of the Pope, by a Letter written to Cardinall *Pole*: and being a little elder, dyed at *Lambeth*; where dyed also, *Th. Thurlbey*, Bishop of *Ely*, who had the honour to bee accounted most discreet in an Ambassage, sent to *Rome* to offer obedience to the Pope, and about the Treaty at *Cambray*. *Gilbert Bourn* of *Bath* and *Wels*, who had worthily deserued in his place. *Iohn Christopherson* of *Chester*, so vnderstanding in the Greeke Tongue, that hee translated diuers workes of *Eusebius* and *Philon*, to the great benefit of the Christian Common-wealth. *Ioh. White, de Winton*, generally learned, and reasonably qualified in Poetry, according to the fashion of the time. *Tho. Watson* of *Lincolne*, very pregnant in the acutest Diuinity, but somewhat in an austere graue manner. *Rad. Bain* of *Couentrie* and *Lichfeild*, who was one of the restorers of the Hebrew tongue, and chiefe professour of the same in *Paris*, vnder the Gouernment of *Francis* the first, vnder whom Learning beganne to flourish. *Owen Ogletharp* of *Carlile*: *Ia. Turberuile* of *Exceter*: and *D. Pole* of *Peterborough*: *Fequenham* the Abbot of *Benedictins*, a sage and good man, who liued long, and by his publique almes, wonne the heart of his Aduersaries, but was put by his place. All these were first imprisoned; but forthwith, for the most part, left to the guard, either of their friends, or the Bishops: except these two, more turbulent then the rest; the Bishop of *Lincolne*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, who threatned to excommunicate the Queene. But these three, *Cuthbert*, a *Scottish-man*, Bishop of *Chester*: *Richard Pat* of *Wigorne*: and *Tho. Goldwell* of *Asaph*, voluntarily forsooke the Countrey: in like maner, some religious, and afterward some Nobles, amongst whō, the most remarkable, were, *H.* Baron of *Morle*, *Inglesfeild*, and

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Other Protestants learned and zealous Diuines, are instituted Bishops in their places.

and *Peckham*, both whom were of the Priuie-Councell to Queene MARY, *Tho. Shelle*, and *Ioh. Gazd.*

The learned'st Protestants that could bee found, were prefer'd to the places of Bishops deceased, and of Fugitiues; and *Mat. Parker*, a godly, wise, and right modest man, who was one of the Priuie-Councell to King HENRY the 8. and Deane of the Colledge Church of *Stocclair*, beeing solemnly chosen Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, after preaching of the Word, calling of the holy Ghost, and celebration of the Eucharist, was consecrated by the imposition of hands of three ancient Bishops; *Gu. Barlo*, Bishop of *Bath*, *Ioh. Scor.* of *Chester*, *Miles Couerdall* of *Exceter*; *Ioh. Suffragant de Bedford*, *de Lambeth*: and afterward the same Bishops consecrated *Ed. Grindall*, a rare Diuine, Bishop of *London*: *Richard Coxe*, who was Tutor to EDVVARD the Sixth when he was a Child, of *Ely*: *Edward Sands*, an eloquent Preacher, of *Winchester*: *Rob. Merick*, of *Bangor*: *Tho. Yong*, a deepe professor in the Ciuill and Canonicall Law, of Saint *Dauids*: *N. Bolingham*, Conuocellour of the Law, of *Lincolne*: *Iohn Iewell*, absolutely iudicious in all liberall Science, of *Salisburie*: *Richard Dauis*, of *Asaph*: *Edward Guests*, of *Rochester*: *Gilbert Barde*, of *Bath*: *Thomas Bentham*, of *Couentrie* and *Lichfeild*: *Gu. Alle*, a pithy expounder of the holy Scripture, of *Exceter*: *Iohn Parkhurst*, a famous humanist, of *Norwich*: *Robert Horne*, of a hardie and copious spirit, of *Winchester*: *Richard Chesne*, of *Glocester*: and *Edw. Scamber*, of *Peterborough*: but they placed *Gu. Barlo*, Bishop of *Chester*, who, during the reigne of HENRY the Eighth, was Bishop of Saint *Dauids*, and afterward of *Wells*: & for B. of *Hereford* was appointed *Ioh. Scori*, a skilfull and iudiciall man, who was formerly Bishop of *Chichester*: in like maner in the Prouince of *Yorke*, *Yong* being transferred from his place of Saint *Dauids* to *Yorke*, consecrated *Ia. Pilkinton*, a most godly and learned man, Bishop of *Dunelme*: *Io. Best*, of *Carlile*, and *Gu. Downham*, of

of *Chester*. I leaue Ecclesiasticall Historians to relate what these men were, and what miseries they suffered vnder the Gouernment of Queene MARY, being either fugitiues in the *Low-Countries*, or hidden close in *England*.

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And forasmuch as Learned men were rare to be found, diuers Mechanicke Shop-keepers, as simple as the Papists Priests, attained vnto Ecclesiasticall Dignities, Prebends, and Benefices of good reuenue; which diuers Priests perceiuing, and hoping aboue all things, to expulse the Protestants out of their Churches, and by this meanes, to get something to relieue the necessities of such amongst them as were deposed, thought it most expedient, both for the aduancement of themselues and their Religion, to sweare obedience to their Princesse, in renouncing the Authority of the Pope, deeming this wisedome meritorious, and were in some hope, to procure from his Holinesse, according to his Iurisdiction, a Dispensation for his Oath.

By what degrees Religion was altered here.

Thus was Religion chang'd in *England*, all Christendome beeing amazed, that it could so easily bee effected without Sedition: But the truth is, that this change was not so suddenly made: neither can it (since it is so) be easily tolerated, but by little and little by degrees: For, summarily to repeat what I haue herevpon spoken: The *Romane* Religion continued in the same state it was first, a full Moneth and more, after the death of Queene MARY: The 27. of September, it was tolerated to haue the Epistles and Gospels, the ten Commandements, the Symbole, the Lettany, and the Lords Prayer, in the Vulgar Tongue: The 22. of March, the Parliament being assembled, the Order of EDVVARD the Sixth was re-established, and by Act of the same, the whole vse of the Lords Supper granted vnder both kinds: The 24. of Iune, by the authoritie of that which concern'd the vniformity of publike Prayers, and administration of the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Masse was abolished, and the Lyturgie in the

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English Tongue, more & more established. In the Moneth of Iuly, the Oath of Allegiance was proposed to the Bishops, and other persons; and in August, Images were thrown out of the Temples and Churches, and broken and burned. And because some malignant spirits, detracting from the Queene, as if shee had assumed vnto her selfe the Title of Chiefe Soueraigne of the Church of *England*, and authority to celebrate sacred Rites in the Church, she declared by Proclamation,

> *That she attributed no more vnto her selfe, then what did of long time belong to the Crowne of* England; *which was, that next vnder God, she had supreme Soueraignetie and power ouer all States of* England, *whether Ecclesiasticall or Laye, and that no other Forraigne Power, had, or could haue any Iurisdiction or authority ouer them.*

The profit which proceeds from change of Religion.

By this alteration of Religion, (as Politicians haue obserued) *England* became the freest Kingdome in all Christendome; because by this meanes, it had freed the Sceptre from forraigne slauery of the Pope of Rome: and most rich, because it preuented the great summes of mony, which were dayly transported to Rome, for First-fruites, Indulgences, Appellations, Dispensations, and such other like things; and thereby the Common-wealth was voide and depriued, beyond all imagination.

Her Maiesties diligent care to defend both the the true Religion and Common-Wealth.

The Protestants Religion being thus establisht by th'authority of of the Parliament, the first and principall care of Queene ELIZABETH was, to defend and maintaine it still sound and impregnable against all sort of machynation whatsoeuer, in the very middest of her Enemies, which, through this occasion, she had incurred against her; And shee would neuer endure to heare the least Newes at all. Her second care was, to maintaine equity all her life time, and

and in all her Actions: in token whereof, shee tooke this deuice vnto her selfe:

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Qu. Elizabeths Motto or Posey.

SEMPER EADEM.

ALWAYES ONE:

For her other designes, she concluded them to prouide for the safety of her Subiects: For, as she often said, that to the end the Common-wealth should bee in safety, her selfe neuer could bee: And that, to make her Subiects loue her, her Enemies feare her, and all to praise her; knowing, that what was begunne with wisedome, and kept by care, was firme and lasting. Now, how by her Masculine care and counsell, she surmounted her Sexe, and what shee did most wisely, in preuenting, diuerting, and powerfully resisting the attempts of her Enemies, those that now liue, and shall hereafter, will bee able to iudge of what I shall drawe out and set forth of things, if I may call them so, in the Kingdomes owne memory.

Her answer to forraign Princes, interceding for the Papists.

At that time, the Emperour, and the Christian Princes interceding by continuall Letters, that she would vse the Bishops which were retyred out of her Realme, gently, and suffer the Papists to haue Churches in Townes by the Protestants: She answered, that although the Bishops had, in the sight of all the world, against the Lawes and Peace of the Kingdome, and obstinately reiected the same Doctrine which the most of them had, vnder the Raigne of HENRY the Eighth, and EDVVARD the Sixth, propounded to others, voluntarily and by publike writings, that she would vse them meekely, for those great Princes sakes; notwithstanding, shee could not doe it without offending her Subiects: But to let them haue Churches by the others, shee could not, with the safety of the Common-wealth, and without wounding of her Honour & Conscience: neither had shee reason to doe it, seeing that *England* imbraced no new Religion, nor any other, then that which

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Iesus Christ hath commanded, that the Primitiue and Catholike Church hath exercised, and the ancient Fathers haue alwayes, with one voice and one mind, approued. And, to allow them to haue diuers Churches, and diuers manners of seruice, besides that it is directly oppugnant to the Lawes established by the authority of the Parliament, it were to breede one Religion out of another; and drawe the spirits of honest people into varieties; to nourish the designes of the factious; to trouble Religion and Common-wealth, and to confound humane things with Diuine, which would be ill in effect, and worse in example; pernicious to her Subiects, and not assured at all to those to whō it should be allowed; and aboue all, at their request, she was resolued to cure the particular insolency of some, by winking at something; neuertheless, without fauouring in any sort, the obstinacie of their spirits.

The Emperour seekes the Queene for his Son.

The *Spaniard* having lost all hope to marry her, and beeing ready to marry the Daughter of *France*, notwithstanding, thinkes seriously of *England*, nothing desirous that it should be ioyned to the Scepter of *France*, and to retaine the dignity of so great a Kingdome in his House; obtained of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, his Vncle, that he would seeke her to wife for his second Sonne: which he as soone did by very louing Letters, and followed it very carefully by *Iasper Preimour*, a resolute Baron of the Countrey of *Stibing*. The *Spaniard* himselfe, to bring her to that, promised her speciall affection; and she of her side, made him offer, by *Thomas Chaloner*, of her Ships, and commodity of her Hauens, for his Voyage for *Spaine*, which he was about, with all remarkable duties of Friendship.

The King of France challengeth the Kingdome of England, for the Queene of Scotland.

The *French*, on the other side, casting an eye vpon *England*, left the *French* Garrison in *Scotland*, in fauour of the King, *Dolphin* his sonne, and *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, which hee had promised to take from thence, vpon the agreement before mentioned; and sent thither vnder-hand supplies

ſupplies, ſollicites the *Pope* of *Rome* more vehemently than euer, to declare Queene ELIZABETH an Heretique, and illegitimate, and Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* legitimate of *England*; and although the *Spaniard*, and the *Emperour*, hindered by their contrary and moſt ſtrong practices, (though ſecretly by the Agents which they had at *Rome*) neuertheleſſe, the *Guizes* carried their credulous ambition with ſuch a flattering hope, to ioyne *Englands* Seepter to *France*, by the meanes of the Queene of *Scots* their neece, that hee came ſo farre, as to challenge it for his Sonne, and for his Daughter in Law, and commanded them in all their Royall Letters, to take this Title, *Francis and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland*; and to let the Armes of *England* be ſeene in all places, cauſing them to be painted and grauen together with the *French* Armes, in their moueables and vtenſils, in the walls of their houſes, in their *Heralds* coates of Armes, notwithſtanding any complaint that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour could make, that it was a notorious wrong to Queene ELIZABETH, with whom hee had newly contracted a friendſhip, being manifeſt that hee had not done it during the reigne of Queene MARIE, though ſhe denounced warre againſt him. Hee alſo leuied horſe and foote in *France* and *Germanie*, to goe to the Territories of *Scotland*, neereſt adioyning to *England*, inſomuch that Queene ELIZABETH had good cauſe to apprehend it, ſeeing that he breathed nothing, but after the bloud & ſlaughter of the Proteſtants. But theſe enterprizes were broken by his vnlooked-for death, hapning at the Tilting, which was for the recreation and ſolemnizing of the marriages of his Daughter with the King of *Spaine*; and of his Siſter with the Duke of *Sauoy*: And much to the purpoſe it fell out for Queene ELIZABETHS buſineſſe, whom hee reſolued to ſet vpon with all his forces, as well for being an heretique, as alſo illegitimate; on the one ſide by *Scotland*,

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and on the other side, by *France*. Neuertheleſſe, to giue him royall honours after his death, ſhee cauſed his funerall ſolemnities to be performed, as to a King a friend, with the greateſt pompe, in Saint *Pauls* Church in *London*; and forthwith ſent *Ch. Howard*, *Effinghams* ſonne, now great Admirall of *England* and *Ireland*, to condole with him for the death of his Father, and to congratulate his ſucceſſion to *Francis* his Sonne and Succeſſour, exhorting him to entertaine inuiolably the friendſhip which had lately beene begun.

Francis the Second, and the Queene of Scotland, tooke the title of the Kings of England.

But *Francis*, and the Queene of *Scotland* his wife, by the counſell of the *Guizes*, who then had ſome power in *France*, behaued himſelfe publiquely, as King of *England*, and *Ireland*, kept alwaies the *Engliſh* Armes, which hee had vſurped, and made ſhew of them more than euer; and *N. Throgmorton*, ordinary Ambaſſadour, a wiſe, but a hote man, complained to them of this. They firſt anſwere him, that the Queene of *Scotland* had right to carry thoſe Armes with a barre, to ſhew the proximity of bloud which ſhee had with the royall Race of *England*. After, when he had maintained, that by the Law, which they call the Law of Armes, it is not permitted to any to take the Armes, and Markes of any Houſe, vnleſſe hee be deſcended of ſome of the Heires of it, obſeruing to tell him, that ſhee carried them not, but to cauſe the Queene of *England* to leaue thoſe of *France*. But, hauing vpon that put them in minde how *D. Wotton* had afore-time treated at *Cambray*, how twelue *Kings* of *England* had carried the Armes of *France*; and, by a right ſo ſeldome called in queſtion, that by any of the treaties which were made betweene the *Engliſh* and the *French*, nothing had beene reſolued to the contrary; hee gained in the end, that they ſhould forbeare abſolutely to beare theſe Armes, by the interceſſion of M. *Memorency*, the *Guizes* Emulator, who thought it not to be any honour for the King of *France*, to take any other Title,

Title, or to graue in his Seales any other armes, than the Armes of the Kings of *France*; and shewed, that this Title alone was of more importance than many others; and that the precedent Kings had no other, when they sought their right in *Naples* and *Milan*. And truely, from these Titles, and these Armes, which the King of *France*, at the instigation of the *Guizes*, hath taken from the Queene of *Scotland*, then vnder age, all the disasters which afterwards happened vnto her, haue flowed from that: for from thence came the enmities openly declared by Queene ELIZABETH against the *Guizes*, and those which shee practised against her priuatly, which by the subtil malice of men, who made vse of the growing enuy, and of the occasions which sprung from day to day, haue beene so fomented on both sides, that nothing could extinguish them but death; for,

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The original of the hidde hatred whic hath beene betweene th Queenes of England an Scotland.

Soueraigntie admits no Companion, and Enmitie against Maiestie is grieuous.

A few daies after, in stead of giuing foure Hostages for the Towne of *Calais*, as they were bound by the treaty of *Cambray*, they gaue onely three: the *English* Merchants are iniuriously dealt with, in *France*: one of the Ambassador *Throgmortons* seruants was sent to the gallies, which *F.* great Prior of *France*, had taken & carried away by force from a publique place: Some Pistols were shot at the Ambassadour himselfe, and in his owne lodging; and to make him the more contemptible, hee was serued at the Table, with no other Vessell, but such as the Armes of *England* and *France* were ioyntly grauen on. Finally, *la Brosse* was sent into *Scotland* with a troupe of choyce men; Gallies were sent for from *Marseilles*, and from the Mediterranean Sea.

The French deale vniustly with the English.

Those in *Scotland*, which professed the Protestants Religion, and qualified themselues with the title of the Assembly, perswaded by certaine heady Ministers, and especially

Send men o Warre into Scotland.

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cially by *Knox*, a most hot controller of the Royall authority, that it behooued the Peeres of the Realme, to take away Idolatry from their authority, & by force to settle the Princes within the limits prescribed by the Lawes, had already refused to obey the Queene-Mother, and Regent, though shee was a modest and a prudent woman, changed Religion, tumultuously ransacking and burning the sacred places, & drawne to their partie *Hamilton* Duke of *Chastelrant*, the most powerfull of all the Kingdome, much prouoked by the wrongs done by the *French*, and many Nobles were bayted with hope to haue the Ecclesiasticall Reuenues: insomuch, as they seemed not to thinke of Religion, but to plot in good earnest a reuolt against the Queene Regent, and against the *French*, which made warre in *Scotland*: and accused *Iames*, Prior of Saint *Andrewes*, Bastard brother to the Queene, their *Coriphea*, who since was Count of *Mura*, to haue coueted the Kingdome from his Sister. But, by the holy protestations which hee made vnto them, hee tooke away all suspition of hauing any other ayme but the glory of God, and the Countries liberty; and that, seeing it oppreſt by the Queene Regent, and the *French*, he could not chuse but lament most bitterly for it. They sent *William Maitland* of *Lidington* Secretary, to Queene ELIZABETH; and hee, in a pittifull discourse complained to her, that since the marriage of the Queene of *Scotland* with the *Daulphin*, the administration of the Kingdome had beene changed, strange Souldiers spoyl'd and ruin'd all, the *French* were placed in the chiefest offices of the Kingdome, the Castles and strong places put into their hands, the pure money corrupted for their particular profit, and that by these deuices and the like, they fortifie themselues, fraudulently to take away the Kingdome, as soone as the Queene should be dead. *Cecill*, who was the principall minister that Queene ELIZABETH vsed in this businesse, and in all other, for his singular wisedome, employ-

The Scots refuse to obey the Queene Regent.

They seeke ayde of Qu. Elizabeth.

employeth *H. Percy*, who afterwards was Earle of *Northumberland*, to know what end the Lords of that Assembly propounded to themselues, what meanes they had to obtaine that which they desired; and, if one should send them succour, vpon what conditions might Amitie bee maintained betweene the two Kingdomes. They answered, that they propounded not to themselues any other end, but the aduancement of the glory of Iesus Christ, and the sincere preaching of Gods Word, to extirpate superstition and idolatry, and to keepe the liberty of their Ancestors: which they knew not by what meanes it might be done, but they hoped that God would giue successe to their designes, according to their desire, to the confusion of their aduersaries. And, as for the intertaining of amitie betweene the two Kingdomes; that that, was the abridgement of their wishes; and thereunto vowed their goods, their faith, and their constancy.

They deliberate of these things.

They deliberate slowly of these things in *England*, because the *Scots* were not well furnished with money and armes, nor very faithfull among themselues. But they considered that the Marquis *D'Elbeuf*, Vnkle to the Queene of *Scotland*, had leuied men in *Germanie*, by the meanes of the *Ringraue* for the *Scottish* warre; that they had brought downe into the Hauens, peeces for battery; that the preparations which were made, were greater than was necessary for the restraining, as was pretended, of a small number of vnarmed *Scots*; that the *French*, to draw to their league the King of *Denmarke*, promised him, that the Duke of *Lorraine* should quit the right which hee pretended to haue to his Kingdome, and that likewise the censure of the Pope against the Queene, was more importunately sollicited, than euer, and a sentence declaratory for the right of the Queene of *Scots* to *England*: there was sent vpon the frontiers of *Scotland*, one *Sadler*, a prudent man, and the Counsellor of the Duke of *Northumberland*, who guarded the South

 frontier,

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frontier, and *Iames Croft*, Gouernour of *Barwicke*. For the Councell of *England* could not see what these things tended vnto, except to inuade *England*, and to pursue by armes, that which they attributed to themselues by their Coates and Titles.

They resolue to driue the French out of Scotland.

Now doe they in *England* seriously consult vpon the businesse, and it seemed to them to be a very bad example, that one Prince should lend ayde and succour to the subiects of another Prince, who rayse vp broyles and tumults: but it seemed also, that it were an impietie to abandon those who professe the same Religion, a slow wisdome to permit the *French* (who were sworne enemies to the name of *English*, challenged the Realme of *England*, and enioyed at that time, in all places, an assured peace) to remaine armed in *Scotland* so neere *England*, and so opportunely for the inuading of that side, where Nobles and Commons of *England* are most affectionate to the Romish Religion. That it were to deliuer cowardly into the Enemies hand, the safetie of particulars, and the peace of the generall. For that cause, it behooued not to stand vpon dreaming and slow Counsels, but to dispatch and take armes. That the prudence of *England* had alwaies beene accustomed to goe meete their enemies, and not to waite for them; and that it had euer beene aswell suffered to preuent dangers, as to expell them; to defend themselues with the same weapons that they are assayled with. That *England* was neuer assured, but when it was powerfull and armed; that it was more powerfull when it had nothing to feare but the *Scottish* coast; and that to take away this feare, it were meete to assist those which professed the same Religion, and chace the *French* out of *Scotland*, against whom Armes are very auaileable, but not Counsels. That for hauing contemned them too much heretofore, they had lost *Calais* with shame and hurt, and a little before, by surprize, *Ableville*, and

the forts neere *Bullen*, whiles they fained to seeke a peace, which was the cause that *Bullen* afterwards was constrayned to render, and that they should looke for no lesse of *Barwicke*, and the frontier Townes, if they tooke not armes the sooner, without staying to see what the *French* will doe, who looke as if they meant to make peace in *Scotland*; Their designe being hidden, their ambition infinite, their reuennew exceeding great, insomuch that it is growne a Prouerbe long agoe in *England*, that *France* cannot be three yeeres both without warre, and without meanes. Queene ELIZABETH also often alledged this saying of the Emperour *Valentinian*, Haue *French* for a friend, but not for a neighbour. It was resolued then, that it was iust necessary, and profitable, to driue the *French* out of *Scotland*, as soone as could be possible.

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The Eng are sent in Scotland, both by La and Sea.

In the end, a Nauy was sent into *Borrough*, which is now called *Enden-borrough Frith*, cõducted by *W. Winter*, master of the Nauall Artillery, who, to the great terrour of the *French*, set vpon their ships, which were there in the Road, and vpon the Garrison that they kept in the Ile of *Inch-Keith*. Likewise, presently, the Duke of *Norfolke* was established Lieutenant generall in the Northerne parts towards *Scotland*; the frontiers of the East, and of the South, were cõmitted to the Lord Baron *Gray*, who, not long ago, had couragiously, but vnluckily, defended *Guien* against the *French*; and *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex*, who, in the reigne of Queene MARY, had beene Deputy of *Ireland*, is sent back thither, with title of Lieutenant, together with speciall command, to ouer-looke this *Irish* Nation, being so much the more superstitious, by how much lesse it was husbanded and tilled, should not be stirred to rebellion, by the practices of the *French*, vnder pretext of Religion: to furnish *Ophalie*, with some small Forts, to giue to the old Soldiers some lands, to be to them and their heires males begotten of their bodies; to receiue *Sulij-Boy Scotsh-Irish*, to

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hold the possessions which hee had claimed by hereditary right in the Countrey of *Vlster*, to hold in fee, and to doe homage and seruice for the same: to increase moderately the reuenues of the Prince, and reduce the treasury to the forme of that of *England*.

The death of Francis L. Talbot, Earle of Shrewsburie.

While these things passed thus, *F. Talbot*, the fifth Earle of the House of *Shrewsburie* dyed, who was one of the chiefe Councellors of the Kingdome, leauing for Heire, *George* his onely Sonne, by *Marie*, Daughter to *T. Dacre* of *Gilsland*.

THE

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THE THIRD YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1560.

AS soone as the Duke of *Norfolke* was come to *Barwicke*, the Prior of Saint *Andrews*, the Baron of *Rethuen*, and others, came to meete him, and in the name of the Duke of *Chastelraut* and his Confederates, treated allyance with him for the Queene of *England*, in these termes:

A Treaty of peace in Barwicke.

Whereas, the French haue striuen, by right or wrong, to subdue Scotland, *and to vnite it to the Scepter of* France: *the Queene of* England *will take into her Protection, the Duke of* Chastelraut, *the Heire appa-*

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rent to the Kingdome of Scotland, as long as the marriage of the King of France, aud Mary, Queene of Scots shall last, and one yeere more: He shall set forth Armies by Land and Sea, with all sort of warlike Munition, to chase and driue the French out of Scotland: He shall not make peace with them, but with condition that Scotland shal enioy its former libertie: The Forts which shall be taken from them by the ayde of the English, shall be also presently demolished, or put into the hands of the Duke of Norfolke, according as hee shall thinke good. The English shall not fortifie any place in Scotland, but by the counsel of the Duke of Chastelraut, and the Peeres of the Kingdome: The Scots shall assist the English to their vttermost endeuours, they shall hold their Enemies theirs, and shall not suffer that the Kingdome of Scotland shall bee ioyned to France, otherwise then by marriage, as now it is. If England be set vpon by the French, on this side Tine, the Scots shall send, at the Queenes charge, two thousand Horse, and a thousand Foot-men: If on the other side, they shall ioyne themselues to succour the English, with all the strength they are able to make, and at their owne charge for thirtie dayes, as they haue beene accustomed to doe for the defence of Scotland. The Earle of Argaehel, Iudge of Scotland, shall labour to reduce vnto due obedience the Northerne parts of Ireland, vnder certaine Conditions which shall bee agreed vpon betweene the Vice-roy of Ireland and himselfe. Finally, it is determined, what the one and the other shall doe, if Iames Maconel, or others, raise any commotion in the Countrey of Hebride, in Scotland, or in Ireland. For establishing these things, Hostages shall bee sent into England, before the English Armie enter into Scotland; which shall be changed at the discretion of the Scots, from sixe moneths to sixe moneths; or from foure

to

to foure Moneths, so long as the Marriage betweene the King of France *and the Queene of Scotland shall last, and a yeere ouer and aboue. That the Duke of* Chastelraut, *the Earles and Barons Conferrates, shall ratifie these Comientions vnder their Signes and Seales within twenty daies and shall declare, that in all things, which shal not tend to the oppressing of their ancient Liberty, they shal yeeld obedience to the Queene of* Scotland, *and to the King of* France *her Husband, forasmuch as the Queene of* England *vndertakes not these things, but by way of friendship and neighbourhood, and to free the* Scots *from Bondage.*

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It was already discouered by Messages from stranger Princes, and intercepted Letters, that the *French* were resolued to set vpon *England*: *Seb. Martigues*, a young Gentleman of the House of *Luxembourg*, with a thousand old Souldiers, and two wings of Horse, was come into *Scotland*; and *Doisel* a Frenchman, assuring himselfe too much to be of the Councell of the Queene Regent of *Scotland*, had propounded to the chiefe of the Kingdome, at *Aymouth*, neere *Barwicke*, that ioyning their forces, they, at the very instant, would put the King and Queene of *Scotland* in possession of *England*: but hauing considered the difficultie of the thing, and not willing to violate the Peace newly agreed vpon, they refused it: Neuertheless, *Martigues*, being yong and liuely, did so burne in desire to attempt *England*, that with much adoe was he hindred by the wholsome councell of the Queene Regent: but this heat was quickly quenched, when it was knowne that a storme had so beaten the Marquis *D'elbeuf* vpon the coasts of *Holland*, who sayled towards *Scotland* with greater Forces, that he was constrain'd to returne to *Diepe*, frō whence he departed, with losse of some Ships & of many Souldiers.

Martigues comes and brings French-men into Scotland.

D'Elbeuf driuen by a Tempest.

At that time, *Ph. Stauel* of *Glaion*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*,

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The Spanish counsels peace.

The Spaniards detaine from the English their munition.

The French endeavour to call the English backe from Scotland.

Fleece, and Master of the Artillerie, was sent into *England*, employed from *Spaine*, to expose the complaints that the *French* made against the Queene, touching the Affaires of *Scotland*; and to counsell, in the name of the King, to Peace and concord: yet neuertheless, hee secretly counselled the Queene to pursue with courage, what she he had begun in *Scotland*, though contrariwise the *Spaniard* had openly forbidden to transport into *England*, those munitions of War, which she had co enanted for at *Antwerp*, insomuch as she was constrained to make a new prouision thereof in *Germany*. And the Proposition that *Stauel* made, was not without suspition, that some Companies of *Spaniards* should be sent into *Scotland*, together with the *French*, to suppresse the *Scottish* Rebels, and by the same meanes, the *French* themselues, if they should attempt any thing vpon *England*. At the same time, *M. Seuerin*, ordinary Embassadour of the King of *France*, instantly sollicited the Queene, to call backe her Armies both by Sea and Land from *Scotland*; which she willingly accorded vnto, prouided, that the *French* should be recalled: but by delayes sought out of the one side and the other, the businesse is drawne into length, till the comming of *I. de Mouluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, who differed not much from the Protestants Religion; who, vpon his arriuall from *France*, being carried vnto the place, said, that he was not furnished with any power for this busines: and notwithstanding he was very eloquent, strained himselfe to his vttermost, that those Armies should be recall'd from *Scotland*; and maintain'd, that it was not to defraud the Queene of *England*, that the King and Queene of *Scots* carried the Armes of *England*; but by that, rather to honour the Royall House. But not beeing able to perswade the one, as being absurd; nor the other, as dangerous; *Seuerin* desired *Stauel*, and the Bishop of *Aquilé*, Embassadour ordinary of *Spaine* in *England*, to bee present and witnesses, when he should protest against the

Queene

Queene of *England*, that shee had violated the Treatie of Peace; to which they refused him, because they had it not in Commission: Neuertheleſſe he made, by a discource prolixe enough, his proteſtation; to which the Queene made an Anſwere, which was publiſhed, and ſet foorth, by which ſhee teſtified to all the world, That the violating of the Treaties proceeded only from the *French*, and that nothing could happen to her more vexing and odious, then this Warre, and ſuch like things, which might eaſily be drawne from what had beene ſpoken heretofore, and by a declaration in writing, which ſhe had formerly cauſed to be publiſhed.

Booke 1560

The Fre proteſt a gaing the Engliſh, t. they are meerely ca. that th. peace i... ken.

Notwithſtanding that although ſhe had receiued many wrongs and iniuries, in that they had vſurped the Title and Armes of her Kingdome, ſhe could not for all that beleeue, that it had beene done with the conſent of the King or Queene of France, *or the Princes of the Bloud, but by the wicked deuices of the* Guizes; *who, abuſing the King and riches of the* French, *were ready to wound* England *through the ſides of* Scotland: *That ſhee could not abandon her ſafety, nor her Subiects.*

An Anſw to them.

And ſurely, it is not to be doubted, that the *Guizes*, for the loue which they bore to the Queene of *Scotland*, the hatred to Queene ELIZABETH, in regard of Religion; and the ambition to oblige *France*, by adding new Kingdomes vnto it, being aſſured of an *Engliſh* party, of contrarie Religion to the Proteſtants, linckt themſelues together obſtinately, to ruine Queene ELIZABETH. But they were diuerted by meanes of diſcontentments, and hidden hatreds, which grew vpon the Subiect of the adminiſtration of the affaires which were put into their hands, after they had taken them from the Princes of the Bloud. And the QVEENE went ſo prudently to worke, and

The Guize are ſworne and profeſſed enemies to Queene Elizabeth.

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vpon the nicke to meete the designes of her Enemies; that she hath beene alwayes had in admiration of her friends, and in terrour to her Enemies.

The French offer to render Calais.

The Maiesties Answer to them.

The sends the Lord Montaigue into Spaine.

The same day that *Gray* entered into *Scotland* with an Armie, *Scuerin* and *Mouluc* earnestly sollicited Queene ELIZABETH to call it backe, giuing her hope that *Calais* should bee rendred, if shee did it. But shee answered very plainely, *That she made no account of* Calais, *a small Fisher-Towne, in comparison of the safety of all* Great Brittaine. And the same day, sent into *Spaine*, *Anthony Browne*, Vicount of *Montaigue*, a man very remarkable for his wisedome, but very zealous in the Romish Religion, thinking, that for that consideration, he would bee more pleasing to the King of *Spaine*; together with *Tho. Chamberlaine*, Embassadour Ordinary; to iustifie, vpon how many iust causes she had sent an Armie into *Scotland*, to wit, those that I haue heretofore declared; and to shew, the Queen of *Scotland* had beene married very young to a sickly King, vvho was without hope to leaue Issue; that *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut*, having beene by the authority of the Parliament, designed of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, the *Guizes* had prepared *Ambuscadoes* for his Sonne, as he should passe through *France*: their designes were bent, to ioyne the Crowne of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *France*, and to conserue it for the Queene. This matter the King of *Spaine* examined seriously, how dangerous it was to the Prouinces of the Low-Countreys, and of *Spaine*: that it behoued not blast with Rebellion, the assembly of the great ones in *Scotland*, which was made for no other end, but to keepe (as by duty they are bound) the Kingdome for the Queen and her lawfull successors; not induring to permit, that by the wiles of the *Guizes*, it should be ruined, or transferred to the *French*, without wronging them or theirs.

He makes known to the Spaniard the state of the affairs of Scotland.

Vpon the beginning of *Aprill*, the *English* Armie, composed of an hundred Horse, and sixe thousand Foote, marcheth

cheth toward *Lieth*, which is a place situated neere *Bodir*, where all the Seas of *Great Brittaine* doe beate, and the Riuer of *Lieth* spreading broader, dischargeth it selfe, and makes a commodious Rode for Ships, scarce two miles distant from *Edenborrough*, the Capitall Towne of *Scotland*. The *French* knowing this commodity, had fortified it, to retire thither, and there receiue the succour which might be sent vnto them: & the *English* shewing themselues there, *Martigues* goes as speedily out vpon them with some companies of Foote, to hinder their approach to a Hill, vpon which he supposed they intended to Campe: but, after a Skirmish of foure houres, where some were slaine, they driue them backe into the Towne: next after, they make Trenches, and raise Mounts, from which they battered no lesse the Towne then the Ships. The *French* make many Sallies out, with more courage than strength, and shewe many proofes of Magnanimity. Amongst others, vpon the fifteenth day of *Aprill*, they tooke the Trenches, nayled three of the greatest Cannons, tooke and led away prisoner, *M. Bercle*: But *I. Croft*, and *C. Vaghan* driue them backe as fast into the Towne; and it was not done without losse of men. *Arthur Gray*, sonne to the Lord Baron *Gray*, who had the principall command in the Campe, was shot into the shoulder.

After that, they bring the Campe neerer to the Towne, because the Battery was so farre off, that the Bullets, for the most part, fell without effect; and a short time after, part of the Towne, and a great quantity of Corne, was burned by casuall fire, which was much encreased by the *English*, who placed on that side their biggest Cānons, and being in the meane time entred into the Ditch, tooke the height of the Wall; and the sixth of *May* (while the *English* and the *Scots* were together of accord) hauing placed the Ladders on all sides, gaue three powerful assaults to gaine the Wall, but because they were too short, and the

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The English repulsed.

Croft is accused.

waters higher then ordinary, the Sluces beeing shut, they were repulsed with a showre of Bullets, that ouerwhelmed them from aboue, and there were many slaine, yet more wounded. This check was imputed to *Croft's* fault, because he had stayed in his Quarter with his Armes foulded, as if he had reproued this expedition, seeing others doe, without putting himselfe in action to assist those who had neede thereof: and I cannot tell whether hee did it out of iudgement, or for affection which he bore to the *French*, or for hatred to *Gray*. But so it is, that *Norfolke* and *Gray*, accused by Letters which they writ to the Queene, to haue had secret consultations with the Queene of the *Scots*, and to haue oppos'd this designe; and in hauing sequitiuely bin brought in iustice, the gouernment of *Barwicke* was taken from him, and giuen to the Lord Baron *Gray*. But the Queene shewing him fauour, conseru'd it for him; and for his merit, established him afterward Controwler of her Maiesties House.

This first Mis-hap hauing abated the courage of the *English* and *Scots*, the Duke of *Norfolke* rais'd them as quickly vp againe, by new Troops which hee brought to strengthen; and since that time, there were some light combates, vntill that the King of *France* hauing aduice that his men were so blockt vp at *Lieth*, that all the Passages by Sea and Land were shut, also considering, that they could not send him succour in time requisite, for the great distance of places, and the seditions, which augmented from day to day in his Kingdome, gaue power to the Bishop of *Valence*, and *De la Roche Faucaud*, to accord the Affaires with Qu. ELIZABETHS Commissioners: esteeming, and the Queene of *Scotland* with them, that it were a thing vnworthy their Maiesty, to enter into equall dispute with their Subiects. And Queen ELIZABETH deputed as speedily into *Scotland*, *W. Cecill*, and *N. Wotton*, Deane of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*. At the same time, the *C.* of *Murray* made

some

some propositions. But *Cecill* thought that they ought not to be made by Subiects, nor agreed on by Princes.

During these debatings, the decease of Queene *Marie* of *Lorraine*, mother to the Queen, and Regent of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, hapned: a pious & most prudēt Princesse, who was neuertheless ignominiously and vnworthily handled by hot-headed Preachers (as it may appeare euen by the Ecclesiasticall History of *Scotland*, which Queene ELIZABETH caused to be suppressed vnder the Presse) and by the Lords of the Assembly, who, as being borne Councellors of State, had, vnder the name of Queene of *Scotland*, and her Husband, suspended her from all administration, as contrary to the glory of God, and the libertie of *Scotland*.

Booke 156. *The Qu Regent o Scotland dyes.*

The Articles of which, the Commissioners, after the siege begun, agreed vpon, are these:

The treat of Edenborrough.

THE treaty of peace, made in the Castle of Cambray, *betwixt Queene* ELIZABETH *and* Henry *the Second the* French *King, shall be renewed and confirmed. They shall cease, both the one side, and the other, to make preparation of warre. The Fortresse of* Aymouth *in* Scotland *shall be demolisht. The said* King *and* Queene Mary, *shall quit the title and armes of* England *and* Ireland.

The strifes touching the recompence of the iniurie done to Queene ELIZABETH, *and the assurance of the first Article, are remitted to another Assembly, which shall be holden at* London: *and if they cannot then be agreed of, it shall be referred to the Catholique* King. *The* King *and the* Queene *shall reconcile themselues, with the Nobles, amongst their Subiects of* Scotland: *the Confederates shall be therein comprised, and aboue all, the Catholique* King.

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This Treatie shall be confirmed within sixtie dayes: the intertayning of it sworne on both sides.

Peace is published.

This Peace is published as well in the Campe as in the City, with a common reioycing of all: The *English* growing weary of the warre, seeing their neighbouring Countrey vtterly spoyled: The *French*, because they were depriued of all traffique & commerce: and the *Scots*, for not hauing beene payed their wages. And indeed it was holden for the weale, good, and well-fare of Great *Brittaine*, since *Scotland* retained his ancient liberty, and *England* kept the dignity and surety which it had gotten. And since that time, she hath beene really exempt and freed from all subiects of feare from *Scotland* side. The *English* haue merrily acknowledged, that Queene ELIZABETH was the founder of the surety; and the Protestants of *Scotland*, Restoresse of the liberty.

Queene Elizabeth is sought in marriage, by Charles, Arch-Duke of Austria.

by James Earle of Arran:

and, by Erric King of Sueden:

During all that time, Queene ELIZABETH, for the singular loue which shee bore to the parties, was so attentiue to the publique good, that shee razed from her heart the loue of powerfull Princes who sought her in marriage; *to wit*, CHARLES, Arch-duke of *Austria*, second Sonne of *Ferdinando* the Emperour, who made this suit by the Count of *Elpheston*: Of *Iames* Earle of *Arran*, who was recommended by the Protestants, the which propounded to themselues to vnite, by his meanes, the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, which were diuided; which was also quickly reiected, and neuertheless to her Maiesty, praise: Of *Erric* King of *Sueden*, who, to the same purpose, imployed *Iohn* his Brother, Duke of *Finland*, to this end sent into *England* by *Gustaue* his Father, a little before his death, and grounding his hopes vpon this, that hee was of the same Religion as Queene ELIZABETH was, made himselfe so credulously importunate, that hee thought of nothing but *England*; notwithstanding that the King of

Denmark

Denmarke his sworne enemy, had resolued to take him in the way, thinking that it concerned him greatly, if *England* and *Sweden*, betweene which *Denmarke* lyes, should be ioyned by the meanes of a marriage. Queene ELIZABETH acknowledged and praised his singular and Soueraigne loue, and made him answer, that his comming should be very agreeable and pleasing to her: but she could not yet finde in her heart to marry, in changing her present condition, which was vnto her much more delightfull, & pray'd him to proue her good wil in any other thing, assuring him, that although hee could not enioy his desires, neuertheleſſe hee should perceiue that his loue had not beene ill placed; and admonished him not to deferre the time any longer, to make choyce of a Wife which might be worthy of him. With this answer, *I. C.* of *Finland* returnes into his Countrey. After, hauing imployed all kinde of meanes to make this marriage, in courting her Maiestie importunately, by bold demands, vsing of great liberality towards her Courtiers, captiuating the good will of the inferior sort, amongst which he often strowed pieces of Siluer; telling them, that when his Brother should come, he would distribute largely pieces of Gold to the common people in generall. Neuertheleſſe, his Brother, suspecting that he had made this suit for himselfe, receiued and intertained him ill at his returne, and obstinating himselfe in his designe, ceased not to continue this suit two yeeres after, and made the condition of it to be propounded by *Nicholas Guildenstain*: but as hee was imprudent and light at the same time, hee demanded the daughter of *Philip*, *Landgraue of Hessen*, hauing beene refused, at last married with a Lady of meane condition.

But as for *Charles* Duke of *Austria*, he conceiued such hope, that his House already allied by marriages with great Princes, would be much more augmented by the addition of the alliance with *England*, and that the ancient Religion should

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should be tolerated, if not altogether established: which he so expected, as a thing which he could not faile of, and Qu. ELIZABETH tooke not at an instant this hope from him. For her Matie shewed openly to euery one, protested in the presence of *C. Elphinstain*, and writ to the Emperour, that of all the illustrious marriages which were propounded to her, there was not any more or greater, than that of the Arch-Duke: that neuertheless, neither the storme of dangers had not power heretofore, nor the fauourable winde of honour could yet, for the present, diuert her from that manner of life, in which shee had settled her selfe. Notwithstanding, without being come so farre, as to renounce altogether the state of marriage, and that shee hoped that God, vpon whose goodnesse shee wholly supported her selfe, would addresse his ends in that, and in euery other thing, to the safety both of her and her Subiects.

Adolphe, *Duke of Holsatia.*

Adolphe likewise, Duke of *Holsatia*, was stirred vp by *Frederic* the Second, King of *Denmarke*; his Nephew, to hinder her from marrying with the King of *Sueden*, and carried with hopes to be able to effect it, by the desire which her selfe had by her Letters witnessed vnto him, that he was possest with the same affection towards the *English*, as he had beene long agoe towards the *Spaniards*, and by the promise that shee had most louingly made him, he came into *England*, where she intertained him royally, honoured him with the Order of the *Garter*, gratified him with an annuall pension, and (through her extraordinary courtesie) profest vnto him, her Maiestie obliged for euer a most illustrious Prince, who had purchased the renowne to be a most famous warriour, in a conquest lately by him wonne against those of *DITHMARS*.

Sir W. Pickering.

There were also in her Kingdome certaine Lords, who according to the custome of Louers, vainly prated concerning the marriage, (*viz.*) Sir *William Pickering*, Knight of the Order, who had an indifferent good estate, but honourabl

nourably descended, hee, through his rare study and affability, had gotten much honor, and no lesse applause, by his Ambassage in *France* and *Germanie*.

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The Earl of *Arundel*, a man of a most ancient House, no lesse great in meanes than illustrious by birth, but growing into yeeres: and *Robert Dudley*, the yongest Sonne of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whom Queene MARY restored to his right and honours, a noble young Lord, of most comely lineaments of body; who was as farre in fauour with the Queene, as his Father and Grand-father were generally hated of the people, out of a rare and royall clemency which she professed towards him, in conferring & heaping honours vpon him, whose Father would have attempted her death. Whether this might proceed from some secret instinct of those vertues apparant in him, or out of common respect, they both being prisoners vnder Queene MARIE, or from their first procreation, by a secret coniunction of the Planets at the houre of their birth, combining their hearts in one, no man can easily conceiue. Howsoeuer it were, it is most certaine, that onely Destinie causeth Princes to affect some, and reiect others. In token of honour, and for the testimony of her well-wishing towards him, the first yeere of her reigne, (after she had made him her Champion) shee made him Knight of the Garter, which amongst the *English*, is the most honourable dignitie of all, with the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earle of *Rutland*, at which euery one wondered. In the meane time, Vicount *Montaigu*, Ambassadour for *Spaine*, moued him of the necessitie of the warres of *Scotland*, and laboured (what in him lay) to preuent the imputation of the *Scots* to be Rebels, shewed him, by the instructions wherein he was commanded, but coldly, in regard hee was a zealous professour of the Roman Religion, that that which was established in *England*, was conformable and grounded vpon the holy Scripture, and

The Earl of Arundel.

Robert Dudley.

Whom she fauoured.

Vicount Montaigu Ambassador to the King of Spaine.

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the Æcunomicke Councels, and intreated him to renew the alliance of the *Burgundians*, formerly contracted betweene the Kings of *England* and their predecessours. The *Spaniard*, howsoeuer it was agreeable and vsuall amongst Princes, to confirme such a renouation, in respect it giueth as it were life to their Alliances, and testifieth to the world their mutuall good will; and howsoeuer himselfe and *Charles* his Father, in the treaty of marriage with MARY Queene of *England*, in the yeere 1533. were bound to confirme this alliance, answered (notwithstanding) that it was needlesse, lamented the alteration of Religion happened in *England*, seemed to distaste the raising of an army, and rooting out the Rebels in *Scotland*, and fained to be too late aduertized thereof. But for all this, hee still opposed the designes of the *French*, who laboured to excommunicate ELIZABETH, and brought it so to passe, that she could be no way subiect to excommunication without his consent, and to aduertise her, though it were too late, that they ought for her aduantage, to insert in the Articles concluded with the King of *France*, that if the *French* should returne into *Scotland*, it might be lawfull for the *English* to expulse them, and, in expresse termes, to condition for the certaine assurance of the restitution of *Calais*. The Earle (notwithstanding) perceiued well, and so did the Queene, that he was displeased, as well by the circumstances I haue related, as principally for that hee re-deliuered into the said Vicounts hands, the tokens and ensignes of the order of Saint *George*. For, hee seemed hereby vtterly to breake off all amity and friendship with *England*: but shewed it much more by the refusall which was made him afterwards, how he practised by his Ambassadour, (as hee did intercede by Count of *Feria*, who had married the Daughter of *W. Dormer*, which hee had by the Lady *Marie Sidney*) for that the Queene permitted certaine men, women, and Children, to stay in *Flanders*, who for Religion were

He fauoured notwithstanding Elizabeth against the French.

Hee re-deliuered the order of the Garter.

were retired without leaue, (*viz.*) to the Lady *Iane Dormer*, Daughter of *Thomas Newdigate*, and Widdow to Sir *Robert Dormer*, Knight, and to the Lady *Clarence*, Grand-mother to the Count of *Feria*, being very olde, who had beene Fauourite to Queene MARIE, and Almoner for the particular reliefe of poore women; to *Richard Shelley*, Prior of the order of Saint *Iohn* in *England*, of which wee will speake hereafter, and to *Thomas Harnie*: all which were zealous professors of the Romish Religion, and well beloued of the *Spaniard*.

This refusall was grounded vpon a restraint (by the ancient custome & Lawes of *England*) prohibiting any person (the Nobles and Peeres of the Kingdome excepted) vpon paine of confiscation of their goods, to depart out of their Countrey, without speciall licence from the King, and to reside in forraine parts beyond a certaine time prefixed, and that, either for the recouery of their health, vnder a more warme climate, or for the aduancement of their studies in the Academies, or for their practice in militarie Discipline.

Whereof there was no president extant of any toleration granted to women, to be continually absent from their Countrey: and that moreouer, the thing in it selfe seemed to be of no great importance. Neuertheleſſe, in respect that those who desired it, reaped not so much benefit thereby, applying it to their owne particular ends, as others were animated by their example, to the detriment of the common good, it was vnreasonable to condiscend vnto: as the Queene signified to the King of *Spaine*.

The Earle, stomaking this as a particular iniury, to reuenge himselfe, caused to be apprehended (as an Heretique) one of the seruants of *Chamberlaine*, being there

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Vincenses the Pope against the Queene.

The Pope writes to Elizabeth.

then Ambassadour ordinary for *England*, and cast him into the Inquisition, and rather (as it were) enuying the Queene, and the *English*, than the King himselfe, added more fuell to his fire, notwithstanding all the meanes his Wife vsed to dissuade him. It was also knowne, that he was imployed to Pope *Pius* the Fourth, in the beginning of his Papacy, to presse the Excommunication of the Queene: yet neuertheless, the *Pope*, (vpon what good hope I know not) sent vnto her *Vincent Parpalia*, Abbot of Saint *Sauiours*, with diuers secret aduertisements, with a kinde Letter, all which I will here at large insert, howsoeuer I may seeme to sinne against the Law of Historie.

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TO OVR MOST DEARE DAVGHTER, IN CHRIST, ELIZABETH, Queene of ENGLAND.

The Pope Pius the fourth of that name his Letter sent vnto Queene Elizabeth, by his Nuncio Vincent Parpalia.

OST deare Daughter in Christ, Salutation, and Apostolicall Benediction. God, the searcher of all hearts, knoweth, and you may perceiue, by the aduice that wee haue giuen you, to behaue your selfe towards this our eldest Son, Vincent Parpalia, *whom you know well, how much we tender, and desire, according to the duty of our Office of Pastorship, to prouide for your saluation & honour, together with the establishment of your Raigne, thereby exhorting and admonishing your Greatnesse, (most deare Daughter) that in reiecting those lewd Councellors, who loue themselues better than you, and aime but at their priuate ends: You implore the feare of God to your Councell, and remembring the time of your visitation, you obserue our fatherly admonitions, & wholsome Counsels, and we will promise you of our part, all th'assistance you can desire, not onely for the comfort of your soule, but for th'establishment and confirmation*

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of your royall dignities, according to the authority, place, and charge committed to vs from God: And if (as wee most feruently desire and hope) you returne into the bosome of the Church, We will receiue you with the like affectionate loue, as the Father (of whom it is spoken in the Gospell) receiued his Sonne when he returned to him: and our ioy shall be farre greater then the ioy of a Father for his sonne onely. But you, in drawing after you the whole people of England, *shall heape with ioyes, not onely to your owne particular saluation, but to your whole Nation: Vs, and the Vniuersitie of our Brethren, whom you shall shortly (God willing) heare to be assembled in an Æcumenique and generall Councell, for th'extirpation of Heresies: and the whole Church together. You shall also cause the Heauens to reioyce, and by such a memorable act, purchase renowned glory to your name, and a far more glorious Crown then that wherewith you are already crowned: But of that, the said* Vincent *shall more amply certifie you, and fully demonstrate our fatherly affection toward you; whom we desire your Highnesse to receiue courteously and graciously, hearing him attentiuely, and giue such credit to what he shall declare vnto you, as you would vnto our selfe.*

Giuen at *Rome*, at Saint *Peter's Palace*,
the fifth day of *May*, 1560. and
of our Papacy the first.

I haue not found what Propositions were made by *Parpalia*, for I cannot thinke that he was put in writing, neither doth it please me to suppose, as ordinarily Historians doe. All the world knowes, Queene ELIZABETH liued like her selfe, and, ALWAYES THE SAME: and that the busines succeeded not to the Popes expectation.

tion. The common fame also went for truth, that the Pope promised to cut off, as a thing vniust, the sentence giuen against the marriage of Queene ELIZABETHS Mother, to confirme out of his owne authority, the *English* Liturgie, and to allow in *England* the vse of the Sacrament vnder both kinds; prouided, that her Maiesty should ranke her selfe with the Roman Church, and to giue some thousands of Crownes to such as laboured in these things.

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The time of confirming the Treatie of marriage at *Edenborrough* was then come; Queene ELIZABETH hauing by solemne Oath, confirm'd, and sent vnto the King and Queene of *France* also, to ratifie the same on their part, as it was meete; *Throgmorton*, Ordinary Ambassadour in *France*, and Sir *Peter Meuté*, Knight, dispatched after him for the same purpose, laboured to bring them to it: But they preuailed not, notwithstanding they had in expresse words, vpon the Faith, and royall word of a King, by Commission from the Bishop of *Valence*, deputed for passing this Treaty, promised to confirm it. The reasons they alledged to exempt themselues, were, That the *Scots* had past thorow *Barwicke* with the *English*, not by Royall Licence, but of themselues; which they ought not to doe: that they past like Rebels, and that vnder colour of being Subiects, they falsly profest themselues loyall, and had no way shewed the obedience promised by it.

The King and Queen of France refuse to confirme the Treatie for Edenborrough.

The reason.

Whiles they were disputing hereupon, *Francis* the second, (king of *France*) not being yet eighteene yeeres of age, left the most high and mighty Princesse, *Mary*, Queene of *Scotland*, a Widdow: at which newes, I cannot well say whether the Papists more lamented, or the Protestants reioyced.

Francis the second dyeth.

Queene ELIZABETH, now perceiuing her selfe more secure then euer before, to the end that the Church might subsist, and encrease in her partie, and that the Commonwealth might more & more flourish in honour and riches, proclai-

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The Edict of Q. Eliza. against the Anabaptists.

Her Maiesties Edict against sacrilegious persons.

The Colledge of Westminster founded.

The Coine brought to full value.

proclaimed two most wholsome Edicts; by the first whereof, she commanded all Anabaptists, and such other like Heretiques, who, vnder pretence of shunning persecution, were come from Countries beyond the Seas, to certaine Port Townes vpon the Coast of *England*, to depart the Kingdome within twentie dayes, whether they were natiue or strangers, vpon paine of imprisonment, and forfeiture of their goods. And by the second Edict, her Maiesty suppreſt a Sect of sacrilegious men, who, vnder colour of extirpating superstitions, had begun to demolish ancient *Sepulchers*, *Epitaphs*, and *Ensignes* of Noble Families, and other Monuments of reuerend Antiquity; which had escaped the furie of the prophane, vnder King HENRIE the Eighth, and King EDVVARD the Sixth, and to pull off the Lead that couered the Churches.

And moreouer, cõuerted the Monastery of *Westminster*, a most famous place for the sacring of the Kings of *England*, and the place where the Armes and Royall Ensignes were alwaies kept, into a Colledgiall Church, or (as I may better terme it) into a Seminary of the Church: And there instituted one Deane, twelue Prebends, one Master, one Vsher, fortie Schollers, whom they call the Kings Nurseries, out of which there be sixe euery yeere, or more, chosen for the Academies of Ministers, and Singers; twelue poore, &c. to the glory of God, and the increase of true Religion, and good Learning: And certainly, there comes out from thence, happily for Church and Cõmon-wealth, a number of Learned men.

Tooke away by little and little (whereby shee gained great Honour, and no lesse Glory) the course of money mingled with Copper, and brought in vse that which was pure & fine siluer, to restore the honour of the Kingdome, to preuent the deceit of those, which both within and without this, had corrupted the kinds, and chang'd things much auaileable for the good of the Common-wealth, into

to coynes of false money, and transported the good siluer into forraigne Nations: and to abate the prices of vendible commodities, which were extremely inhaune't, to the great preiudice of the Common-wealth, and aboue all, for Stipendiars, Soldiers, Seruants, and all such as are payde for their labours by hyer: and brought it most happily to passe in a few moneths, without making any stirre; first, in forbidding all persons to melt, or transport out of the Kingdome; as well the good and pure money, as that which was mingled with Copper. Moreouer, in bringing that which is so mingled, to his value, that is to say, the Penny to a halfe-penny; the two-penny piece to three-halfe-pence; the sixe-pence to a groat; and the rest to two and a farthing, because there was no more money: and finally, buying them for good siluer of all such as had any of it, prouided that they brought it within the time prefixt in the Table of money; which could not be done without losse to her: insomuch that wee ought to acknowledge it to proceede from Queene ELIZABETH, that the siluer was better and more pure in *England* during her Raigne, then in full two hundred yeeres before, and that it was not vsed in any other part of *Europe*.

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She afterward caused good Coyne to bee stamped for *Ireland*, which we call sterling; of which, the shilling is worth twelue-pence in *Ireland*, and in *England*, nine: A matter (indeed) waighty, great, and most memorable, which neither King EDVVARD the Sixth could, nor Queene MARY durst enterprize, sithence King HENRY the Eighth was the first King that euer caused Copper to be mingled with Siluer, to the great shame of the Kingdome, damage of his Successors and people, and notable token of his excessiue expence, sithence his Father had left him more wealth, then euer any other King left his Successor, and likewise he had drawne abundance of money, by

This was corrupted by King Henry the Eighth. His lauish expence.

ke 1. 1560.

by the meanes of Tributes, and Imposts, (without grounding our selues vpon that which Cardinall *Poole* had left in writing: That he had drawne more then all the other Kings which had raigned since the Victory of the *Normanes*) and heapt vp an infinite deale; when, by the power of a Parliament, hee tooke vnto himselfe all the Lordships which the *English*, beeing absent, had held in *Ireland*; all the first Fruites of Ecclesiasticall Liuings, and the Tenths, which were in *England* and *Ireland*; all the reuennews, gifts, and goods belonging to Monasteries.

e Earle of ntington ds.

This yeere dyed *Francis*, Lord *Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*, the second of that Race; who had by *Katharine*, the Daughter of *Henry*, Lord *Montaigue*, Brother to *Reinald* Cardinall *Poole*, Issue, *Henry*, who succeeded him, and diuers other Children, who agreed well in brotherly loue, but not in Religion.

In *Ireland*, *Shan*, otherwise called *O-Neale*, a great and potent man in the Countrey of *Vlster*, and lawfull Heire to *Coni O-Neale*, who surnamed himselfe *Baco* (which is as much to say, as *Claude*) and was created Earle of *Tyr-Owne* by HENRY the Eighth, after he had put to death *Mathew*, Baron of *Dungannon*, his bastard Brother, who was taken for legitimate, spoyled his Father of his rule and domination, for which hee quickly dyed with sorrow, tooke vpon himselfe the Title of *O-Neale*, couering his head, after a barbarous manner, with that hee wore vpon his legges and feete, cast himselfe into Rebellion, for feare of beeing pursued by the Lawe: so as fiue-hundred Foote were sent out of *England*, to ioyne with two Companies of Horse, leuied in *Ireland*, against him. But after, hauing made some light Skirmishes, perceiuing himselfe vnable to resist the *English*, and to bee hated of his owne men, and that *Surly-Boy*, *Iacob Mac-Connell*, and *Odonnell* were

an O-Neale *first* *sedition* *Ireland.*

were risen against him, hee layde downe Armes at the persuasion of the Earle of *Kildare*, his Kinsman, and promised to come into *England* to aske pardon, as wee shall describe it in a more ample manner in its proper place.

Booke 1560

Book I.
1561.

THE FOVRTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1561.

AT the beginning of the yeere, *Fr.* Earle of *Bedford* (hauing beene sent into *France*, to end the mourning for the death of *Francis* the second) to congratulate with King *Charles* for succeeding him; summoned often the Queene of *Scotland*, sometimes himselfe alone, and sometimes accompanyed with *Throgmorton*, to confirme the Treaty of *Edenborrough*, but all in vaine: For he could drawe no other Answer of it, but, That it behoued and was requisite, not to resolue vpon so great a thing, without mature deliberations; and that shee neither would, nor could

The Queene of Scotland sues for the confirmation of the Treaty.

could confirme it without the Peeres of *Scotland*. *Throgmorton* neuertheleſſe ceaſed not to preſſe her inſtantly, by all the meanes hee could deuiſe. In like manner, the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and all the other *Guizes*, her Vnkles, and *Iames* her baſtard-brother, who was newly arriued in *France*. But whiles they thus did nothing, but deferd it from day to day, by forged reaſons, Queen ELIZABETH, doubting leſt they intended the ruine of *England*, reſolued to ſuppreſſe them. Shee ſent thereupon *T. Randolph* into *Scotland*, to perſwade the Peeres to a mutuall amitie, grounded vpon the vnity of Religion, aduertiſing them, that the Princes of *Germanie* were vnited together againſt the *Pope*, and that ſhee deſired nothing more, than that the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* were combined in this accord; ſhewed them, that the Queene of *Scotland*, being a Widdow, now was the onely opportunitie for the appeaſing of all diſcords betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, who had ſo many Ages the one fought againſt the other, with ſo much bloud-ſhed on either part, whether in contracting a perpetuall League with the *Engliſh*, or in razing out of the ancient league with the *French*, thoſe Couenants which were wont to breed diſcord betweene *England* and *Scotland*. Laſtly, ſhee exhorted them to beware, that the Queene (who was now a Widdow) ſhould not diſpoſe her ſelfe in marriage to a ſtranger Prince, by whoſe power ſhee might reuenge her ſelfe vpon thoſe, who had lately reſiſted the *French*, and ſo expoſe their freedome to the hazard of ſeruitude.

Booke 1561.

In the meane time, the Queen of *Scotland*, who thought to retyre her ſelfe into her Kingdome, hauing ſent before *Deyſell*, a French-man, intreating ELIZABETH, by him, to giue her Highneſſe leaue to paſſe by Sea, and to *Deyſell* through *England*, vnder the common faith: ELIZABETH vtterly denyed her, in preſence of a whole multitude of her Aſſiſtants, alledging for excuſe, that ſhee had not yet ratified the Treaty of *Edenborrough*, as ſhee had promiſed

The Queen of England *denieth paſſage to the Queene of* Scotland.

ake 1. 1561.

promised to doe, and assured her, that in case shee should performe all that shee might expect from a Queene, being her Cousin and Neighbour, shee might freely passe either by Sea or Land into *Scotland*. The Queene of *Scots* extremely stomaking this refusall, called for *Throgmorton*, and intertained a great deale of discourse with him about this occasion, which I will briefly here insert, according to the Contents of *Throgmortons* Letters collected by mee, howsoeuer I must repeat diuers things, of which I haue formerly spoken, to the end that the originall, and degrees of the secret grudges and hatred betweene two of the prudentest, and most puissant Princesses of our Age, might more euidently and clearely appeare. Shee being then withdrawne a little aside, and there being no more but her selfe, and *Throgmorton*, she spake in this manner vnto him:

Throgmorton commanded to Throgmorton a message to Queene Elizabeth.

ALthough I were so weake, that I did not sufficiently know it, nor whither the heat of my spirit might carry mee, yet am I not so weake, that I should desire so many witnesses of mine infirmitie, as your Mistresse not long sithence held discourses with my Ambassadour Doysell. *Nothing vexeth mee so much, as to haue intreated her for that I could well haue beene without, and as I am come hither against her will, and notwithstanding the hinderance by her Brother* EDWARD, *I shall also be as well able, God willing, to returne into my Countrey, without asking her leaue. And I want not friends, nor friends that are willing and powerfull to bring mee backe thither, as they were to bring mee hither. But I chose rather to try her friendship than any others. I haue often heard you say, that it was chiefly necessary to our two Kingdomes to intertaine amity, the one with the other: and*

neuer-

neuertheleſſe it ſeemes that ſhee hath another meaning, otherwiſe ſhee would not haue refuſed mee ſo ſmall a courteſie. But peraduenture ſhe loues thoſe Scots *better which are Rebels to me, who am* Queene *of* Scotland, *of equall Maieſtie to her, her neere Kinſwoman, and the moſt certaine Heire. Doe you thinke, that with ſo great a faith and loue which is betweene her and me, ſhe ſhould keepe correſpondency with the* Scots *which rebell againſt me? Does ſhee thinke that I ſhall be forſaken of my friends? Truely, ſhee hath brought mee to that paſſe, that I haue reclaymed the ayde of thoſe which otherwiſe I would not haue imployed, and I cannot maruell enough by what counſell ſhe hath heretofore aſſiſted my Subiects againſt mee, and now that I am a Widdow, am hindered from returning into my Countrey. I ſtirre not vp any buſineſſe, nor meddle with thoſe of* England, *although I be aſſured that many* Engliſh *are not content with ſuch as paſſe there at this preſent. She reproches mee for my ſmall experience. I confeſſe, age brings that: yet neuertheleſſe I haue ſo much as to know how to carry my ſelfe louingly and iuſtly with my friends; I doe not caſt at randome any word againſt her, which may be vnworthy of a* Queene, *and a Kinſwoman; and, by her permiſsion, I dare ſay, that I am a* Queene *as well as ſhee, and want no friends more than ſhee doth, and can carry my courage as high as ſhee knowes how to doe: inſomuch as it is fitting for vs to meaſure our ſelues with ſome equality. But I leaue compariſons, which cannot be, but with debate and hatred. As for the Treaty of* Edenborrough, *it was made in the life-time of the* King *my Husband, to whom I was bound by duety to obey in all things; and ſince hee deferred the confirmation of it, the fault ought to be his, and not mine. Since his death, the Councell of* France *hath left me to be guided*

by

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1561.

by mine owne friends, and my Vnkles would not meddle with the affaires of Scotland, *for offending in any thing either Queene* ELIZABETH, *or the* Scots. *The* Scots *that I haue neere about me, are priuate persons, and are not such as I would aske their counsell in things of so great importance. As soone as I haue consulted with the States of my Kingdome, I will giue you a reasonable answer, and to giue it so much the sooner, I goe forward to returne to my House. But shee makes account to stop my passage, insomuch that shee her selfe is the cause that I cannot satisfie her; and peraduenture she does it to the end, that there may not be any end of our discords. Shee often obiects vnto me, as to my shame, that I am young: and truely shee might rightly say it, both very young, and very ill-aduised, if I would treate of a businesse of that importance, without the consent of my States. A woman, as I haue learned, is not bound either by honour or conscience to her Husbands fact. But I will haue no dispute vpon that, and neuertheless I will truely say, that I haue done nothing to my most deare Sister, that I would should not haue beene done vnto my selfe. I haue rendred her all duties of friendship, but shee either beleeues them not, or despiseth them. I would to God that I were as deare to her, as I am neere to her, for that would be a precious kinde of proximitie. God pardon those which sow discords betweene vs, if there be any. But you, who are her Ambassadour, say, if you dare, wherefore shee is so much offended against mee, who vntill this present neuer offended her, neither in word, nor in effect.*

Throgmorton's *answer to the Qu.* Mary of Scotland.

To which, *Throgmorton* told her:

I Haue no Commission to answer to that, but to heare that which you haue to answer, touching the confirmation

mation of the Treaty of Edenborrough. *But if it please you to heare the cause of this offence, hauing quitted the qualitie of an Ambassadour, I will tell it you in few words. As soone as the Queene my Mistris was sacred and inaugurated, you vsurped the name and armes of* England, *although you had not done it before in the reigne of Queene* MARY. *You shall iudge in your owne wisdome, if a greater offence can be done to a Prince. Surely priuate persons themselues doe not willingly digest these offences, much lesse Princes.*

But (said She) *my Husbands Father and my Husband would haue it so, commanded it. As soone as they were deceased, and that I was of my selfe, I presently quitted both the Armes and the Title. And notwithstanding I know not, if this be to defraud the* Queene, *that I, who likewise am one, and Grand-child to the eldest Sister of* HENRY the Eighth, *carry these Armes, seeing that others haue borne them, which are further off of kinne than I am.*

Indeed *Courtney*, Marquis of *Exceter*, and the Dutches of *Suffolke*, Neece to HENRY the Eighth, by his yonger Sister, by a speciall fauour carryed the Armes of *England*, in adding to them the Limbes for a marke of difference.

The Queene of *Scotland*, not being able by these words to giue Qu. ELIZABETH content, who stedfastly beleeued that shee sought but delayes, to husband some new hope, seeing that at the holding of the States of *Scotland*, who had assembled twice since the death of Queene MARIE, shee had not made any proposition which concerned the confirmation of this Treaty: as shee was already vpon the way to come for *Scotland*, shee caused *Throgmorton* a second

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Contestati
between
Queene o
Scotland,
and Throg
morton,
Queene El
zabeths
Ambassad
into Franc

Booke I.

1561.

The Queene endeauours to content Qu. Elizabeth.

cond time to come to her to *Ableville*, and asked him curteously, How shee might either by word or deed, giue satisfaction to Queene ELIZABETH.

In ratifying (sayes he) *the Treaty of* Edenborrough, *as I haue often told you.*

Whereupon, she said vnto him:

HEarken then, to iudge, if this which shee thinkes to be delayes, and vaine excuses, are not most iust reasons. The first Article of this Treaty, which concernes the ratification of that which passed in the Castle of Cambray, *betweene* England *and* France, *toucheth mee nothing at all. The second, which concernes that of the Treatie passed in the same place betweene* England *and* Scotland, *hath beene ratified by my Husband and mee, and I cannot ratifie it more amply, if it be not concluded in my name alone, seeing my Husband is there expresly named. The third, fourth, and fifth Articles are already effected: for the preparatiues of Warre haue ceased, the* French *Garrisons are called backe out of* Scotland, *the Fort which was neere* Aymouth, *is razed. Since the death of my Husband, I haue refrained to carry the Armes and the Title of* England, *and it is not in my power to raze them out of the Vtensils, Edifices, and the Letters Royall which are dispersed through* France, *no more than I can send backe the Bishop of* Valence, *and of* Raadan, *since they are not my Subiects, to contest vpon the sixth Article. As to the last, I hope that my seditious Subiects will not complaine of my inclemencie: But, as I see, shee which thinkes to hinder my returne, will goe about to hinder that they shall not try my clemencie. What remaines now in this Treatie, which is preiudiciall*

ciall to your Queene? *Neuertheleſſe, to heape her vp with ſatisfactions, I will write to her of it more amply, with mine owne hand, though ſhee vouchſafes not to write to mee, but by a Secretarie. As for you, Ambaſſadour, I pray you to doe the duetie of an Ambaſſadour, rather to ſweeten buſineſſes, than make them ſowrer.*

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But theſe Letters did not giue Queen ELIZABETH any contentment, who had euer in her heart the iniury which ſhee had done her, in taking the title and armes of *England*, and at that time feared much that ſhee tooke them yet, if by the confirmation of this Treatie, and the Religion of the othe, ſhee was not bound to forbeare them.

But in vaine.

In the meane time, the Queene of *Scotland* finding the time fit, goes to *Calais*, and gets into *Scotland*, hauing the fauour of Heauen which was cloudy and darke, got the winde of the *Engliſh* Ships, that ſome thought had beene ſent to Sea in honour to conuoy her, others to take Pirates, and others to take her: they grounding it vpon this, that *Iames*, her baſtard-brother, a little before returning from *France*, and paſsing through *England*, had counſelled Queene ELIZABETH to doe it, if ſhee would prouide for Religion, and her owne ſafetie: The which, *Lidington*, being ioyfull that *Doyſell* was retayned in *England*, perſwaded, as his Letters make mention.

She returns into Scotland.

Leſt, being returned, ſhee ſhould ſtirre vp Tragedies, take away the commerce of letters and meſſages with the Engliſh, *ruine the faction which was at their deuotion, and exerciſe cruelties vpon the Proteſtants of* Scotland, *not vnder colour of diſloyaltie, but of hereſie, euen as* MARIE *Queene of* England *had lately done.*

Booke I. 1561.

Howbeit, her Maiestie being returned into *Scotland*, shewed all gentlenesse to her Subiects, shee changed nothing in Religion, although tumultuously brought in; and begun to temper the Common-wealth by excellent Lawes and good Ordinances. Her Maiestie sent *Lidington* to Queene ELIZABETH, with Letters from her selfe, and from the Peeres of *Scotland*, by which shee referred to her all the care to make and intertaine the peace betweene *England* and *Scotland*, prayed her to seeke some good dispatch thereof, and gaue for her aduice, that shee did not thinke of a better and more certaine remedie, than that Queene ELIZABETH, dying without issue, should declare her Heire, to succeed her in the Kingdome of *England*, &c. by authority of Parliament.

This seemed strange to Queene ELIZABETH, who expected to receiue the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edenborrough*, promised both by word and writing. Notwithstanding, she answers him:

Elizabeth answers him.

THat for concerning the matter of Succession, shee hoped that the Queene of Scotland *would not violently take the* Scepter *from her, nor from her Children, if shee should haue any. Promiseth not to deragate in any manner from the right which she had to the Kingdome of* England, *howsoeuer by the precipitate and ouer-hasted ambition of others, shee had attributed to her selfe the Title and the Armes of the same, for which it were iust and requisit shee should make some satisfaction: And said, shee feared that the Designation of a Successour, would disioyne their friendship, rather than re-vnite it, by reason that those which rule, haue alwayes those in suspition which ought to succeed them: That the inconstant people, vexing themselues at the present state of things, turne away the eyes from the Sunne-setting, and looke toward the Sunne-rising:*

sing; and that those which are once designed Successors, cannot containe themselues within the limits of equitie, nor can keepe vnder the ill desires of their owne, and of others: insomuch that if she did confirme and assure the succession, she should deprine her selfe of all security, she should in her life-time set her winding-sheete before her eyes, yea, she should likewise make her own funerall, liuing, and seeing it.

Hauing made this answere, she sweetly admonisheth her againe by Letters, which were deliuered her by *Peter Mentiu*, to confirme the Treatie; which she refused not directly; but gaue him to vnderstand, that she could not commodiously doe it, vntill the Affaires of *Scotland* were well established. In the meane time, Queen ELIZABETH, with all maner of courtesie, entertaines *Monsieur le Duc D'Aumale*, the Grand Prior, and *Monsieur le Duc D'elbeuf*, her Vnkles, and other *French* Noble-men, which had conducted her into *Scotland*.

And yet notwithstanding, *Monsieur de Guize* behaued himselfe in that sort, that the *English* Ships are taken vpon the Coasts of *Brittanie*, and the Marchants vnworthily handled, and labours againe closely at *Rome*, to procure Queene ELIZABETH to bee excommunicated. Howbeit the Pope, *Pius* the fourth, aduised, that it behoued to deale more gently with her Maiesty; and as he had already sought by courteous Letters, as I haue said vpon the last yeere, hauing then also, to appease the discords which were for matter of Religion, assigned a day to the Councell of *Trent*, long sinnce begunne, and broken off by continuall Warres, and drawing gently thither, all the Princes which had forsaken the Romish religion, hee deputed into *England* the Abbot of *Martinegues*, with Letters full of assurance of loue.

But because that by an ancient Law, it is most expresse-

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Qu. Elizabeth pres the confir tion of th Treatie.

Receiues Guizes co teously.

The Gui vse the E glish ill.

ly forbidden the Popes Nuncio's to goe thither, before he had obtained leaue from thence, and taken Oath, not to worke any thing by subtilty there, tending to the preiudice of the King and Kingdome; The Abbot being vpon the way, stayed in *Flanders*, and demanded leaue to come hither: But *Englands* Councell of State iudg'd, that it was not safe to admit him hither, in regard that so many people from all parts, nourished in the Romish religion, laboured carefully, both within and without the Realme, to trouble the affaires thereof.

The Abbot not being permitted to come into *England*, the Bishop of *Wittenberg*, the Popes Nuncio, with the King of *France*, labours that Queene ELIZABETH should send Ambassadours to the Councell, and many Princes of Christendome, *(viz.)* the Kings of *France*, of *Spaine*, and of *Portingall*, *Henry* Cardinall of *Portingall*, and aboue all, the Duke of *Albe*, who yet bore good will to her Maiestie, counselled her, that in matters of Religion, which is the onely Anker of Christians, and stay of Kingdomes, she would rather assent to the Oecumenique Councell of *Trent*, than to the particular opinions of a few men, although they be learned.

That the right to assemble a Councell belongs not to the Pope.

She answers them,

That shee desired with all her heart, an Oecumenique Councell, but that shee would not send to that of the Popes, with whom she had nothing to doe, his authority being vtterly beaten downe and reiected in England, *with the consent of the States of the Kingdome. That it is not for him, but for the Emperour, to assigne a Councell, and that he hath no greater authority then any other Bishop.*

At the same time (that this Abbot was denyed accesse into *England*, beeing the last Nuncio that the Popes of *Rome*

Rome haue sent hither) Sir *Edward Carne*, aforementioned, being a most iudicious and wise man, very well vnderstood in the right of Emperours, & by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, honoured with the dignitie of Knight-hood, he dyed at *Rome*, and was the last Ambassadour sent from the Kings of *England* to the Pope.

Booke 1561.

Carne dy

Chamberlaine, Ambassadour for *England* in *Spaine*, perceiuing that this answere did more and more alienate the affection of *Spaine*, who iudged it to bee iniurious to the Pope, and fearing no more, that *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* should fall into the hands of the Kings of *France*, since that King *Francis* was dead, began to make no more account of the *English*, tooke leaue of him, and returned into *England*. *Thomas Chaloner* is sent in his place, who, as he was impatient of iniuries, and had beene many times Ambassadour in *Germany*, where he had receiued all manner of courtesies, as soone as he was arriued in *Spaine*, instantly besought by Letters to be reuoked, complaining, that according to the custome of the Countrey, they had searched his Trunkes. But Queene ELIZABETH admonished him, that an Ambassadour must support all that which is of equity, prouided that the honour of his Prince were not wronged.

How far Ambassad ought to beare an offence.

Queen ELIZABETH being then capable of good counsell, and very prudent and prouident, and Religion somewhat wel established, to strengthen her selfe with remedies against forces, prouides for the safety of her selfe and of her Subiects; and to enioy Peace more sweetly, although she found the Coffers empty at her comming, began to establish a Magazin of all sorts of Instruments of War, and to that end, employed great summes of money in *Germany*, (The *Spaniard* retained those Furnitures which shee had agreed for at a price, at *Antwerpe*) causeth many Cannons of Brasse and Iron to be cast, discouers in the Country of *Cumberland*, neere *Keswicke*, by a speciall fauour from God fauouring

Qu. Elizabeth prepares thin necessary f Warre.

Booke I. 1561.

on what occasion, how farre, and at what time shee should vse her liberality, and indeed, was prouidently bountifull to those that deserued it. For, notwithstanding that King HENRY her Father, howsoeuer charged with three Children, and EDVVARD and MARIE, who had none, had beene bountifull of the Crowne Land, shee neuertheless, hauing none neither, gaue very little of it, and yet what she gaue, was vpon condition, that for default of issue it should returne to the Crowne; for which, both the Realme and their successors ought to remember her, and thanke her, as a carefull fore-seer.

Qu. Elizabeths husbandrie.

Whilest this good correspondencie was betweene the Queene and her people (the Common-wealth seeming to take life and strength, to the common ioy of all) fell out a sad accident. A most rare Piramide of the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, in *London*, which was frō the ground to the top of the square Tower, 525. foote, & from thence 260. and was couered with wood, & ouer-laid with Lead) was strucken at the top with fire from heauē, which was so deuouring, and burnt downeward with such violence, (to the great terrour of all the Inhabitants) that in the space of fiue houres, it reduced it to ashes, with the whole couering of the Church, which was most ample and spacious, but the vaults, which were of solid stone, remained entire. Notwithstanding, all this couering was new made by the Queenes liberality, and to the effecting of the same, gaue great quantity of money and materials, beside the collection of Ecclesiasticicall persons, and others: So all was repaired, saue the Piramide.

S. Pauls Steeple burnt.

This yeere dyed *Iohn Bourchier*, a man of ancient Nobility, Earle of *Bath*, second of that name, and Baron of *Fitzwarin*, who, by *Elenor*, daughter of *George*, Baron of *Rosse*, had a great Progenie, and left his Sonne *William* (yet liuing) his Successor.

The death of Earle Bathon.

THE

Booke I
1562.

THE FIFTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1562.

THe troubles of *France* begunne then to waxe hot, in the minority of *Charles* the Ninth, the Princes which enuied one another, pretending on both sides, the specious name, the defence of Religion, and those of the reformed Religion beeing grieuously oppressed. And hereupon, the Papists of *England*, by I knowe not what hope which they had conceiued thereby, to oppresse the Protestants; many discourses of importance were whispered very secretly in priuate assemblies, and all full of suspicion. *Margaret*, Countesse of *Lenox*, who had a secret intelligence with the Queen of *Scotland*, and the Earle of *Lenox*, her husband, were for a time put and detayned

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Pole had vnder examination.

vnder the custodie of the Master of the Rolles. *Arthur Pole* and his Brother, Nephews sonnes to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edwards* Brother, *Anthony Fortescue*, who had married their Sister, and others, were brought into examination, for hauing conspired to withdraw themselues into *France* to the *Guizes*, and from thence to returne with an Armie into Wales, and declare the Queene of *Scotland* Queene of *England*, and *Arthur Pole* Duke of *Clarence*, as they at their Tryall ingenuously confessed, neuertheless protesting that they intended not to doe it while Queene ELIZABETH liued, and that they had been seduced by diuiners, to beleeue that shee should dye that yeere: for which they were condemned to dye; notwithstanding, for the respect which was had vnto their bloud, they were suffered to liue. But (as many haue thought) they vsed *Katherine Gray* very seuerely, though she was much neerer of kinne to the Queene, being Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*: For, hauing beene married to *Henry*, eldest Sonne to the Earle of *Pembrooke*, by him lawfully repudiated, and left long time in great contempt, finding her selfe with child, & neere her lying down, was put in the Tower of *London*, although shee protested that she was married to *Edward Seimor*, Earle of *Hertford*, and great by him. Hee himselfe being returned from *France*, whither he went for his pleasure, by the Queenes permission, hauing made the like acknowledgement, was also imprisoned in the same Towre; the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and others, were appointed to examine and decide the Cause, without appeale: and when hee could not produce witnesse of his marriage within the time prescribed him, the Arch-bishop, by a definitiue Sentence, pronounced, That the Carnall company which he had had with her, was illegitimate and vnlawfull, and that for this offence, they ought both to be punished. This Sentence was impugned as wicked and vniust, by *Iohn Hales*, a man very opinatiue, but otherwise very

Katherine Gray *imprisoned.*

very learned, who maintained, that their sole consent did legitimate their coniunction; for which reason, he himselfe was committed. She was deliuered in prison of her first-borne, and afterwards, her Keepers being corrupted by the Earle of *Hertfords* deuice, *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the Towre, was punished, as conscious of the fact, and displaced. *Hertford* is accused in the Starre-Chamber of three crimes, that he had deflowred a Virgine of the Bloud-Royall, broken the Prison, and had accompanied with her since. Whereupon, after hauing protested that hee was lawfully married to her, he confessed, that hauing found the doores of the Prison open, hee had visited her in the affliction which was caused by the sentence pronounced against them, and had payed her the duty of wedlocke. For which cause, hee was fined fiue thousand pound for euery offence, and kept Prisoner nine yeeres. Yet neuertheless, by perswasion of Lawyers, hee insisted against the Arch-bishops sentence, by interiecting an appeale, and continued to visit her priuily. But in this time, hee voluntarily, and publiquely left it off: and she, after some yeeres, (to the end I may in the time of their separation speake ioyntly of them) fell into a grieuous sicknesse; after hauing in the presence of *Hopton* Lieutenant of the Towre, demanded pardon of the Queene, in regard shee had married without her aduice, and with Prayers re-commended her Children to her trust, and *Hertford* his libertie; She dyed in Christ piously and peaceably.

Warre renewing then in *France* betweene the Princes of the Bloud, and the *Guizes*, vnder a feigned pretence of Religion, as I haue said, one sought for to strengthen both parties; Queene ELIZABETH began to feare lest neighbour-warres should intangle *England* therein: For she had learned, that the *Guizes*, to draw *Anthonie* of *Burbone* to their partie, had boasted to put him in possession of *Nauarre*, to marry him to the Queene of *Scotland*, and to

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He is fined

He is fine

The Gu: practice a gainst El: beth.

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giue him in dowry the Kingdome of *England*, at the expence of the *Spaniard*, and by the authority of the *Pope*, who would breake the marriage, because his Wife was an Heretique, and by the same meanes, depose Qu. ELIZABETH of her Kingdome, as being so. Vpon that, she sent *H. Sidney*, a man of great renowne, that he might informe himself more surely of these things, & to exhort vnto peace, the Conductors of these seuerall parties. But, the businesse was come to such a passe, that the eares of both parties were shut against peace. *Sidney* being returned from *France*, is forthwith sent to the Queene of *Scotland*, that the Colloque which shee desired to be holden in *England* with Queene ELIZABETH, might be prorogued vntill the yeere following, or vntill the Warres in *France* were abated.

H. Sidney sent into France.

After into Scotland.

They deliberate the inter-view of the Queene of Scotland.

Now it is consulted on, whether it were expedient or not, that these two Princesses should speake together: in that the Queene of *Scotland* desired it the first, it was not without suspition she did it to serue her owne ends, and sought out stratagems in their season, or to affirme the right which shee pretended to haue in *England*, or to giue hope and increase of courage to the Papists of *England*, and to the *Guizes* in *France*. Some thought the contrary, that this would be a meanes to vnite them with a firme friendship, to decay by little and little the alliance with *France*, and to draw the Queene of *Scotland* to the Protestants Religion. Others obserued, that such communications might rather sow seedes of emulation than of loue, and that the shew of riches and power of the one, would euer excite the enuy of the other, and that the presence not answering to the opinion and reputation of the body, of the grace in speaking, and of the gifts of the spirit, would leaue both to the one and the other, some thing of reprehension. The Queene of *Scotland* did likewise iudge, that it were not safe for her to expose her selfe into the power

Which puts in doubt.

power of Queene ELIZABETH, with whom shee had contended for the right of the Kingdome, and as shee had learned, that shee had openly declared her selfe for the Protestants of *France*: shee was likewise in doubt on what side to ranke her selfe, considering how shee her selfe had written, that of the Father side she had drawne her extraction from *England*, and of her Mother side from *France*: that shee had beene crowned Queene of *France*, and was Dowager of it: that shee was the most certaine Heire of *England*, and looked for the succession: that if shee were obliged to her Vnkles of *France*, who brought her vp, she would be no lesse to the loue of her Sister Queene ELIZABETH.

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Notwithstanding, as shee was subtill of spirit, shee was afraid, if shee should tye her selfe with a stricter friendship to Queene ELIZABETH, to incurre the disgrace of the King of *France*, and to be abandoned of the *Guizes* her Vnkles, and lose the money which shee drew from *France* for her dowry, while shee should preferre this friendship which was vncertaine; and, as shee said her selfe, there is none but transgresseth, and of the friendship of the *French* she was assured. And that that was the cause, why the interuiew which had beene in deliberation many moneths, came to nothing, chiefly after she had declared by Letters, that shee altogether refused it, vnlesse, that, for to ground a certaine peace, and the vnion of the two Kingdomes so much desired, she were by authority of the Parliament designed Heire of the Kingdome of *England*, or adopted Queene ELIZABETHS Daughter: and that if these things were granted her, she promised to be wholly at the deuotion of Queene ELIZABETH, though she quitted all consideration and respect to the *Guizes* her Vnkles. Furthermore, she assured, that she did not presse these things, but vpon aduice which she had giuen her of the secret practices of some, vnder pretence of religion, intended to suborne

Vnlesse it were vpon certaine conditions.

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The Cardinall of Lorraine propoundeth a marriage to Queen of Scotland.

Queene Elizabeth endeavoureth to diuert her from it.

orne some other Successour than her selfe, howbeit she tolerates the Protestants Religion in *Scotland*.

But, as the Cardinall of *Lorraine* treated at the same time with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, to marry her with *Charles* his Sonne, Arch-Duke, who then sought to haue Queene ELIZABETH, ELIZABETH declareth vnto her, by *Thomas Randolph*, that if shee lent any eare to this marriage to the Cardinall, capitall enemy to the *English*, she might dissolue the amity betweene *England* and *Scotland*, and peraduenture therewith to include the losse of the Kingdome of *England*: admonisheth her amiably, not to fall off, but to chuse her a Husband in *England*; first, to please her selfe, and afterwards for the contentment of her owne Subiects, and of the *English*, and to intertaine the friendship which was betweene them, and to prepare her selfe a way to a certaine assurance of the succession of *England*, of which, declaration could not be made, if it did not first appeare with whom she meant to marry.

All these cares held Queene ELIZABETH in great suspence, neuertheless she was altogether attentiue to the warres of *France*, to hinder that the flames of it in *Normandie* should not be blowne into *England*, and, after mature deliberation, receiued into her protection the King of *France* his Subiects, which were in *Normandie*, and implored her succour, by a Couenant which shee passed with the Princes of *Condé*, *Rohan*, *Coligni*, and others, to this effect, That shee would send them a hundred thousand crownes, and passe ouer sixe thousand Souldiers, of which, three thousand should be employed for the defence of *Deepe* and *Roüan*: That they would put into her hands for assurance, *Ville-Franche*, which is situated at the mouth of *Sene*, and was built by King *Francis* the First, (the *French* calling it *Haure de grace*, and the *English*, *New-Hauen*) to be kept by a Garrison of three thousand *English* Souldiers, vnder the name of the King of *France*, vntill

till *Calais* be rendred. The same day that this agreement past, to giue a reason of her designe, shee published a manifestation to this effect.

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That shee sent not an armie into Normandie, to recouer this Prouince, *an ancient patrimony of* England, *which had been wrongfully vsurped, but to conserue it for the King of* France, *being but yet a Childe, and to warrant it against the* Guizes, *who had begun cruelly to ouer-runne those who professed the pure Religion, and iniustly to robbe her of her right which shee had to* Calais, *and to take possession of the Ports of* Normandy; *from thence, they threaten next to fall vpon* England, *which they haue by hope deuoured already: insomuch, as shee could not chuse but meete their attempts, vnlesse shee should seeme to be fayling to the young* King *her Brother and Confederate, and his Subiects that are oppressed, to enuy the quiet of Christendome, and, which is more, cowardly betray her Religion, her securitie, and her saluation.*

Giues her reasons.

And as *Paul de Foix*, Ambassadour of *France* in *England*, summoned her by vertue of the Treaty of *Cambray*, to deliuer into the Kings hands, the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, of *Hai*, and others, who had signed the accord, as Traitors to their Countrey: shee excused her selfe of that by her Letter to the King, discharging them of the crime, and charged the turbulent spirits of the *Guizes* for it, who had wrapped in the tempest of warre the Kings Father and Brother, and the King himselfe.

Shee excuse the French fugitiues.

In the moneth of *September*, one part of the *English* Army landed at *New-Hauen*, vnder the conduct of *Adrian Poining*, who was appointed Marshall, where they were with ioy receiued by the inhabitants: the other part landed at *Deepe*. The Earle of *Warwicke*, Generall of the

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Army, arriued there later, hauing been by contrary windes twice driuen backe into *England*. Afterwards, they made diuers incursions into the Countrey neere thereabout, but to hinder the same, the *Ringraue* came and camped neerer. The *English*, and the *French* had notwithstanding often light skirmishes, and those which were men of warre, vpon the Sea, brought in rich spoyles, taking and bringing in euery day *French* ships, from the neighbouring harbors.

The death of the Earle of Oxford.

This yeere, *Iohn Vere*, the Earle of *Oxford*, died, the sixteenth of that illustrious House, who, by his first Wife, Daughter to *Ralph Neuill* Earle of *Westmerland*, had *Katherine*, who was wife to *Edward*, Baron of *Windsor*: by his second Wife *Margaret Goulding*, *Edw.* Earle of *Oxford*, who ouer-threw and wasted his Patrimony, and *Mary*, who was married to *Peregrine Bartie*, Baron of *Willoughbie*.

At the same time, *Shan O-Neale* came out of *Ireland*, to performe that which he had promised the yeere before, hauing for his Guard, a troupe of *Galloglassorum*, who had their heads naked, and curled haire hanging on their shoulders, yellow shirts, as if they had beene died with Saffron, or steeped in Vrine, wide sleeues, short Cassockes, and rough hairy Clokes. The *English* admired them no lesse, than they should doe at this day to see those of *China*, or *America*. Hauing beene receiued with all courtesie, hee cast himselfe at the Queenes feete, and with teares acknowledged his crime, asked pardon, and obtained it. After, being graciously questioned, Wherefore he had excluded *Matthew* his Brother from the succession of his great Grand-father, answered fiercely, as hee was vsed to doe in *Ireland*, that it was his right, and being the certaine and lawfull sonne and Heire of *Cone*, borne of a legitimate woman, he had taken his succession. That *Matthew* was the issue of a Lock-Smith of *Dundalke*, married with a woman named *Alison*, after this marriage; and notwithstanding, had

Defends his cause.

had beene deceitfully supposed by his Mother *Cone*, to be her sonne, to the end falsly to take away the dignity of *O-Neale*. And although he should suffer it, some of the House of *O-Neales* would not. The grant which his father had made to King HENRY the Eighth, and the restitution that HENRY the Eighth had made vnto him, were nothing considerable, seeing that *Cone* had nothing in the things granted, but during her life, & could not haue made this grant, without the consent of the Peeres, and of the people, who had elected him to the honor of *O-Neale*. That such Letters also could not be of any valew, vnlesse witnessed by the othes of twelue men, that hee was the certaine Heire of the House, which had not been done in this matter. That by diuine and humane right, he was vndoubted Heire: moreouer, the eldest Sonne of his Father, begot in lawfull marriage, & designed *O-Neale* with a generall consent of the Peeres & people, by vertue of the Law of *Temster*, which was his Countrey; by which, a man of ripe yeeres ought to be preferred before a Child, and an Vnkle before a Nephew whose great Grand-father out-liued the Father. To conclude, hee had not vsurped any authority ouer the Lords of *Vlster*, though in times past his Ancestors, by a particular right, had vsed it. But of this I haue spoken else-where. Which when the Queene found true, he was sent home with honour, where he behaued himselfe both faithfully and industriously against the *Irish* Rebels.

Booke 1562.

Booke I.
1563.

THE SIXTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1563.

IN the moneth of Ianuary, the States of the Kingdome assembled at *Westminster*, and established Lawes for the reliefe of the poore, for the increase of traffique by Sea, and for husbandry, to represse South-sayers, Negromancers, Sodomites, Coyners, and Periury, and translated the Holy Bible and Liturgy into the *Welsh* Tongue: And, to maintaine the Maiesty of the Queene and Realme, tooke order, that the like inconueniences might not happen to them, which shamefully fell out by the Popes vsurped authority; and, to curbe the violence of those which vpheld it, declared them criminals *Lesæ Maiestatis*, whosoeuer, after three admonitions, should maintaine in print, in words, or in deedes, that any Prince, Prelate,

Prelate, or ſtranger, ſhould haue any authority in Spirituall things, in *England*, or any other Countries of the Queenes Dominions; or whoſoeuer ſhould refuſe twice to take the Oath which ſhould be offered to him, for acknowledging of the Queenes ſoueraigne authority in Spiritual things, and ouer Eccleſiaſticall perſons; yet with this charge, *without ſpilling of blood*, neither that it ſhould bee required of any Baron of this Kingdome, or of thoſe of more eminent dignity, the Queene not doubting their fidelity, nor any others:

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Saue thoſe which were, which had been, or hereafter ſhould be of ſome Eccleſiaſticall Order; or thoſe, who after hauing bin aduertiſed of the forme of ſeruice of the Engliſh *Church, will not obſerue it; or ſhall publikely in words or actions deprauе it; which ſhall celebrate or heare Maſſe, with like things, which is ſeene in the Ordinance eſtabliſhed for it.*

Now, to witnes the ioy which they had to ſee the proſperity of the times, the Clergie granted the Queene a Subſidie, and the Lay people another, together with two Tenths, and two fifteenths, in acknowledgment of her reformation of Religion, eſtabliſhment of Peace, deliuering *England* and *Scotland* from ſtranger Enemies, to put downe baſe money, repaire the Fleet, make preparation for Warre and Nauigation beyond expectation, and of the laudable deſigne which ſhe had for *France*, to aſſure *England* and the yong King of *France*, and to recouer *Calais*. Now this Tenth and Fifteenth (that I may make it remarkable in the behalfe of ſtrangers) is a Taxe, which long agoe hath bin impoſed vpon euery City, Borrough, and village, not by the pole, but by generalities, according to the fifteenth part of the reuenew of the places. A Subſidie is that which is impoſed vpon euery particular, for goods and lands which

Fifteenths.
Tenths.
Subſidies.

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1563.

which he possesseth. But neither of these two Taxes are euer imposed, but by the Parliament.

The Prence of Condé taken in the Battell of Dreux.

In the meane time, the Prince of *Conde*, who made haste to get into *Normandy*, to the *English* succour, is taken in the famous Battell of *Dreux*, and with him *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who suffered himselfe voluntarily to bee taken by the Protestants, to communicate some secret designes vnto them. And beeing presently after set at liberty, he presented the money which was promised to *Coligni*, who was marched forward with the Troupes of auxiliary *English* to the Castle of *Cane* which he then besieged, and easily compelled *Cane*, *Bayeux*, *Falexe*, and the Temple of Saint *Lo*, to render.

While things were thus carried in *France*, Queen ELIZABETH made knowne to the King of *Spaine*, by *Chaloner* her Ambassadour, that, to preuent the *Guizes* in time, who insultingly, and with deadly intent raisd vp against her, pernitious things and dangerous Treaties; that shee had sent an Armie into *France*, and kept still in her hands *Haure de grace*, which was deliuered vp to her, till shee receiued full satisfaction for *Calais*. He answered her, That if she demanded onely the restitution of *Calais*, it was all shee desired from the beginning, but if she vndertooke this warre for Religions sake, he could not likewise abandon that of his Grandfathers and Predecessors. As for the *Guizes*, who are they, said he, for a most puissant Queene of *England* to feare, they beeing of no alliance to the King of *France*, as hereto fore they haue beene? Whereunto she made no other reply, but conformable to that *English* Prouerbe; which sayes, *Euery one must looke to their own, when their neighbours House is on fire.* And the King of *Spaine* vnderstood well inough, how shee politikely treated with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, by the sollicitation of then *Henry*, but now, Lord *Knowles*, and *Christopher Hill*, for the Prince of *Condé*'s reliefe, and to defend the common

The Kings answer.

mon cause of Religion, whereat being more highly offended, he likewise secretly sought meanes against her, vnder the colour and pretext of Religion.

Hostages given for the restitution of Calais, attempt to fly away.

Withall, those *French* Hostages, who were sent into *England*, for the security of the payment of ue hundred thousand Crownes, promised, in case *Calais* were not restored, perceiuing all things enclining to a warre, laboured all they could to flye away: but beeing ready to take Barke, they were taken and brought backe againe, together with that famous Pylot, *Iohn Ribant*, who came secretly into *England*, to conuay them ouer. In the meane while, peace was accorded in *France*, between the King, and the Prince of *Condé*, allured thereunto, out of hope that hee should haue the generall managing of all affaires, and marry the Queene of *Scots*; the Protestants, and the Queenes Maiestie of *England* being no waies therein comprehended; all men, with one generall voice, protested, that if the *English* withdrew not themselues forthwith out of *Haure de grace*, the promise of surrendting *Calais*, intimated by the Treaty of *Cambray*, should be frustrate, and take no effect: and by publique sound of Trumpet, the *French* were permitted in this case, to assaile the *English*, to take, and pillage them, while they yeelded it vp. The Queenes Maiesty of *England* also, for her part, permitted the *English* to repute of the *French-men* as enemies, those onely excepted, that did inhabite in *London*, while they detayned *Calais*: and the *English* put to sea, with such a powerfull Nauie, as was incredible, clozing it vp from all *French* nauigation, as also from the *Spaniards*, making so many, and such insolent surprizals of them both, as her Maiestie was vrg'd to excuse the same to the King of *Spaine*, and to divulge prohibitions, by publike Proclamation, to the *English*.

Peace made in France.

War proclaimed between the French and the English.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, Gouernour of *Haure de grace*, obseruing, how the fidelity and loyaltie of the *French* Inhabitants began to waier, and that vpon so weake a rumor of

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of Peace, they held secret Councels amongst themselues, and that the *Ryngraue* was in the adiacent parts, with his forces, to surprize the Towne, and expell the *English*: he in like manner draue out all the *French* indifferently, both Papists and Protestants, out of the Towne, and seazed on their shipping, which they tooke in grieuous ill part; complaining, that the *English* were not so carefull to protect the afflicted *French-men*, as to make themselues absolute Masters of the place; and how they felt their oppression more heauy, then that of the Enemie himselfe. And certainely, to speake but truth, nothing euer so alienated the hearts of the *Normanes*, those of *Guyenne*, the *Poytouines*, and all other Prouinces liuing vnder the subiection of the Kings of *England*, as because the *English* euer reputed, and entreated them like meere strangers.

The Qu. Maiestie offers to surrender Haure de grace, *for* Calais.

The *French-men* had now studiously prepared all things to assaile the Towne: The King, and the Prince of *Condé* at the same time laboured hard, and very earnestly in *England*, by *Brickmore* and *D.* for the surrender of the Towne, and her Maiestie consented thereunto, vpon these conditions:

First, *That the King of* Spaine *should ioyne in Caution, for the restitution of* Calais, *within the time prefixed: Then, the Treatie of* Cambray *was to be confirmed by the Kings Oath, the Queene Mothers, and that of the Princes of the Bloud, & ratified by all the Parliaments of* France, *and Gentlemen of greatest note and quality, giuen for Pledges.*

The English Soldiers molested with the Pestilece.

In the meane while, the Plague raigned very hot in *Haure de grace*, amongst the Soldiers of the Garrison; and two-hundred, sent for their reliefe and succour, were lost by ship-wracke, with Sir *Thomas Finch*, their Conductor, and two Brothers of the Lord *Wentworth*: Wherefore, there being no great likelyhood of maintayning and holding

ding the Towne, Sir *Thomas Smith*, ordinary Leager in *France*, receiued expresse Commandement, to propound the restoring of it, for *Calais*, and so in like maner, that the King of *Spaine* should arbitrate this affaire, who had married the King of *France* his Sister. But the *French* would in no wise giue any eare vnto it, alleadging, that the King of *France* acknowledged none for his Superiour, neither would hee commit his affaires to the arbitrement of any Prince. They detayned Master *Nicholas Throgmorton*, sent to moue these Conditions, suspecting he was returned into *France*, for the disturbance of proceedings (as hee could play his part well) grounding their Action vpon this, that he had no publique Commission, though he had about him Letters of Credit, besides others he had from the *French* Ambassadour Leager in *England*: and they would in no wise heare him, verily beleeuing, that *Haure de grace* would presently be recouered by maine force, by reason the Pestilence caused there such a fearefull mortality. *Monsieur Memorancie* was already come thither, with all the most remarkeable Nobility in his company. Not long after, arriued the Prince of *Condé*, with the whole Flowre of the Protestant Cheualrie: and the *English* wondring at this sudden alteration, answer was made them, that Peace was now generally established, and the forces of both parties ioyn'd in one, and now no motiues were made of fighting for Religion, but for defence of their Countrie.

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A Trumpet was sent from *Monsieur Memorancy*, to the Earle of *Warwicke*, to summon him to surrender, and another returned from the said Earle, to the Constable *Memorancie*, with a Gentleman, one Master *Paulet*, to certifie him, how the *English* were resolued to suffer all extremities, rather than to yeeld vp the Place, without the Queenes expresse Commandement. Wherfore the Frenchmen hauing raisd Mounts to make their Batterie, ruin'd and battered the Towne for the space of many daies, broke vp all the

Haure de grace beleagred and assailed by the French.

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the Conduit-heads, and diuerted the water out of its proper Chanell, which was seated aboue the Sea: they applied all their endeuours to take the Towne by force: the *English*, on the other side, with most loyall and couragious fidelity, opposed theirs, daylie losing more men by the Plague, than by the Armes of their Enemies.

When Queen ELIZABETH heard of the lamentable and vnhappy estate of her people, no longer to expose such valiant spirits to slaughter, and pestilentiall Infection; after an approofe of her Captaines and Soldiers valours, in a publike Proclamation, she sent to the Earle of *Warwicke*, commanding him to compound with the *French*, vpon reasonable and equall Conditions. There were also incontinently delegated from the Earle of *Warwicke*, to *Monsieur Memorancy*, Master *Paulet*, & Master *Pelham*, with whom in a short time they came to an Accord, vpon these Capitulations ensuing:

Articles for the restitution of Haure de grace.

That the Towne, with all the war-like munition, should be surrendred to the King of France, *and his Subiects. That presently Monsieur* Memorancie *should take possession of the greatest Towre within the Towne. That the prisoners both of the one and other side, should instantly be redeliuered. And that the* English *might depart with all freedome and liberty, carrying whatsoeuer belonged to their Queene or themselues, within the compasse of sixe dayes, if the Winds would permit.*

For performance whereof, they deliuered for Hostages, Mr. *Oliuer Mannors*, Brother to the Earle of *Rutland*, Mr. *Leighton*, Mr. *Pelham*, and Mr. *Horsie*. The last remaining, was, Mr. *Edm. Randolph*, Marshall of the Campe, who, with a pitty and commiseration, neuer ouer-highly to be extolled, ceased not to carry vpon his owne shoulders, poore, miserable, and weake Soldiers into the Ships.

And

And thus, *Haure de grace*, being more violently assailed by the Plague, then any enemie, was left to the *French*, hauing beene formerly in the *Englishmens* hands, about eleuen Moneths; during which time, besides priuate Soldiers, there dyed of the Pestilence, these famous Captaines, *Somerset*, *Zouch*, *Alb. Darcy*, *Drurey*, *Entwesel*, *Ormesby*, *Vaughan*, *Crookes*, *Cocson*, *Proud*, *Saul*, and *Kemish*: and with the Sword, two Brothers of the *Tremayns*, *Sanders*, *Bromfield*, Master of the Ordnance, *Robinson*, Baylife of the Towne; *Strangewaies*, very expert in Sea-seruice; & *Goodall*, maruelous vnderstanding in casting of Mines.

France *reioyceth for recouery of* Haure de grace.

For the so happy recouery of this little Towne, the King of *France* gaue publike thanksgiuing vnto God; the Papists all ouer *France*, made Bonefires of ioy, exulting and boasting, in that the *English-men* were driuen out by the ayde and helpe of the Protestants, who first called them in, and that by this meanes, some seeds of discord were sowne betweene them and the Protestants of *France*; and the Chancellour of the Hospitall, in an ample Discourse, expressing to them the present felicity they thereby enioyed, and the generall contentment they ought to receiue, and testifie the same withall, for the amplification of this subiect; and, out of a false surmize, he reported to them, that the day before the Townes surrender, there was seene within the view thereof, an *English* Fleet, which came for ayde and succour: and he openly auerred, that by reason of this warre, the *English* were wholly frustrate of their right and demand, touching the restoring of *Calais*. The infected Soldiers were transported into *England*, who so spred the face of this sicknesse, through a contagious and infectiue poyson, as all the Kingdome was therewith grieuously afflicted, & onely in the Citie of *London*, consisting of an hundred twenty and one Parishes, within the compasse of one yeere, an hundred and thirty thousand men, rather more then lesse, dyed.

The Engl. Soldiers bring the Plague into London, *and other parts of* England.

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Monsieur de *Guize*, Vncle to the Queene of *Scots*, dying while this Ciuill Warre lasted, the Queenes Maiesty of *Scotland* not beeing paid her Dowrie, Marquis *Hamilton* deprived of the Duchy of *Chastelraut*, and the *Scottish* Guard being excluded from the King of *France*, the Queen of *Scots* tooke it very much to heart. But the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, her other Vncle, fearing that this would bee a subiect which might cause her to reiect the *French*, and become friend to the *English*, sends her word againe by *Croc*, to marry with *Charles* of *Austria*, and to offer for her Dowrie, the County of *Tyrol*. Shee aduertiseth Queene ELIZABETH thereof, who counselled her, by *Randoll* (who I haue spoken on before) to make choice of a Husband, as heretofore I haue said: and withall (more plainely then yet shee had done) recommended *Robert Dudley* (whose wife (beeing heire to *Robsert*) had lately broke her necke) and promised her, in case that she would marry him, to declare her, Her *Sister, or Daughter, and Englands Heretrix*, by Act of Parliament. *Foix*, the *French* Ambassadour, made the Queene Mother, and her Vncles acquainted with this, who presently disdained the Party so much, as altogether vnworthy of that Race and Royall Maiestie, that they promised not onely to pay her Dowrie, but also, that the *Scots* should haue their ancient immunities, yea, and more, if shee would stand firme in amity with *France*, and reiect the marriage which was offered her: telling her, that Queen ELIZABETH did not propound this marriage to her seriously, but with dissimulation, as hauing destin'd *Dudley* for her owne Husband: and that shee should not ground her hope vpon the authority of the Parliament, because that in *England*, one Parliament abolisheth what another hath established. Furthermore, that the designes of the Councell of *England* were no other, but to hinder her from marrying at all.

Marriage againe propounded to the Queene of Scots.

The Queene of England recommends Dudley for her husband.

The French dissuaded her.

She

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She neuertheleſſe referres it to the Colloque, being moleſted with troubles in her Kingdome, to ſee that the Arch-biſhop of Saint *Andrewes* had beene impriſoned by the command of the Earle of *Murray*, for not deſiſting to celebrate the Maſſe, who would ſcarce grant him pardon, though he asked it with flowing teares: and that the feruent Miniſters, ſupporting themſelues by *Murrayes* authoritie, did violence to the Prieſt who had celebrated Maſſe in her Court (being allowed by the Law,) and were not puniſhed. And it was not poſſible for her to ſuppreſſe thoſe which troubled the affaires, though all her care was wholy for the Common-wealth, granting a perpetuall forgetfulneſſe of all that was paſt, increaſing the ſtipend of Iudges, eſtabliſhing wholeſome Lawes, inflicting capitall puniſhment vpon Adulterers, and often her ſelfe hearing cauſes pleaded in the Seat of Iuſtice, ſo that by an equall Law, ſhee gouerned both the great and the ſmall.

They inſult ouer their Queene.

In this vnlucky yeere dyed *William Gray*, Baron of *Wilton*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, who had in warre purchaſed great glory, & much diminiſhed his patrimony for the ranſome that he payed when he was taken priſoner in *France*. The Proteſtants lamented much for him, and *Francis* Earle of *Bedford* was ſubſtituted in his place.

The Baron of Gray *dyes,*

Aluarus of *Quadra*, Biſhop of *Aquila*, Ambaſſadour of *Spaine* in *England*, likewiſe dyes, who was no leſſe lamented by the Papiſts, whom he had fed with hope, that the Romiſh Religion ſhould haue beene re-eſtabliſhed. The *Poles*, of whom I haue ſpoken, were his intimates, whereby he made himſelfe ſuſpected to haue nothing elſe in his minde, but to trouble and diſorder the affaires of *England*, and to breake the amitie which was betweene the Queene and the King of *Spaine*: whereupon, the Queene intreated the King to reuoke him. But hee excuſed it by his piety, and writ backe, that it would be a great incom-

And the Biſhop of Aquila.

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moditie to Princes, if at the first discontentment that is taken at their Ambassadours, they should be constrayned to reuoke them. And to say truth, hee was displeased, that without giuing him notice, they had shut him vp in his House, subiect to be questioned and publiquely reprehended, for no other cause, but that one *Italian* hauing shot another with a Pistoll, he admitted him into his House, and conueyed him priuately away: whereupon, he was more prouoked against the *English* than euer tofore; taking occasion thereby to say, that the *English* Pyrates molested the entries of *Spaine*, and prepared to goe for the West-Indies; and made it appeare manifestly, sending *Richard Shelley*, an *English* Fugitiue for Religion, (who was greatly bent against his Prince) vpon an Embassie of honour to *Maximilian* the designed King of the *Romanes*, to congratulate with him, and seyzed vpon some *English* Merchants Ships, in the Ports of *Beotia*, because the *English* pursuing the *French*, had intercepted some *Spanish* Ships.

The Spaniard against the English.

William, Lord *Paget*, who for his vertue was exalted to three eminent dignities, died. Hee was so learned, that HENRY the Eighth made him his Secretary, sent him in an Embassie to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and to *Francis* the First, King of *France*, and he nominated him to be one of the Gouernours of the Kingdome, during the minority of his Sonne: Then *Edward* made him Chancellor of the Duchie of *Lancaster*, Controller of the Kings House, honoured him with the dignity of a Baron, gratified him with the Order of the Garter, which was reprochfully taken from him, by *Dudley* Earle of *Northumberland*, but restored againe with honour by Queene MARIE, because, by his prudence and sound aduice, he had done good seruice to the Common-wealth: and hee conferred vpon him the keeping of the Priuy Seale, which is one of the foure highest dignities of ciuill honour. For, HENRY the Eighth, by Act of Parliament, constituted the first in the

Lord Paget dyeth.

the Chancellor, the second in the Treasurer, the third in the Lord President of the Priuy Councell, and the fourth in the Keeper of the Priuy Seale, aboue all Dukes; and inferiour onely, to the Children, Brethren, Vnkles, or Nephewes to the King. Queene ELIZABETH, perceiuing that his old yeeres exempted him from being conuersant in matters of State, as formerly he had beene, remitted him of whatsoeuer belonged to publique administrations, and loued him affectionately, though hee stood zealously affected to the *Romane* Religion. Hee left behinde him, *Henry* and *Thomas*, his Children, who succeeded him one after another, in his dignity of a Baron: *Charles*, who purchased renowne to his name, and some Daughters, who were married into honourable Families.

Booke I. 1563. *The supreme dignities of honour in* England.

Henry Manners, or *Manners*, Earle of *Rutland*, died, who was Sonne to *Thomas* the first Earle of that Family, Nephew to *Iames*, Baron of *Rosse*, who came of the Daughter of *Thomas* S. *Leger*, and *Anne* his wife, who, by reason she was Sister to EDVVARD the Fourth, gaue wonderfull lustre and splendor to that name; Cousin-germaine to *Robert*, who hauing married the Daughter and Heire to the Baron of *Rosse*, an honourable and ancient Family, augmented his owne with mightie reuenewes, and the title of Baron of *Rosse*: and he had by the Lady *Neuill*, Daughter to *Ralph* Earle of *Westmerland*, two Sonnes, *Edward* and *Iohn*, who were each of them, in their due times, Earles of *Rutland*: and a Daughter, who was married to *William Courtney* of *Powderham*.

Death of the Earle of Rutland.

Frances, Duches of *Suffolke*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Mary* second Sister to HENRY the Eighth, and Queene Dowager of *France*, died, who was afflicted with many miseries during her life. She saw her eldest Daughter *Ianes* head cut off, after shee had beene proclaymed Queene, and presently after, her Husbands: her second Daughter, married to the Earle of *Pembroke*, to be

Duchesse of Suffolke.

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be diuorc'd and impriſon'd: and her third Daughter, meanly married to *Key*, who in his time was Maſter of the Reuels at Court: And then her ſelfe, forgetting from what degree ſhe deſcended, to her great diſhonour, yet notwithſtanding for her beſt ſecurity, married with *Andrew Stoakes*, a meere priuate Gentleman.

(∴)

THE

Booke 1564.

THE SEVENTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1564.

Rance then reioyced for the peace shee enioyed, which in some manner was maintayned with the Queene of *England*, as being established, to shut vp all entry to the *English*, who began to flye out, in calling to mind the cruell slaughters made by them in former ages, when the Duke of *Burgundie* called them in, for reuenge of his peculiar rancours and hatreds. But this peace hauing rather slaked the feruent heat of warre, than fastned any true concord or amity betweene the *English* and the *French*; and the Queenes Maiesty perceiuing how the Protestants neglected and contemned her, ingratefully returning those pleasures and fauours shee had done them, resolued to trouble her selfe no more in others

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behalfe, to the preiudice and hinderance of her owne proceedings. Wherefore, she bent all her care and thoughts to her owne occasions, deliberated to make peace, commended the ouerture thereof to Sir *Thomas Smith*, a wise and learned man; and the *French*, lending a ready eare to the same, gaue him *Throgmorton* for his Assistant, who was then in *France* a prisoner at large, to the end they might both together negotiate and procure the same. The *French* King for his part, assigned a Commission to *Mornillier*, Bishop of *Orleance*, and to *Iohn Bourdin*, one of his Secretaries. You may hereunder see the Articles whereupon they came to an accord, in the moneth of *Aprill*, within the Towne of *Troyes* in *Champaigne*.

Articles of peace accorded on betweene the English and the French.

That one should not violently assaile the other, neither yeeld succours to any other that made assault either vpon the one or other; particulars onely should be lyable to their peculiar insults and offences. No Traytors nor Rebels of eyther side were to be receiued. All former iniuries were to be buried in obliuion. Excepted all rights, actions, suites, and pretensions, which eyther they haue, or pretend to haue respectiuely one against another, shall remaine forcible and entire, and so likewise all exceptions and prohibitions to the contrary.

These Articles concluded vpon, the day following they annexed these Couenants separately, and apart: *That a certaine summe of money should be payd to the* Queene *of* England, *at daies constituted and appointed: The Hostages in* England *were to be deliuered after the satisfaction of fiue hundred crownes.* And so this Treaty being ratified and confirmed, *Throgmorton* might freely returne into his Country. The King of *France* made Bone-fires of ioy, according to the custome, and after the Queene of *England* had ratified the

the same by oath in the presence of *Gunor*, and *Foix*, himselfe likewise within a very small time confirmed it, in the presence of the Lord of *Hunsdon*, who, hauing at the same instant admitted his Maiesty to the Order of S. *George*, he solemnely invested him with the Garter, the Robe of honour, a Collar of Esses, whereat hung the picture of Saint *George*, and other ornaments belonging to that Order.

In those dayes, there arriued in *England*, clad in the habit and grauity of a Priest, to appeare more venerable, *Diego* or *Drilaco*, *Guzman de la Forresta*, a Canon of *Toledo*, sent in stead of the Bishop of *Aquilar*, deceased some moneths before, during which internall, *Roderic Gomez de la Forresta*, out of an hatred to Religion, had bin the procurer of some rude entreaties of the *English* in *Spaine*, who notwithstanding was much qualified by the Duke of *Alua*, no man being able truely to say, whether hee did it out of any loue he bare to the *English*, or hatred to *Gomez*. The like ill entreaty they also found in the Prouinces of the Low-Countries, that liued vnder the *Spanish* gouernement, at the instigation of the Cardinal of *Granuella*, who, to sow dissention betweene them and the *Flemmings*, who held friendly and neighbourly commerce together, in hatred to the said Religion, he so brought it to passe, that the yeere before the *Flemmings* complayned by *Assonuil*, that the customes of *England* were enhaunst, (though this was performed during the reigne of *Philip* and MARY) and that by Act of Parliament, many of their handy-workes were there interdicted. The *English* on the other side, they exhibited also Bills of complaint, how for small and trifling occasions, their goods were confiscated in *Flanders*, by vertue of new Edicts, which also prohibited the bringing in of certaine merchandizes, or to goe into *Italie*, and *Germanie*, by way of *Flanders*, with horse, Salt-Peter, and Powder. That they iniuriously exacted of them greater

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The King France *a* *stalled in* *Order of* Garter.

The Eng *ill entrea* *in* Spain

And in Low-C tries.

The m *complai* *of the* E lish. *and* Flemm

Book 1. 1564.

Impoſts than euer were ſo much as mentioned in former times, and all this againſt that Treaty of Commerce heretofore concluded on, which was called the Grand Intercourſe.

Engliſh Merchants prohibited in the Low-Countries.

In the meane while, the Princeſſe of *Parma*, Regent of the Low Countries, cauſed publique prohibitions to be diuulged: firſt, that no forbidden merchandize ſhould be tranſported into *England*, and then preſently after, for the importing of any *Engliſh* clothes into *Flanders*, colouring it with the pretext of the plague, which not long before had ſpred it ſelfe all *England* ouer. But the naked truth is, all theſe things were managed, by the cautelous counſels and ſtratagems of Cardinall *Granuelle*, to cauſe the Clothiers, and other workemen depending on them, to riſe, when they ſaw no clothes to be tranſported: and yet the traffique of Clothes was eſtabliſhed in *Flanders*, to the preiudice of the *Engliſh*, who prouoked hereat, conſtituted a Faire of *Engliſh* cloth and merchandizes at *Embden* in Eaſt *Frizeland*, as if they feared the Spaniſh Inquiſition, which now was entred into the Low-Countries, and fore-ſaw that troubles would preſently enſue.

The Engliſh conſtitute a Faire or Mart at Embden.

Againſt all this, the Regent publiſhed an Edict, importing an expreſſe prohibition of all men, vpon paine of confiſcation, to entertaine any traffique with the *Engliſh* at *Embden*, or any where elſe, or to tranſport into the Low-Countries, any Merchandizes bought of them.

Guzman blam'd theſe proceedings, as beeing too ſtrict and rigorous, dammageable both to the one and other part: For this wiſe man conceiued truely, what wealth dayly came into *Flanders*, by meanes of the *Engliſh* Taffique, euer ſince *Lewis Malan*, Earle of *Flanders*, about the yeere 1338. by a Grant of great immunities, had drawne the *Engliſh*, to ſettle a Mart, or Staple of *Engliſh* Wools at *Bruges*: for euer ſince that time, in a manner all Nations flocking into *Flanders*, to buy Clothes, and other *Engliſh* Merchandizes,

Guzman laueth at one diſcretion.

chandizes, as also to sell their owne there, it is incredible, what Traffiques, Commerces, Nauigations, and Fishings, haue euer since flourisht among the *Flemmings*. So as this wooll was vnto them a true Golden Fleece: and that Noble Order of the *Golden Fleece*, fetcheth from hence its originall, and the Dukes of *Burgundy*, their great wealth and Treasure. And questionlesse, in these very dayes wherein wee liue, (I speake according to the papers of Account) the Commerce that is betweene the *English* and the *Flemmings*, hath amounted to aboue twelue Millions of gold each yeere: And the Clothes transported euery yeere to *Antwerpe*, (omitting to speake of Lead, Tinne, and other things) is estimated at fiue Millions of gold. Wherefore, vpon these considerations, *Guzman* employing all meanes possible, to atone this difference, at last hee obtained, that the Commerce lately broken off betweene the two Nations, might be resettled in its former state, and that whatsoeuer had beene ordained and decreed, from the first day of the first yeeres raigne of Queene ELIZABETH, both of the one side and on the other, should surcease, till, by Deputies both for the one and the other partie, more ample prouision could be made. But the yeere following, when my Lord *Montaigue*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *William Haddon*, Master of the Requests, Delegates for the *English*, *Montigny*, *Assonuil*, and *Io. Egidius*, for the *Flemmings*, had begunne twice to treate of these matters in the Towne of *Bruges*, the *Flemmings* falling into their precedent tumults, interrupted this Treatie, after an Agreement made, that this Commerce and Traffique should be free, while one of the Princes made an opposite denountiation to the other; the Marchants of both parties being aduertised forty dayes before, to prouide and take some order for their liuing commodities.

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These things beeing thus ordain'd out of the Kingdome, the Queenes Maiesty betooke her selfe to the plea-

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Queene Elizabeth visits the Vniuersity of Cambridge.

sure and recreations of the Countrey; and to this end shee visited the Vniuersity of *Cambridge*, which is one of the two resplendent Lampes of *England*, where, beeing entertained of the Schollers, with all manner of honours, and taken contentment in beholding their Comedies, Tragedies, and exercises of Armes, she personally visited all the Colledges, and in a Latine Oration, gaue them great thanks for their singular loue and affection, highly commended their profound and diuers Eruditions, exhorting them to apply their hearts to the studies of piety and learning, and for their vertuous stimulation, promising alwaies to fauour and cherish them.

Robert Dudley *raised to honors.*

When shee returned, the more to honour *Robert Dudley*, *Sarlatan*, a speciall Fauourite of hers, whō, with a secret designe, she made choice of for an husband to the Q. of *Scots*, she created him Baron of *Denbigh*, giuing him the Castle of *Denbigh* in property, with all the appurtenances of Soyle, and Demeanes; and the day after, Earle of *Leicester*, to himselfe, and the heires males of his body lawfully begotten: hauing likewise before, for his sake, confer'd vpon *Ambrose*, his elder Brother, the dignities of Baron of *Lisle*, and Earle of *Warwicke*, to him, and his lawfull heires males, for euer. The Lord *Dudley*, exalted by all these supereminent honours, and to currey fauour with the Queen of *Scots*, whom he affected, and studied by all manner of Offices to deserue well of; presently, before Queene ELIZABETH, he accused Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, of discussing the point of Succession, against the Queene of *Scots*, and that he was priuy to a Libell, wherein that same *Hales*, of whom before I spake, laboured to intimate, that if the Queenes Maiesty of *England*, then liuing, dyed without Issue, the right of the Crowne came to the House of *Suffolke*. For which cause, he was committed prisoner; and as for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, though he absolutely denyed it, my Lord *Cecill* resoluing to conceale

Dudley *accuseth* Bacon.

1564.

ceale what hee thought, vntill the Queene (whose Maiestie hee was assured, would neuer in this case impose on him any demand) should command him to speake his minde: had much adoe to recouer him her fauour, and long time he was a compassing it; for nothing could be more distastfull to her, then to heare any debatements about this Title of Succession. But so the wiser and wealthier sort were more carefull and studious of nothing then of this, they obseruing how by reason of the contrariety of Religion, the Protestants, transported with an ardent zeale, held opinion, that the Queene of *Scots*, being of an opposite Religion, (though otherwise her right was neuer so much as called in question) ought neuertheless, by the subtill construction of the Lawes, to bee reiected from succession: Some Papists againe, and those who had reference to that which was iust and equall, maintain'd how she was to be receiued as the true, right, and vndoubted Inheritrix. Others there were, who prefer'd before her, MARGARET, her Aunt by the Mothers side, and Wife to *Mathew Stuart* Earle of *Lenox*, and her Children, of whom they conceiued good hopes, because they were borne in *England*. All this lay not hid from the Queene of *Scots*; who, to preuent it so farre as was possible, by the Countesse of *Lenox*, her Aunt, sent for *Mathew*, Earle of *Lenox*, to come into *Scotland*, vnder pretext to re-establish and settle him in the Inheritance of his Predecessors. But this was to consult further with him, who, by his Wiues meanes, obtained leaue, and Letters from Q. ELIZABETH, after he had bin banisht out of his natiue Countrey, for the space of 20. yeeres.

Diners opinions about the point of Succession.

The Queene of Scots calhome the Earle of Lenox into Scotland.

This Earle of *Lenox* (to the end that relating the same from the essentiall extraction of his eminent Nobility, I may giue the better light & lustre to things) was descended from the very same race of the *Stuarts*, as the Royall Progeny of the *Scots* came from; and moreouer lately by the *Hamiltons*, of the bloud-Royall: For *Marie*, daughter to

The discent of the Earle of Lenox.

James

Booke. 1. *James* 2. King of *Scotland*, had by *James Hamilton*, *James*, who was the first Earle of *Arraine*, & *Mary*, who was wife to *Matt. Stuart*, first Earle of *Lenox* of that name. *James*, Earle of *Arraine*, being diuorced from his first Wife, tooke in her place the Lady *Ienet Beton*, Aunt by the Mothers side, to the Cardinall *Beton*, by whom hee had Issue, *James Hamilton* Duke of *Chastel-Herault*. *Marie*, Sister to the Earle of *Arraine*, bore to *Mathew*, *John*, Earle of *Lenox*, who being slaine by the *Hamiltons*, when hee attempted to set King IAMES the fourth at liberty, left this *Mathew*, Earle of *Lenox*, whom King *James* the Fifth loued most dearly in respect of his Father.

1564.

When the King was dead, and the *Hamiltons* in full authority, *Mathew* went secretly into *France*; from whence, being sent backe, by the French King *Henry* the second, into *Scotland*, to preuent all detriment to the *Scottish* Common-wealth, through the practices of the Regent *Hamilton*, hee valiantly carried himselfe in this employment. But being of an honest milde nature, and very open-hearted, permitting himselfe to bee outreached by *Hamilton*, and the Cardinall *Beton*, in a small time hee lost the amity of the French, and when hee could neither tarry in *Scotland*, nor returne into *France*, he went into *England*, and committed himselfe in trust to King *Henry* the Eighth, who very graciously entertained him, as one that was powerfull & well beloued in the Westerne parts of *Scotland*: Whereupon, he acknowledged him for next Heire to the Crowne of *Scotland*, after Queene MARY, who was then exceeding yong, (though neuertheleſse the *Hamiltons* condemned him, and confiscated all his Lands) gaue him to Wife the Lady *Margaret Douglasse*, his Neece by the elder Sisters side, with demeanes in *England*, which amounted in an annuall reuennew, to the summe of 1700. Marks, after hee had made promise to surrender into his hands, the Castle of *Dunbritton*, and the Ile of *Bute*, with

with the Castle of *Rothsay*, which is in *England*. The which hee vndertooke with courage, but fayled in the successe.

Booke 1. 1564.

The Queene of *Scots*, beeing a wise and prudent Lady, all whose drifts aymed at *England*, shee gaue him her safe conduct, and restored vnto him his Fathers goods, both that hee might oppose the designes of *Iames*, his bastard brother, whom shee had honoured with the Earledome of *Murray*, as also to cut off the hopes of others, by the meanes of *Darley* her Sonne, which they might any wayes foster and nourish, of succession to the Diadem of *England*. For shee feared, that being of the Blood Royall, borne in *England*, and very well beloued of the *English*, if hee were ioyned with any puissant Family in *England*, relying on the *English* power and forces, hee might happely one day disturbe her right of succession to the Kingdome of *England*; many men reputing him for the second Heire apparant after her: and shee affected nothing more feruently, then by his meanes, to bring the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to fall into some *Scottish* Race, and Name, and so by him to propagate them to posteritie, in the name of the *Stewards*, his Ancestors.

Causes of the Repeale of the Earle of Lenox.

Queene ELIZABETH well discerned all this, and to preuent it, gaue the Queene of *Scots* to vnderstand by *Randolph*, that this Marriage was so distastfull to all the *English*, as against the consent of her Councell; she was enforst to prorogue the conuentions of Parliament, to some other fitter time, for feare, lest the States of the Kingdome therewith prouoked, should enact somewhat, to the preiudice of her right to the succession. And therefore, to cut off all occasions of this Issue hereafter, and to satisfie the *English*, she aduised her to thinke of some other marriage; and so by this meanes, shee once againe, and with great affection, commended vnto her the Earle of *Leicester*,

The Queene of England endeuours to preuent the Qu. of Scots proiect.

Booke 1.

1564

Another commendation of the Earle of Leicester.

A Treaty of Marriage betweene the Queene of Scots and the Earle of Leicester.

for an Husband, who, for this speciall reason, she had exalted to the Dignity of an Earle.

For prosecution of this, the Earles of *Bedford*, of *Randolph*, and of *Lidington*, were deputed to treat of this marriage at *Barwicke*, in the Moneth of *Nonember*. The *English* promised vnto her, a firme and constant Amity, a perpetuall Peace, and that vndoubtedly shee should succeed to the Crowne of *England*, if she married with the Earle of *Leicester*. The *Scots* on the other side contested; alleadging, That their Queenes Dignitie, who had beene sued vnto, by *Charles*, Sonne to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, the King of *France*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, could not permit her, so farre to embase and vnder-valew her selfe, as to match with a new-made Earle, a Subiect of *England*, and who propounded nothing but bare hopes, without any certaine Dowrie: neither stood it with the honour of the Queene of *England*, to commend such a man for an Husband to so great a Princesse, her neere Kinswoman; but rather, shee should giue an infallible testimonie of her great loue and affection towards her, to giue her absolute libertie to make choice of such an husband, as might entertaine perpetuall peace with *England*, to assigne her a yeerely Pension, and with the authority of the Parliament, confirme the right which shee had to succeede. In all this busines, the extreme desire of Queene ELIZABETH was (although she made discreete haste) to assure, by such a marriage, the succession of the Kingdome in an *English* Race. The Queene of *Scotland* seeing that this businesse had beene prolonged full two yeeres, and making account to marry *Darley*, doubted whether she was proceeded withall in good earnest, or no; and that Queene ELIZABETH did not propound this marriage, but to make a pre-election of the most worthy for her selfe, or to marry the more excusable with *Leicester*, She beeing absolute

absolute Queene, after she should haue really consented to marry him. But the Commissioners of *Scotland*, weighing these reasons, to maintaine their power with the Queene, had resolued to hinder, by all meanes, all kinde of marriages. Queene ELIZABETH admonisheth them to hinder that with *Darley*; *Leicester* himselfe full of hope to enioy Queene ELIZABETH, by secret Letters, priuily warnes the Earle of *Bedford*, not to presse the thing, and with this hope, it is credibly thought, that hee secretly fauoured *Darley*.

Booke 1564.

Booke I.
1565.

THE EIGHTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1565.

Darley goes into Scotland.

DARLEY in the meane time, by the intercession of his Mother, with Prayers and diligence to Queene ELIZABETH, obtained (though with much difficultie) leaue to goe into *Scotland*, and to stay there three Moneths, vnder pretext, to be partaker of his Fathers establishment; and came to *Edenborrough* in the Moneth of *February*, in the great winter, when the *Thames* was so frozen, that people passed dry ouer on foot. Hee was a Youth of a most worthy Carriage, fit to beare rule, of an excellent composition of members, of a milde spirit, and of a most sweet behauiour. As soone as the Queene of *Scotland* had seene him, she fell in loue with him;

He is beloued of the Queene of Scotland.

him; and to the end to keepe her loue secret, in discoursing with *Randolph* the *English* Ambassadour in *Scotland*, she often-times intermixt her discourse with the marriage of *Leicester*, and at the same time, seekes a dispensation from *Rome* for *Darley*, shee being so neere in bloud, that according to the *Popes* Ordinance, they stood in neede of one. This being come to euery bodies knowledge, shee sends *Lidington* to Queene ELIZABETH, to haue her consent to contract with *Darley*, and not to be any longer detained with a vaine hope of marriage.

Queene ELIZABETH propounds the matter to her most intimate Councellors; who, by the secret suggestions of the Earle of *Murray*, easily beleeued that the Queene of *Scotland* had no other designe, but to strengthen her selfe by such a marriage, to carry the right which shee pretended for the Kingdome of *England*, and at length, to establish it, and likewise the Romish Religion: that some did adhere vnto her, seeing that, by reason of her children, the succession was ascertained to her House; and others, for the affection which they bare to the Romish Religion, there being found more *Eirenarch's* in *England* deuoted to the Romish Religion, than to the Protestants. That to preuent these accidents, it was chiefly requisite, first, to pray the Queene to marry speedily, to the end that the affaires and hopes of *England* should not depend else-where, but of the certainty of Succession, which should come of her, and of her Linage: (for they feared that if the Queene of *Scotland* did marry, and should haue issue first, many would incline towards her for the certainty and assurednesse of succession.) Secondly, to ruine (as much as may be) the Romish Religion in *England*, and to aduance and carefully establish the reformed: the one, by vsing more moderately in things indifferent, such Protestants that are carried with a feruent zeale: the other, in setting Guards againe vpon the deposed papisticall Bishops, who were then

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Asketh C
Elizabeth
consent.

Deliberat
on vpon it

Booke I. 1565.

dispersed through the Countrey by reason of the plague, conferring vpon the other Bishops greater authority to execute the Ecclesiasticall Ordinances then they had, contrary to the terrifying *Præmunire* which the Lawyers doe obiect, suppressing those Bookes which *Harding*, and the fugitiue Diuines had sent out of the Low-Countries into *England*, driuing out some *Scottish* Priests, who hid themselues in *England*, depriuing the *English* fugitiues of the Ecclesiasticall Benefices which they enioyed vntill then, and compelling the Iudges of the Land, who were for the most part Papists, to acknowledge the Queenes Soueraigne authority, and to sweare vnto it: And that to hinder the marriage of *Darley*, it was fit to leuy Souldiers vpon the Frontiers of *Scotland*, to the end to raise a terrour: to fortifie the Garrison of *Berwicke*: to set a guard vpon the Countesse of *Lenox*, *Darley's* Mother, and on *Charles* her Sonne: and to re-call out of *Scotland* into *England*, the Earle of *Lenox* and *Darley* his Sonne, vpon paine of losse of their goods, before they made any alliance with the *French*, or with *Spaine*: and to assist those which were bent against this match, and to receiue the Earle of *Hertford* and *Katherine Gray* somewhat into fauour: which thing onely was thought that the Queene of *Scotland* very much apprehended, in regard that shee likewise pretended a right to the Kingdome, and it seemed none other could bring a greater impediment to this marriage than she.

Throgmorton is sent to border.

From hence, *Throgmorton* is sent to the Queene of *Scotland*, to aduise her, that it behooued to deliberate long of a thing that can be but once determined on, and that a precipitate marriage was followed with repentance: to re-commend *Leicester* to her againe, and againe, and that it was altogether contrary to Canon Law, to contract with the Sonne of her Aunt by the Father-side: For Queene ELIZABETH desired aboue all, that some of the *English* Race should by her meanes succeed to both the Kingdomes, albeit

albeit there fayled not, who for matter of Religion, and for the two Kingdomes, made account to succeed, if shee dyed without issue.

She answers, That it was now past reuoking, and that Queene ELIZABETH had no cause to be angry, seeing that by her Councell she had made choyce of a Husband which was no stranger, but an *English* man borne of the Royall bloud of both the Kingdomes, and the most noble of all Great Brittaine. Amongst these things, *Lidington* treateth of affaires in *England*, and dissembling with *Leicester*, often spoke vnto him touching marriage with the Queene of *Scotland*, as also to the Duke of *Norfolke*, (much more worthy to marry a Queene) who then refused it with a modest excuse.

The Qu. of *England*, to interpose some hindrance to this so hastened marriage, calls backe *Lenox*, and his Son *Darley*, as being her Subiects, according to the forme of the leaue which she had granted them. The Father excuses himselfe modestly by Letters; the Sonne prayes her not to hinder his aduancement, representing vnto her, that hee might be vsefull to *England* his dearest Countrey, and openly declared vnto her, that aboue all things hee loued and honoured the Queene of *Scotland*: To answere which loue, she had adorned him forthwith, with the dignity *Equitis Aurati*, with the titles of Baron of *Ardmanock*, Earle of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothesie*; and fiue moneths after his comming into *Scotland*, marries him with the consent of many Peeres, and declares him King. The Earle of *Murray*, who imbraced nothing so affectionately as ambition, and vnder pretence of Religion, had drawne to his faction the Duke of *Chastelraut*, a man without leauen, *Murray* murmuring exceedingly, and others storming and stirring vp such like questions:

Whether a Papist *might be admitted King or no? If the*

Booke 1565

He is answered.

Lenox *and* Darley *are re-called out of* Scotland

They excuse themselues

The Queene of Scotland marries the Lord Darley.

The Earle of Murray *and others murmure.*

Booke 1. 1565.

the Queene of Scotland *might chuse her selfe a Husband? If the States might not impose their authoritie?*

The Queene of England weighes it with moderation.

The Queene of *England* bare this peaceably, knowing the sweete and tractable nature of *Darley*, and the open heart of his Father, and taking pitty to see a kinsman and a Queene very young, to haue to doe with turbulent men, who hauing beene already more than twenty yeeres loosed from Royall command, could not indure Kings; and feared them not, seeing that the power of this Queene, who enuied her, was not increased by so meane a condition; hauing *Darleyes* Mother in her power: and fore-seeing that troubles in *Scotland* would spring out of this marriage, as it happened quickly after: for some great ones of the Kingdome, and the chiefe of them, *Hamilton* and *Murray*, disdaining this match; the one, because it had beene contracted without the consent of the Queene of *England*; the other, for the enuy which he bare to the House of *Lenox*: but both the one and the other, pretending the conseruation of Religion, to disturbe the marriage, brought their Ensignes into the field: insomuch as she was constrained to raise forces to celebrate it in safety; and, with the helpe of the King her Husband, pursued the Rebels so swiftly, that she constrained them to flie into *England*, before the *English* troupes, which were promised them for ayde, were arriued: and the Queene of *England*, conniuing with *Murray*, who was much addicted to the *English*, assigned him a conuenient place to lye heere in safetie, and sent him money vnder-hand by the Earle of *Bedford*, vntill his returne into *Scotland*, which was the morrow after the murder of *Dauid Riz*, as wee shall speake of it in its owne place. Now the reasons why shee receiued the *Scottish* Rebels into *England*, were these: Because the the Queene of *Scotland* had receiued into her protection,

Some Scots take distaste at the marriage.

They are put to flight.

They are maintained in England.

Taxley,

Taxley, *Standon*, and *Walsh*, *English* Fugitiues, and the *Irish Oneale*, and that she had held Councels with the *Pope* against the *English*, and had not done iustice vpon Theeues and Pirates.

Booke I. 1565.

This marriage being accomplished, those which laboured most for Religion and *Englands* saferie, thought that Queene ELIZABETH could not doe better for that purpose, than to take away all hope of the Succession to *England* from the Queene of *Scotland*. And it fell very commodiously; for, at the same time, *Maximilian* the Second, Emperour, sent word by *Adam Smicorit* his Ambassadour, of very honourable conditions for her to marry with his Brother *Charles*. But there arose instantly a most vehement hatred in the Court, betweene *Sussex* and *Leicester*, I know not whereupon, vnlesse about this marriage, which *Sussex* sought very eagerly to bring to passe, and *Leicester* vnder-hand hindered, hoping to haue her for himselfe (verily great and vnsatiable hopes doe those conceiue, who haue obtained things beyond their hope.) Indeede *Sussex* iniuriously despised him as an vpstart, and, to detract him, would say, that hee could cite onely two of his pedigree, that is to wit, his Father and Grand-father, both being enemies to their Countrey, and attempters against the State, that put the Court in diuision: Insomuch, as when the Earles went abroade, they drew great troupes after them, armed with Swords and piked Targets, which were then in vse, as if it were come to the extremitie. But, within few dayes, the Queene reconciled them, and rather smothered than tooke away their malice, but endeuoured what shee could to extinguish it quite. For, shee condemned dissention among Peeres, and that old prouerbe vsed by many, *Diuide & Impera*, and some, who were of opinion, that the force of command, is by the obeyers consent. And she delighted her selfe, at the emulation and grudging of inferiour women, yet not

They counsell the Qu. of England *to marry.*

The Emperour recommendeth his Brother.

It causeth hatred to grow in the Court.

The Queene reconcileth them.

Booke 1. 1565.

without making speciall good vse thereof.

Among these things, shee is not vnmindfull of the affaires of *Scotland*. A moneth after the solemnization of the marriage there, she sent one *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Priuy-Chamber, to the Qu. of *Scotland*, to exhort her not to breake the peace, to expostulate about the marriage which shee had so rashly contracted without her consent, and withall, to send backe *Lenox*, and *Darley* his Sonne, according to the transaction, and to receiue *Murray* into grace. She, perceiuing whereunto this tended, admitted not *Tamworth*, but by Articles in writing,

Tamworth is admitted.

They answere by writing.

Promiseth, by the word of a Princesse, *that neither shee nor her Husband would enterprise any thing to the preiudice of the* Queene *of* England, *or to her Children lawfully begotten of her bodie, or to the tranquillity of the Kingdome, by admitting of Fugitiues, or making alliance with strangers, or by any other means; but, to the contrary, they would most freely contract such an alliance with the* Queene *and Kingdome of* England, *as should be commodious and honourable for both the Kingdomes, and innouate nothing in Religion, contrary to the Lawes and liberties of* England, *if they should happen to enioy the same. Notwithstanding, vpon condition that* Queene ELIZABETH, *on her part, should fully performe the same to her and her Husband, and, by authoritie of the Parliament, should confirme the Crowne of* England *vpon her and her issue lawfully begotten; and, for fault of such issue, vpon* Margaret *Countesse of* Lenox, *her Husbands Mother, and of her Children lawfully begotten. Moreouer, as soone as shee had resolued to marry, shee had assured the* Queene *that it should be with* Darley, *and had no answere from the* Queene *vpon it. That shee had satisfied her demands, seeing shee had married*

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an English *man, and no stranger, whom shee knew to be more nobly descended, and more worthy of her, than any in* Great-Brittaine. *But it seemed strange that shee might not retaine* Darley *by her, to whom she was bound in the sacred bond of marriage, or* Lenox, *who was naturally* Earle *of* Scotland. *As for* Murray, *whom shee had proued to be her sworne enemy, shee graciously intreated her to giue her freedome ouer her Subiects, seeing she meddled not with the affaires of* England.

Booke 1565.

Tamworth returned with this answere, not hauing been intertained according to his worth. And indeed being an impudent man, hee had wronged the reputation of the Queene of *Scotland*, and disdained to giue her Husband title of King.

At the same time, Queene ELIZABETH had this augmentation of honour, that at the report of her vertue, which was equally spred in all places, *Cecillia*, *Henry* the Second King of *Suedens* Sister, and Wife to *Christopher*, Marquis of *Baden*, being then great with Childe, came from the furthest part of the North, and a great iourney, through *Germanie*, to visit her. She intertained her and her Husband very magnificently, gaue him a yeerely pension, christened his Sonne, and named him *Edward* the Fortunate. And *Donald Mac Cartymore*, one of the greatest Peeres of *Ireland*, humbly submitted himselfe and his large Territories to the Queene, to hold them from her hereafter in fee for him and his heires males lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue, to the Crowne of *England*. This Princesse, who was borne to draw the affections of men, according to her humanity, most graciously receiued him, installed him solemnely, and like himselfe, Earle of *Glencar*; and *Tegue* his Sonne, Baron of *Valance*; gaue them gifts, payed the charge of their voyage, and

Cecillia, *Queene of* Sueden, *comes into England.*

Creation of the Earle of Glencar.

Booke 1.

1565.

Pro-Royes Iustices Ireland.

and all this, to get a party against the Earle of *Desmond*, who was suspected to renouate new things.

The same yeere, *Nicholas Arnold*, of the County of *Glocester*, Knight, was sent to gouerne *Ireland* with the title of Iusticiary, and had for his Garrison, onely one thousand fiue hundred ninety sixe Souldiers. But, within a while after, being called backe, hee gaue vp his place to *Henry Sidney*, who in the reigne of Queene MARY was Iudge and Treasurer of *Ireland*, and presently after, President of *Wales*. Now, to note this by the way, the chiefe Gouernours of *Ireland*, which now in Latine are termed *Proreges*, since the first entrance of the *English*, vntill the time of *Edward* the Third, were called *Iustices* of *Ireland*, and their Lieutenants, *Deputies*. Since, according to the pleasure of the Prince, they are called one while *Iustices*, and another while *Lieutenants*, which is a most honourable title, but for the most part of like authority. And without doubt, these chiefe Iustices of *Ireland*, as the Iustices of *England*, which were called at that time, simply, Iustices, were ordained to keepe the peace, and to doe Iustice to all and to euery particular, as, in times past, the *Romanes* had their *Pro-Pretors* and *Pro-Consuls*, which were sent into Prouinces with Soueraigne authority.

Affaires of Ireland.

Sidney, being Gouernour of this *Prouince*, found the Countrey of *Mounster*, which lyes toward the South, in great confusion, in regard of great and sharpe troubles which were betweene *Giraald*, Earle of *Desmond* (who had faithfully promised to performe all the dueties of a loyall Subiect) and others, who were broken out into ciuill warres. To extinguish these Controuersies, Queene ELIZABETH calls *Desmond* into *England*, and makes him Gouernour and Iustice of that *Prouince*, with an Assessor, two Lawyers and a Clerke, and nominated *Warham S. Leger* chiefe President, a man that had beene long conuersant in *Irish* affaires.

Discord betweene the Earles of Desmond and Ormond.

Chiefe President of Mounster.

About

About the middle of *October*, the same yeere, dyed *Thomas Chaloner*, lately returned Ambassadour from *Spaine*, a famous man, borne in *London*, brought vp at *Cambridge*, who had addicted himselfe as well to *Mars* as to the *Muses*, and being but young, got honour vnder *Charles* the fifth, in the expedition of *Alger*, who hauing suffered ship-wrack, and had swomme so long, that his strength and armes fayled him, saued himselfe, by taking hold of a Cable with his teeth, whereof he lost some: Vnder EDVVARD the Sixth, at *Musselborrough*, where hee behaued himselfe so valiantly, that the Duke of *Sommerset* honoured him with the Dignitie of Knight-hood: And vnder Queene ELIZABETH, in an extraordinary Ambassie to the Emperour *Ferdinand*; and foure yeeres ordinary Ambassadour in *Spaine*, where he composed fiue Bookes in pure and learned Verse, of the restauration of the *English* Common-wealth, which he called [*Hieme in fumo, æstate in horreo.*] Hee was honourably buried at Saint *Pauls* in *London*, *Cecill* being chiefe mourner, when *Thomas*, his Sonne (who liued neere HENRY, Prince of Wales) was very yong.

Booke 1565. *The death of Sir* Thomas Chaloner.

Book 1.
1566.

THE NINTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1566.

IN the beginning of the yeere, *Charles* the 9. King of *France*, sent into *England* to the Queene, *Rambouillet*, with the Robes of the order of S. *Michael*, to bee giuen to two of the Peeres of *England*, whom shee pleased. She made choice of the Duke of *Norfolke*, as being much more noble then any other, and to the Earle of *Leicester*, louing him very well. *Rambouillet* hauing beene, for and in the Name of his King, placed honourably at *Windsor*, amongst the Knights of the Order of Saint *George*, inuested them solemnly in

The Duke of Norfolke, and the Earle of Leicester, Knights of the Order of France.

in the Royall House at *Westminster*. This shee tooke for a great honour, remembring her selfe, that no *English* was euer honoured with this Order, saue HENRY the Eighth, EDVVARD the Sixth, and *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*. But when she exactly obserued all things that belonged to the honour of it, she was at length much displeased, to see it so vilified, that it was prostituted indifferently to euery man. And shee busied her selfe, not onely in things concerning honour, but chiefely what was for the good of her Subiects: For, the Ayre beeing so intemperate that yeere, that experienced men feared a want of Corne and other victuals, she did not onely prohibit any Corne to be carried out of the Kingdome, but tooke care that great quantity was brought in.

Booke I. 1566.

Prouision of Corne.

While these things past, *Henry*, Earle of *Arundell*, being great and powerfull among the Lords of the Realme, after hauing consumed much wealth vpon a vaine hope to marry the Queene, and the Earle of *Leicester*, who then was in great credit with her, and his friends, which had failed in the trust which hee reposed in them, taking away this hope quite from him, tooke leaue of her, and voluntarily went out of the Kingdome, vnder colour to recouer his health, but in effect, to strengthen himselfe against sorrow. But the other *English*, who for their naturall valour, thought themselues borne to liue in Armes, and not in idlenes, seeing the Nobility of all parts, did rise at the report of the warre against the Turke, and carried their Armes and Courages into *Hungarie*. Amongst whom, the most remarkeable were, *Iohn Smith*, cousin german to EDVVARD the Sixth, by the Sister of *I. Seimor*, the Kings Mother; *H. Champernon*, *P. Butshid*, *R. Greuill*, *G. George*, *T. Cotton*, &c.

The Earle of Arundel *goes out of the Kingdome.*

The English *carry their Armes and their courages to the* Hungarian *Warre.*

In *Iune* following, the Queene of *Scotland* had a most auspicious and happy Deliuery, for the eternall prosperity of *Great Brittaine*, IAMES her Sonne, who is now Monarch thereof:

The birth of King Iames *the sixth of* Scotland.

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thereof: whereof she gaue present notice to Queene ELIZABETH, by *Iohn Meluin*. Queene ELIZABETH, howsoeuer angry to see her out-strip her in honour, who enuied her, as speedily sent *H. Killigrewe*, to congratulate her lying in, and the birth of her Sonne: and to admonish her, not to fauour any longer *Shan O-Neale*, who rebelled in *Ireland*, nor to assist *Roquerbay*, an English Fugitiue, and to punish some theeues that rob'd vpon the Borders.

The Queene of England reioyceth.

After, hauing vn-wearied her minde by a Progresse, to shew her selfe as fauourable to the Muses of *Oxford*, as well as of *Cambridge*, betweene which there was then a sincere emulation, goes toward the Vniuersitie of *Oxford*, where she was magnificently entertained, and staid there full seuen dayes, taking pleasure in the pleasant aspect of the place, at the beauty of the Colledges, in the spirits and learning of most exquisit Schollers, which passed the nights in Comedies, and the dayes in learned Disputations; for which she gaue them ample thankes, by a most sweet discourse in Latine, and a most louing farewell.

Visits the Vniuersity of Oxeford.

As soone as shee was returned to London, the States of the Kingdome assembled there the first day of *Nouember*, beeing the day assigned, and after hauing established a Statute or two, they begun to dispute among themselues, of the Succession of the Kingdome; seeing that the Queene hauing vowed Virginity, had already reigned eight yeeres, without thinking seriously of an Husband: that on the one side, the Papists made account of the Queene of *Scots*, who had lately had a Sonne: that on the other side, the Protestants being deuided, some of them made account of one, and some of another, and euery particular prouiding for their safety and Religion, presaged the stormes of a most fearefull time, if shee should dye, without assuring a Successor. And the keener sort of spirits proceeded so far, as to blame her, as if she abandoned both her Country and Posteritie: and to teare, by reprochfull & defaming Libels,

Holds a Parliament.

Cecill,

wicked Councellor therein: and to curse *Huic*, her Phisicion, because he dissuaded her to marry, for I know not what womanish infirmity. The Earles of *Pembroke* and *Leicester* were openly, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, couertly, of opinion, that a necessity of marriage should be imposed vpon her, or else publikely to appoint a Successor by authority of the Parliament, whether she would or no: which caused them to bee forbidden to enter into the Priuie Chamber, or come neere the Queene, who neuertheleſſe granted them pardon, as soone as they demanded it.

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They neuertheleſſe being much troubled, and all the rest of the vpper House of Parliament, touching the Succession; all with one mind, by the mouth of *Bacon*, Keeper of the great Seale, according to the dutie which they ought vnto God, the fidelity to their Prince, and the charity to their Countrie, so to doe; that as by her meanes they then sweetly enioyed all the benefits of Peace, Iustice, and Clemency, they and their posterity might by her meanes likewise enioy the same assuredly and continually. But withall they shewed her, that it could not bee done, except she married, or designed a certaine Successor. For which cause, they desired, and, aboue all things, besought her to be ioyned by the sacred bond of Marriage, with whom she would, in what place she liked, & as soone as she pleased, to the end to haue Children, for helps to the Kingdome: withall, to ordaine with the States of the Realme, a Successor certaine, in case that shee, or the Children which she might haue, should dye without Children, which God forbid. And for the obtaining of these things so much the more easily, being so necessary, they represented vnto her many reasons for the same: the feare, which of fresh memory had seized vpon them with such a sicknesse, of which they had beene but newly recouered; the opportunity of the time, the States of the Kingdome beeing then assembled, which might maturely deliberate of so great matters; the terrour

The States sollicite her to marry, and to declare her Successor.

The modestie of the great Ones.

Booke 1. 1566.

which she should giue to her enemies by this meanes, and the incredible ioy which she should fill the hearts of her Subiects withall. They praise the examples of her Ancestors, who in like cases prouided for the suretie of their Posterity, condemning this saying of *Pyrrhus*, who would leaue his Kingdome to him that had the sharpest sword. And moreouer shewing her, with what a storme *England* were threatned, if she should dye without designing a certaine Successor: there would follow impetuously vpon it, seditions, and intestine Warres, of which the Victory it selfe is most miserable: and that Religion should bee driuen out, Iustice ouerwhelmed, the Lawes trodden vnderfoot, there beeing no Prince (who is the soule of the Law) and the Kingdome a prey to strangers. They numbered and exaggerated many other like calamities, which would inuolue all sorts of Families, if she should dye without Issue. And modestly they added counsels, Precepts, and examples, drawne from the holy Scriptures.

The popular ers eagerly.

But those of the Lower House debated of these things more tumultuously; *Bell*, and *Atonson*, Lawiers of great renowne, *Dutton*, *P. Wentworth*, and others, refuted Royall Maiestie too much; and among other things maintained, that Kings were bound to designe a Successor; that the loue of Subiects was the most strong and inexpugnable Rampart of Princes, their onely stay and Support. That Princes could not obtaine this loue, if they did not prouide for the good of their Subiects, not onely while they liued, but after their death. That that could not be done, if a Successor did not plainely appeare. That the Queene, for lacke of designing one, prouoked Gods wrath, and alienated the hearts of her Subiects. That then, to gaine the fauour of God, and haue Subiects most affectionate and obliged, and to raise her vp Statues in the hearts of men, which would neuer perish, shee should declare a Successor. Others, that shee should knowe, that they did hold

hold her, not for a Mother and a Nurse, but for a Step-dame and a murderesse of her Countrie, seeing shee loued her selfe better than *England* (which then breathed by her spirit) would expire with her, rather then subsist aliue. That there were neuer, but cowardly Princes, haters of their Subiects, and fearefull weake women, who conceiued feare because of their Successors; and that such as be enuironed with the loue of their Subiects, ought not to apprehend the danger which might bee stirred vp against them, by a declared Successor.

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The Queen is angry.

These things she heard with a great deale of displeasure, but shee contemned them for a time, and for a time kept them hidden. For, as vse had instructed her, she well knew what danger there is to designe a Successor; insomuch that Queene MARIE reigning, many of the Nobility, and of the people, had cast their eyes and hearts vpon her, as beeing to succeed her: that euen as any thing had bin said or done in her most holy Cabinet, or secret Councell, they reported it to her; and that *Wyat* and others, misliking their state, and desiring to innouate things, had conspired against her, to set her vpon the Royall Throne in her place. Shee knew that the hopes of Competitors were better restrained, and they kept in their duety, while she suspended the wayting of euery one, and made no declaration of any. That by a precipitate desire to reigne, euen Children haue tooke Armes against their Fathers, and that shee could not looke for lesse from her kindred. She had obserued in reading, and when she disputed of that, remembred incontinently, that it was rarely found, that the Successors had bin declared in the collaterall line. That *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, had neuer been declared Successor in the Kingdome of *France*, to *Charles* the Eighth; nor *Francis*, Duke of *Angoulesme*, to *Lewis*, yet neuertheless they succeeded without any noise. That such designation had alwaies in *England* beene the ruine of the designed, and that *Roger*

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Mortimer, Earle of *March*, designed Heire by King *Richard*, had not beene so soone extinct, and his sonne *Edmond* constituted and kept prisoner twentie yeeres together, but for this cause: That *I. Polhem*, Earle of *Lincolne*, declared Successor by *Richard* the 3. & after the death of his sonne, by *Henry* the Seuenty, was alwaies suspected, and finally killed in warre, as he was weauing of innouations, and his brother *Edward* beheaded vnder HENRIE the Eighth. But these things make vs goe from the purpose.

But as some ceased not with prouoked spirits, and sharpe contention, daily more and more to cry aloud, these things which I come to tell, and other things which had a greater sting, the Queene hauing commanded that choyce should be made of thirty of the Vpper-House of Parliament, and as many of the Lower, and that they should appeare before her; Shee, with a light reproofe, made them milder, and by force of her most worthy Maiesty, diuerted them from their designe, promising them with many words, not onely the care of a Princesse, but also the affection of a Mother. And the States hauing offered her for Subsidies, more than they were accustomed to doe, vpon condition, that she would designe a Successour: Shee vtterly refused it, as being too much, receiued the ordinary, commending their affection, & remitted the whole fourth payment of the granted Subsidie, saying, That her Subiects money was as well in their owne coffers, as in hers.

She sweetens the moued spirits.

Gives back part of the Subsidie.

The last day of these Sessions, she spoke thus in few words, which I will shut vp in fewer.

Chides the States.

Seeing that the words of Princes doe often penetrate deepe into the hearts and eares of men, heare these from mee. As I haue simply cherished truth, so haue I alwayes thought that you would ingeniously haue cherished her:

her: but it hath beene in vaine. For I haue discouered, that dissimulation thrusts her selfe into these assemblies, vnder the maske of libertie, and of succession. There are some of them among you, who are of opinion, that I ought presently to grant, or vtterly to refuse libertie to dispute of the Succession, and to establish it. If I should haue granted it, those would triumph ouer mee, hauing their wishes: If I refused, they had thought to haue excited the hatred of mine own, which my greatest enemies hitherto could neuer doe. But their wisdome was out of season, their designes too farre aduanced, and they haue not regarded the euent. And I haue easily discouered by these things, who haue beene iust on my behalfe, and who haue not, and doe see well, that all your Assembly is composed of foure sorts of persons. For some haue beene Architects and Authors, others Actors, who with sweet words haue perswaded: who being perswaded, haue accorded to that which was propounded: others, who haue maruelled at this audacitie, kept silence; and those in truth are the more excusable. Thinke you that I contemne your good and safetie, that you ground vpon a Successor? or that I will infringe your libertie? So farre am I from that, that I haue not so much as thought of it. For I haue considered, that it behooued you to retyre from the pit into which you runne head-long. Euery thing hath his season. Peraduenture you shall haue after me a wiser Prince, but not that loues you more than I doe. I know not if I shall liue to see such Assemblies once more: but take heede of offending the patience of your Prince: and notwithstanding, take it for a certaine truth, that I haue a good opinion of the most part of you, and that I loue you all with all my heart, as heretofore.

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Thus, the wisdome of a Woman quieted these stirres, the time which became clearer, caused such a calme, that, beside the seditious and timorous, few were since found, to storme for a Successour. And certainely all men, what face soeuer they set vpon it, doe not penetrate more deeply into publique affaires, than they finde it necessary for their owne particular. Yet that the Successour should more plainely appeare, which shee thought could not be doubted of, she imprisoned *Thornton*, Reader of the Law at *Lincolnes Inne* in *London*, because the Queene of *Scotland* had complained, that he called her right in question.

Maketh it plainely to appeare, that the Queene of Scotland had the right of succession.

In these Assemblies of the States, besides other things, which were for the good of the Common-wealth, it was declared with the generall consent of all,

The ordination of Bishops is confirmed.

THat the election, consecration, and instalment of Arch-bishops and Bishops of England, *(which many, by calumniating them, had called in question) was lawfull, and well and duely consecrated, according to the Acts and Statutes of the Realme: And ordained, that all these, and those which for the time to come, should be consecrated as they had beene, were and should be holden well and duely consecrated, notwithstanding any Law or Canon.*

For the Papists had detracted them as false Bishops, peraduenture because the Vnction, the Ring, and the Crozier were not vsed with the Benedictions: and, as if they had not beene solemnely instituted to this Order, by three Bishops, which could bring their ordination, rising from the Apostolique authority receiued from Christ, although they most truely could, as appeares by the Registers, hauing beene consecrated with godly prayers, deuout inuocation of the holy Ghost, the imposition of hands of such Bishops, the preaching of the Word, and celebration of the Lords Supper.

About

1566.

About that time (after they had restrained the insolency of some Ruffians, who violated these delators, which the vulgar call Promoters, pursued them through the streetes with cryes and clamours, and killed them) came the day appointed for the baptizing of the Prince of *Scotland*. The Queene hauing beene intreated to receiue him at the sacred Font, sent the Earle of *Bedford* with the Lauor made of massie Gold, for a Present of State, and commanded him expressly, & all the *English* which accompany him, to take heed that they honour *Darley* with the Title of KING.

Promoters suppreſt.

The Earle of Bedford sent Ambassadour to the Queene of Scotland, for the baptizing of her Sonne.

The ceremony being ended, the Earle, according as he had beene commanded, treated with the Queene of *Scotland*, to haue the Treaty of *Edenborrough* ratified, and to accord the domesticke discords which were betweene her and her Husband. For some ill-willers, both to the one and the other, had by craft ruined this agreeable societie of life and loue which was betweene them. Shee refused to make this ratification, alledging this reason, That there was in that Treaty, some Articles that did derogate the right which shee and her Children had to *England*: neuertheleſſe, promised to send Commissioners into *England*, which should treat about it, for the altering of some things; *to wit*, that she should leaue off the Title and armes of *England*, as long as Queene ELIZABETH, or any of hers should liue, (as if the Treaty had imported, that she should giue it ouer altogether,) and they they should let her see what iniuries shee had receiued by the wicked practices of those which too much abused the ingenious credulitie of her Husband. And, finding her selfe vnhealthfull, shee recommended her Sonne to the trust and Gardianship of Queene ELIZABETH, by Letters bearing,

That although shee knew well, (I vse her owne termes) shee

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shee was by right the vndoubted Heire of England, *after the* Queene, *and that many at their pleasure forged many things against this right;*

She promised neuertheleſſe, ſhe would not preſſe her any more to a declaration of it, but that ſhee would assist and adhere to her alwaies, and against all, with all her affection.

The death of I. Maſon, *and Sir* R. Sackuile.

In the yeere 1566. there dyed two of the Lords of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuy Councell, (both in one day) *I. Maſon*, Treaſurer of Queene ELIZABETHS houſhold, a moſt learned, iudicious, and graue perſonage, moſt diligent and carefull to the preſeruation of benefits. In his place and office, was preferred Sir *Francis Knolles*, who had married the Lady *Katherine*, Couſin-Germane to her Maieſty, by the Lady *Mary* of *Bulleine*, & *Richard Sackuile* alſo, Couſin to her Maieſty, by the Lady *Anne Bulleine* her Mother. Sir *Walter Mildmay*, an vncorrupt and conſiderate man, ſucceeded in his place.

THE

THE TENTH YEERE OF HER RAIGNE.

Anno Domini, 1567.

Little before the Commissioners from the Queene of *Scotland* were arriued, a moneth or two after the christening of the Prince of *Scotland*, the King, at the age of one and twenty yeers, was strangled in his bed, in the dead time of the night: a dreadfull and horrible wickednesse, which was detested of all honest men: afterwards throwne into his Garden, the House being blowne vp with Gun-powder. The report of it being spread through both the Kingdomes, the crime was cast vpon *Morton*, *Murray*, and their Confederates, who insulting

The murder of the Lord Darley, *who was married to the Qu. of* Scots.

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ſulting ouer the weaker Sex, laide it vpon the Queene. Which by bookes, as alſo a Libell, written by *Buchanan*, which was imprinted, none can be ignorant of: But being of the party, and carryed away by *Murray's* bountie, the bookes were condemned to be falſe by the Councell and State of *Scotland*, to which more credit is to be giuen: and, as I haue heard, he himſelf to the King, whoſe Schoolemaſter he was, reprehended himſelfe for it, that hee had vſed ſo poyſonous a penne againſt the Queene, and being ready to dye, he wiſhed but to liue ſo long, that hee might take away the ſtaine which he had ſpread vpon the Queene, or to cleanſe it with his bloud, vnleſſe (as he ſaid himſelfe) his ſlanders might be accounted vaine, by reaſon of his doting age. Giue me leaue that the other ſide may be heard, by diuers that writ thereof, and at that time publiſht it in print: but ſuch writings were ſoone call'd in, both in fauor of the Earle of *Murray*, and in hatred of the Queene, and likewiſe by Ambaſſadours Letters worthy to bee beleeued.

Buchanan condemned for falſhood by the States of Scotland.

A digreſsion from Scottiſh affaires.

In the yeere 1558. at the marriage of *Francis* the *Dolphin* of *France*, and *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, *Iames*, the Queenes Baſtard-Brother, commonly called the Prior of Saint *Andrewes*, (Metropolitan of the Order of Saint *Andrewes*) deſpiſing that title, was ambitious after a more ſplendid one: but when the Queene, by the aduice of the *Guizes*, refuſed it him, hee returned into *Scotland* diſcontented, wherein, vnder a faire pretext of reforming Religion, and to eſtabliſh the liberty of *Scotland*, hee begun to trouble the State, and effected it; and ſo brought it to paſſe (without the knowledge of the Queene, in a Conuenticle of Confederates) Religion was changed, and, by the calling in of ayde from *England*, the *French* were driuen out of *Scotland*. *Francis*, King of *France*, being dead, he preſently went to his Siſter into *France*, and hauing put away all ſuſpition tending to her preiudice or diſ-reputation for the

Iames, Prior of Saint Andrews.

the affaires of *Scotland*, swore vnto her, (calling GOD to witnesse) to performe all dueties that a Sister could expect from a Brother, and vpon the hope which he had, that shee being brought vp from her tender age in the delicacies of *France*, would not returne into *Scotland*, workes with the *Guizes* to appoint some Noble-man of *Scotland* to be Regent there, and almost poynted at himselfe to be the fittest man of all. But, hee being sent backe into *Scotland*, without any authority, but Letters of Commission, by which the Queene gaue power to the States to assemble, and consult for the good of the Kingdome, and seeing himselfe deiected from his hope, returned much vexed; and passing thorow *England*, made it there knowne, that if they wished well to Religion in *Scotland*, to the peace of *England*, and the security of Queene ELIZABETH, they ought by all meanes to hinder the Queene of *Scotland* to passe into *Scotland*. Shee neuertheless being safely arriued in *Scotland*, the English Ships being disappointed by obscure weather, and being there, embraced her Brother with all signes of fauour and good-will, and in a kinde of manner, committed vnto him the generall administration of affaires. Notwithstanding all this, the branches of his ambition are not cut off, which grew daily, and appeared both in words and deedes. For, hee could not containe himselfe, but often, among his friends, deplored that the warlike *Scottish* Nation was no lesse subiect to the command of a Woman, than the *English* was, and by the instruction of *Knox*, whom he esteemed as a Patriarke, often debates, that Kingdomes were due to merit, and not to linage, and that Women should be excluded from succeeding, and that their gouernement were monstrous. He treated likewise with the Queen, by his friends, that she should substitute foure of the Royall House of the *Stewards*, who, if she dyed without issue, should succeed to the Crowne one after another, without regarding who were legiti-

Hee seekes to be Regent of Scotland.

Being frustrated of it, vnder-hand opposes himselfe against the Queene.

Makes his ambition to be openly and euidently knowne.

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legitimate or no, thinking he should be one, seeing he was the Kings Sonne, though vnlawfully begotten.

But the Queene, wisely considering that such a substitution was contrary to the Lawes of the Kingdome, to defraud the right Heires, a most pernicious example, dangerous for her Subiects, and would be an hinderance to her selfe for her second marriage, she mildely answered, That she would more aduisedly deliberate with the States of the Kingdome, about a matter of such weight & consequence; and to testifie her fauour and bounty towards her Brother, shee honoured him with the title of Earle of *Mar*, afterwards, with the Earledome of *Murray*, (for the dignity of *Mar* was then in controuersie,) being ignorant all this while, that he aymed at the Kingdome, and affirmed himselfe to be the lawfull Sonne of *Iames* the Fifth. To make the easier way hereunto, by meanes of the extraordinary fauour the Queene shewed to him, he suppreſt the most noble Family of the *Gordons*, powerfull in vassalage and command, whom he both feared in respect of themselues, as also by reason of the reformed Religion, which adhered vnto him: he expelled *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelrault*, out of the Court, who was reputed next Heire to the Crowne, imprisoned the Earle of *Arraine* his Sonne, banished Count *Bothwell*, into *England*; dismissed all opposites of their honourable offices, and places, and retained the Queene vnder his power and surucy, as a Gardian might doe his Ward: aboue all other things being carefull, that Shee might not negotiate, nor intend any marriage.

And when he saw, that of the one side, the Emperour sollicited her, for his Brother, and the *Spaniard* on the other part for his Sonne, he absolutely dissuaded her both from the one and the other, alledging vnto her, how the ancient immunities of *Scotland* would not permit nor indure a strange Prince, and whensoeuer the Scepter fell into the

Lee seeketh Regent of Scotland.

He is created Earle of Murray.

He persecutes the great men of Scotland.

Hee dissuades the Queen from marrying.

the hands of Women, they neuer made choyce of an Husband, but within their owne Countrey of *Scotland*. But in conclusion, he perceiuing that all the *Scots* generally affected her marrying, and discerning that by the perswasion and inducement of the Countesse of *Lenox*, she desired to marry with the Lord *Darley*, hee himselfe likewise then commended him vnto her for an Husband; hoping, in respect of his youth, and for that he was of a tractable nature and disposition, he would be euer at his direction and dispose. Neuertheless, when hee saw how dearely the Queene loued him, & himselfe to fall by little and little out of her fauour and grace, hee repented of the counsell and aduice he had giuen, and admonished Queene ELIZABETH to crosse this marriage by all the meanes possible that she could.

Presently after the Nuptials were accomplished, and the Lord *Darley* proclaimed KING, the King then presently reuoked such gifts, as during his minority, the Queene had conferred both vpon him, and others: whereupon, being nigh associated with them, he tooke vp armes against the King and the Queene, pretending that this new King was dis-affected to the Protestant Religion, and how she contracted this marriage without the consent of the Queene of *England*. But, hauing scarcely made any triall of the fortunes of warre, he fled, as I said, into *England*, where, despayring of all succour, he laboured by Letters to *Morton*, a man of great subtilty, and another like himselfe, to effect, that seeing the marriage could not be broken off, yet that the affection and loue of the married couple might be abated, by some secret practices: and a fit occasion offered it selfe: for after some domesticall and priuate grudgings, to quaile the courage of this young King, which boyled a little too hot, and to preserue entyre her owne Royall prerogatiues; in all publique acts, shee began to set her Husbands Name after her owne, and altogether to

He takes armes against her, after shee was married.

He flies into England.

He seekes to sow discord betweene the Husband and the Wife.

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leaue out and omit it, in Moneyes and Stampes.

Earle *Morton*, who was a notable Make-bate, by his flatteries easily perswaded this young King, to set the Crowne of *Scotland* vpon his owne head: yea, though the Queene wold not giue her consent therunto, & to shake off the domination and controll of a Woman, because women were borne to obey, and men to command: he hoping, that by meanes of this counsell, he should make the King, not onely to lose the Queenes affection, but further, the loue of all the great Men of the Kingdome, and the people. To make him lose the Queenes heart, first he instigated him by diuers calumniations, to kill *Dauid Rice*, a Pie-mountaine, and by doing this, to preuent the crossing of their designes, by his reaching and subtile spirit. By profession he was a Musician, and came the yeere before into *Scotland*, with the Ambassadour *Moret*, and then grew to be admitted into the Queenes House, and fauour, in that hee was industrious, and obseruant, and in the Secretaries absence, he assisted, and dispatched Letters into *France*, and managed secret consultations. Then, the more to exasperate this businesse, he brought him to be present in person, at this Murder, in company with *Rauen*, and the other murderers, who entring with himselfe into the Queenes Chambers, their swords naked drawne, as she was sitting at the Table, with the Countesse of *Arguile*, and this man, standing by a Buffet-stoole, was eating somwhat taken off from the Table, as ordinarily Wayters of the Dining-chamber will doe, bending also a Pistoll against the Queenes brest, who was then with Childe, so as vpon the sudden affrightment shee thought to haue miscarried in the place, they layde hold of him in her presence, and drawing him into an outward Chamber, most cruelly they murthered him, and shut vp likewise the Queene within the same Chamber.

The murder of Dauid Rice in the Queene of Scots sight.

This Murder was cõmitted, the day before that the Earle of

Murray is expelled.

of *Murray* was assigned to make his appearance before the Assembly, and in hearing of the States, there, to answere an Accusation of Rebellion, which was informed and put in against him. Hee appeared the day following, and no body sate, neither came any witnesses against him, by reason of these great garboyles and troubles in the State: that, (as it might seeme) this murder was purposely vndertaken for *Murrayes* security and safety. Notwithstanding, the Queene, at the Kings intreaty, receiued him into fauour, and was confident in his brotherly loue. But when the King had more deliberately waighed the quality of his offence, and the Queene began to take it deepely to heart, he repented himselfe much of this rage and fury, and with many teares and sighes, humbly on his knee craued her pardon, confessing freely, that he was excited to so bloudy a crime by *Murray* and *Morton*: from which time, euer after hee conceiued so mortall an hatred against *Murray*, that he thought on nothing else, but how to be rid of him: Earle *Morton*, and the other Homicides, by reason of this Murder, being fled into *England*, with Letters of recommendation, which *Murray* had written in their behalfe, to the Earle of *Bedford*. But the passionate affection of his youth not being able to reserue his most secret thoughts, and his high respect to the Queene, curbing all boldnesse, for the executing of him, at last hee was satisfied, to let her vnderstand thus much, that for publique good, and the security of her owne house, shee must remoue him. The Queene in all sort detesting this course, dissuaded him there-from, yea euen with threates, for hauing moued this vnto her, and putting him in hope to make a perfect reconciliation betweene them. And yet notwithstanding, in that shee could not but with great spleene digest the authority this Bastard vsurped ouer her, transported with wonderfull impatience, shee opened this designe to others: which, comming to *Murrayes* vnderstanding,

Earle Morton flies into England.

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leaue out and omit it, in Moneyes and Stampes.

Earle *Morton*, who was a notable Make-bate, by his flatteries easily perswaded this young King, to set the Crowne of *Scotland* vpon his owne head: yea, though the Queene wold not giue her consent therunto, & to shake off the domination and controll of a Woman, because women were borne to obey, and men to command: he hoping, that by meanes of this counsell, he should make the King, not onely to lose the Queenes affection, but further, the loue of all the great Men of the Kingdome, and the people. To make him lose the Queenes heart, first he instigated him by diuers calumniations, to kill *Dauid Rice*, a Pie-mountaine, and by doing this, to preuent the crossing of their designes, by his reaching and subtile spirit. By profession he was a Musician, and came the yeere before into *Scotland*, with the Ambassadour *Moret*, and then grew to be admitted into the Queenes House, and fauour, in that hee was industrious, and obseruant, and in the Secretaries absence, he assisted, and dispatched Letters into *France*, and managed secret consultations. Then, the more to exasperate this businesse, he brought him to be present in person, at this Murder, in company with *Rauen*, and the other murderers, who entring with himselfe into the Queenes Chambers, their swords naked drawne, as she was sitting at the Table, with the Countesse of *Arguile*, and this man, standing by a Buffet-stoole, was eating somwhat taken off from the Table, as ordinarily Wayters of the Dining-chamber will doe, bending also a Pistoll against the Queenes brest, who was then with Childe, so as vpon the sudden affrightment shee thought to haue miscarried in the place, they layde hold of him in her presence, and drawing him into an outward Chamber, most cruelly they murthered him, and shut vp likewise the Queene within the same Chamber.

The murder of Dauid Rice in the Queene of Scots sight.

This Murder was cõmitted, the day before that the Earle of

Murray is recalled.

of *Murray* was assigned to make his appearance before the Assembly, and in hearing of the States, there, to answere an Accusation of Rebellion, which was informed and put in against him. Hee appeared the day following, and no body sate, neither came any witnesses against him, by reason of these great garboyles and troubles in the State: that, (as it might seeme) this murder was purposely vndertaken for *Murrayes* security and safety. Notwithstanding, the Queene, at the Kings intreaty, receiued him into fauour, and was confident in his brotherly loue. But when the King had more deliberately waighed the quality of his offence, and the Queene began to take it deepely to heart, he repented himselfe much of this rage and fury, and with many teares and sighes, humbly on his knee craued her pardon, confessing freely, that he was excited to so bloudy a crime by *Murray* and *Morton*: from which time, euer after hee conceiued so mortall an hatred against *Murray*, that he thought on nothing else, but how to be rid of him: Earle *Morton*, and the other Homicides, by reason of this Murder, being fled into *England*, with Letters of recommendation, which *Murray* had written in their behalfe, to the Earle of *Bedford*. But the passionate affection of his youth not being able to reserue his most secret thoughts, and his high respect to the Queene, curbing all boldnesse, for the executing of him, at last hee was satisfied, to let her vnderstand thus much, that for publique good, and the security of her owne house, shee must remoue him. The Queene in all sort detesting this course, dissuaded him there-from, yea euen with threates, for hauing moued this vnto her, and putting him in hope to make a perfect reconciliation betweene them. And yet notwithstanding, in that shee could not but with great spleene digest the authority this Bastard vsurped ouer her, transported with wonderfull impatience, shee opened this designe to others: which, comming to *Murrayes* vnderstanding,

Earle Morton flies into England.

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standing, to preuent her, hee laid many secret ambushes in waite for her, vnder colour of shewing himselfe to be very officious and diligent, vsing herein Earle *Mortons* counsell and aduice, though he were then absent.

Alienation betweene the King and the Queene.

Their Resolution ioyntly was, that the Queene must be cleane alienated from the loue and affection she bare to the King, while this affection was not yet well knit, and reioynted. Then to draw into their society Earle *Bothwell*, who, not long before had beene reconciled to *Murray*, vpon promises, that he should be diuorc'd from his owne Wife, and be married to the Queene, when she were a Widow. For effectuall performance whereof, and to warrant and defend him against all others, they bound themselues in writing, subscribed and sealed, perswading themselues, that at one blow, they could cut off the King, depraue the reputation and good opinion which the Nobility and people held of her, suppresse afterwards *Bothwell*, and so be possest themselues of the whole and absolute Administration of all affaires.

Lord Darnley, the Queenes Husband, murdered.

Earle *Bothwell* and the Queene, and, to perswade her to make choyce of him for her Husband, they intimated by all meanes vnto her, how hee was most worthy and deseruing of her loue, both in respect of the eminency of his Family, his valiant Attempts against the *English*, and the many infallible proofes and trials of his fidelity. Moreouer, they layd open vnto her,

Earle Bothwell commended to the Queene, to marry him.

her, that being alone, and without any helpe, or assistance, she was not able to pacifie those troubles and tumults that were then raised, to discouer the plots that might be projected against her, and to discharge the administration and gouernement of the Kingdome. And therefore she should doe very well, to admit to the societie of her bed, & counsell, such an one, as had both will, power, and courage, to oppose them: So as, they wrought thus farre with her, that she yeelded her consent, trembling for feare, and dauted with horror, for hauing beheld such direful occisions, & calling to minde what fidelitie *Bothwell* had euer shewed both to her and her Mother, and not knowing whither to haue recourse, but to her Brothers faith and loyaltie. But neuertheless, with speciall prouiso, carefully to intend the safety of her young and tender Sonne, that *Bothwell* should first cleare himselfe of the murder of the King, and be diuorc'd from his former Wife.

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I am desirous here to set downe, what the Earle of *Huntley* and *Arguile*, who are the principall of all the great Nobility of *Scotland*, testified hereof, as I coppied it out of a Writing seal'd, and subscribed with their owne hands, which they sent to the Queene of *England*:

Testimony of the murder of the Lord Darley.

B*Ecause Earle* Murray, *and others, to couer their owne Rebellion against the* Queene, *whose authoritie they vsurped, openly imputed her, as culpable and guiltie of her Husbands death: wee publikely protest, and testifie this which ensues. In the Moneth of December*, 1556. *the* Queene *being at* Cragmill, *the Earles of* Murray *and* Lidington *acknowledged in our presence, that* Morton, Lyndsay, *and* Rauen, *murdered* Dauy Rice, *to no other end, but to preserue the Earle of* Murray, *who the same day was to be proscrib'd. Wherefore, that they might shun the note of ingratitude, their desire was, that* Morton *and others*

banished by reason of this murder, might be repealed. But withall they implyed, that this could not be done, except the Queene *by a Diuorce were separated from her Husband, and they promised to doe it, if wee would yeeld our consents. After that, Earle* Murray *promised to me, of* Huntley, *that I should re-enter the inheritances of my Ancestors, and haue the perpetuall loue and affection of the banished, if I did but further and procure this Diuorce. Then they went likewise to Earle* Bothwell, *to draw also from him his consent and liking: and lastly, they went to the* Queene, *whom* Lidington *in the name of all the rest, instantly requested, to release* Morton, Lindsay, *and* Rauen, *of their banishment: in very outragious termes, he exaggerated the Kings faults, and the offences hee had committed against the* Queene, *and the Realme, prouing how the* Queene, *and the State, were deepely interessed, in procuring speedily this Diuorce: because the* King *and* Queene *could not liue securely together in* Scotland. *Her Maiestie made answer: That she had rather for a time returne into* France, *while her Husband did more truely discend into the errours and vnstaidnesse of his youth, not willing any thing should be done to her Sonnes preiudice, or her owne dishonour. Whereunto* Lidington *replyed: Wee of your Councell will looke to this well-enough. But in any wise,* (said Shee) *I prohibite you to performe, any thing that may in the least manner blemish my honour, or burthen my conscience. Let things stand as they doe, till God from aboue vouchsafe some fitter remedie. I much feare, lest, that you iudge requisite for my good, may redound to my hurt. A few dayes after, when the* King *was murdered, after a most execrable manner, wee are assured, out of the inward touch and testimony of our Consciences, that the E.* Murray *and* Lidington *were the*

Testimony of the murder of the Lord Darnley.

the Authors, Proiectors, and Plotters of this abominable Parricide, whesoeuer the other were, that put it in execution. This is that which they affirmed in writing.

Bothwell is freed of the murder of the King.

The Confederates aymed then at nothing else, but how to free *Bothwell* of this Parricide: Wherefore, a Session of Parliament was ordained for this onely cause, and apprehension of their bodies enioyned, of whom the least suspition was conceiued, and the Earle of *Lenox* accusing *Bothwell*, and feruently vrging, that he might come to a triall before the States were assembled, it was granted, and so command imposed vpon the Earle, to appeare within twenty dayes. But within the compasse of this time, hauing receiued no instructions nor aduertisements from the Queenes Maiestie of *England*, and in that hee could not liue without danger of his life, in a place replenished with his enemies, Earle *Bothwell* made his appearance, and hauing *Morton* for his Aduocate, preuayled in the cause, and so was sent away absolu'd, by the Sentence of all the Iudges.

He marries the Queene.

This businesse being thus contriued; the other Complices so wrought, that diuers of the Nobility consented to the marriage, whereof they made a Draft in Writing, subscribed and sealed, for feare, that if it should euer be broken, *Bothwell* might haue accused them to be the Authors of all that villany. This marriage thus solemnized with Earle *Bothwell*, who was created Duke of the *Orcades*, caused euery one to surmize that the Queene was guiltie of this murder, and the Conspirators strengthened the same opinion, by Letters sent into all parts, as likewise they held assemblies at *Dundagh*, where they conspired to depose the Queene, and destroy Earle *Bothwell*. Although *Murray*, because he would not appeare to be one of this Combination, obtained leaue of the Queene to goe into

They conspire both against him, and the Queene.

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France, and for the remouing of all distrust, hee re-commended to her Royall care, and *Bothwell's* fidelitie, all his proceedings and occasions whatsoeuer in *Scotland*.

While Murray seeyzes to France.

He was scarcely arriued in *France*, but they, who absolued *Bothwell* of that crime, and gaue consent to this marriage, tooke vp armes, as if they would haue seyzed on his person. But in effect, vnder-hand, they priuily admonished him speedily to with-draw himselfe, for feare lest being taken, he might haue reuealed the whole Complot, and that from his flight, they might draw argument and subiect whereof to accuse the Queene, for the murder of the King, they seyzed on her person, and entreated her so ignominiously and disgracefully, that although shee had nothing on, but a very homely night-Gowne, yet they so clapt her vp in prison at *Lake-Leuin*, vnder the custody of Earle *Murray's* Mother, who was *Iames* the 5. his Concubine, who further persecuted her with most shamelesse malice, during her restraint, boasting how shee was lawfull Wife to *Iames* the 5. and her Sonne lawfully descended from him.

Queene Elizabeth complaines.

So soone as Queene ELIZABETH had certaine notice of all these proceedings, detesting in her heart this vnbrideled insolency of Subiects towards a Princesse, who was her Sister, and Neighbour, terming them perfidious, rebellious, ingratefull, and cruell: Shee sent into *Scotland*, *Nicho. Throgmorton*, to complaine hereof vnto the Confederates, and to consult of some meanes how to restore the Queene to her former liberty and authority, for the punishments of the Kings murderers, and that the yong Prince, might bee sent into *England*, rather than into *France* for his more secure preseruation, and safety. For that which passed successiuely while *Throgmorton* lay in *Scotland*, I will deliuer it faithfully, euen as I collected it out of his owne Letters, which questionlesse are very sincere, and well approued of.

Many

Many in *Scotland* were very much incens'd against the Queene, insomuch, as they absolutely refus'd to behold her, as likewise *Villeroy*, and *De Croc*, Ambassadours for *France*. Yet the Conspirators could not agree among themselues, how to dispose of her. The Lord of *Lidington*, and some others, were of opinion, to haue her re-established in her authority vpon these conditions: That the Murderers of the KING should be punished according to the Lawes; and the young *Prince* his safety procured. That *Bothwell* should be separated from her by a firme Diuorce; and Religion established. Others perswaded a perpetuall banishment of her, eyther into *France* or *England*, so the Queene of *England*, or King of *France*, would be content to be Cautions and Pledges, that shee should transferre all the Regall authority to her Sonne, and some other great and eminent persons of the Kingdome. Againe, some would haue cited her to a peremptory triall, haue had her condemned, committed to perpetuall prison, and her Sonne crowned KING. Finally, there wanted not others, who for her summary chastisement, and punishment, would haue had her depriued both of her Royall Authority and life. And this was vsually preach'd and diuulged by *Knox*, and some other Ministers, in the open Pulpit.

They consult what is to be done with the Queene prisoner.

Throgmorton produced against this, many reasons and Arguments taken out of the holy Scriptures, touching due obedience and submission to superiour power, who retaine the Sword of Authority in their hands: arguing very strongly and constantly, *How the* Queene *was vnder no other Tribunall, but that of the heauenly IVDGE, neither could shee iuridically be constrayned to appeare and answer in the Court of any earthly Iudge. That in* Scotland *the same authoritie which the Queene had not delegated, nor made ouer to any other, was nothing, and by her reuocable.*

Throgmorton *defends the Queenes cause.*

But the *Scottish-men* replying, alledged the peculiar rites

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The Scots maintaine the contrary out of Buchanans reasons.

and priuiledges of *Scotland*, and that in extraordinary occurrents, they might extraordinarily determine, euen as they had collected out of *Buchanans* reasons, who, by the Earle of *Murrayes* perswasion, then writ that Dialogue of *the Right of Reigning or gouerning among the Scots*, who was condemned: wherein he maintained, against the Testimony of the Scottish Histories, that the people were priuiledged, to create or depose their Kings. Notwithstanding, *Throgmorton* ceased not importunately to sollicite them, for the Queenes re-establishment, and that himselfe might visit her, though he no sooner opened his mouth in this poynt, but they all replyed, how this by no meanes could be granted him, because herein they had denyed the *French*, and that by this meanes they would not distaste the King of *France*, to please and satisfie the Queene of *England*, who (as often experience heretofore had taught them) laboured for nothing, but her owne peculiar interests, when shee was a meanes to driue the *French* away out of *Scotland*, and lately shewed her selfe but niggardly, and sparing of her fauours towards the *Scottish* Exiles. Whereupon, he thought it fit to take heed, lest this importunity might vrge them, to embrace the amity of the *French*, and shake off that of the *English*; when, according to the *French* Prouerbe, *Qui quitte la partie la perd*, He that leaues his partie, loseth it: aduised and counselled the *English* to be carefull and iealous, how they forsooke and lost the *Scots*.

After this, by a Writing vnseal'd, filled with variety of discourse, which they committed to *Throgmortons* hands, they vowed and protested, that the Queene was remoued, and restrained to a close place, for no other end, but to disioyne her from Earle *Bothwell*, whom shee most entyrely loued, till this heat of affection, and her wrath conceyued against them, might somewhat slacken: and therefore they requested him to be satisfied in this Answer, while some

some other Nobles of the Kingdome were assembled: and yet neuertheleſſe they restrayned the Queenes liberty, euery day more and more, though with teares shee intreated them to vse her more fauourably, if not as Queene, yet as shee was a Kings Daughter, and Mother to their Prince: and so hee many times requested, that hee might goe and visit her, but all in vaine. Briefly, not to rip vp in particular all the iniuries and disgraces offered her, at last they made triall, whether by milde and faire meanes, they could induce her, freely to giue ouer the gouernement, either by reason of her weakeneſſe and indisposition, or in respect of the trouble and annoyance it brought her to, to reigne and gouerne: which indeed they deuised for an excuse, or else as others counselled her, with more drift and subtilty, to the end that being more weakly and graceleſſely garded, shee might the more safely and easily make her escape. But when all this tooke no place, they threatned to bring her to a publique triall, to accuse her that shee had led an incontinent life, murdered the King her former Husband, and practised tyranny in violating the Lawes, and ancient priuiledges of their Country, especially those which *De R.* and *De Oisel* had enacted in the King of *France* his name, and her owne. Finally, through feare of death, and without euer hearing her answers, they forced her to seale three Patents: the first of which contained, that shee assigned the gouernement ouer to her Sonne, who was scarcely thirteene moneths old: the second comprehending, how shee constituted Earle *Murray* to be Vice-Roy, during her Sonnes minority: and the third implyed, that in case *Murray* refused this charge, shee ordayned for Rectors and Protectors of her Sonne, the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earles of *Lenox*, *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and *Mar*: But then shee presently certified the Queene of *England* by *Throgmorton*, how shee had surrendred the gouernement of the Kingdome by compulsion,

They extort from their Queene a Resignation of the Gouernement.

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sion, and against her will subscribed to the Patent thereof, by *Throgmortons* perswasion, who informed her, that any Grant extorted from her during imprisonment, which causeth a iust and true feare, was inualidious, and of no effect. But I will relate these things more at large in the yeere ensuing, according as they may be faithfully extracted out of the Accusations, and Answers of parties, which were propounded at *Yorke* before the Commissioners, to whom the absolute determination of this businesse was referred.

James the 6. consecrated and inaugurated King.

Fiue dayes after this Resignation or Grant, *IAMES*, Sonne to the Queene, was consecrated and crowned King, *Iohn Knox* then preaching publiquely, after the *Hamiltons* had protested, how it was without any manner of preiudice to the Duke of *Chastelraut*, in the right of Succession, against the Family of *Lenox*. But Queene ELIZABETH forbade *Throgmorton* to be present hereat, to the end that by the presentiall assistance of her Ambassadour, shee might not seeme to approue this vniust deposition of the Queene.

Murray returnes into Scotland.

Twenty dayes after, *Murray* returned out of *France* into *Scotland*, where hauing remained onely three dayes, he went to the Queene with certaine of the Conspirators in his company, he obiected vnto her many crimes, and like a religious Confessor, layd open vnto her many demonstrations, to moue her to conuert vnto God with true repentance, and to implore his mercy. Shee shewed her selfe penitent for the sinnes of her life past, confest part of them obiected to her, extenuated some, and excused others, out of humane fragility and weakenesse, but absolutely denyed the greater part, entreated him, to assume the mannaging of affaires vnder her Sonne, and coniured him to be tender of her reputation and life. Whereunto he made answer, how this lay not in his power, but shee must sue for it, from the Estates of the Kingdome, perswading

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ding her notwithstanding to obserue these things, if she regarded either her life, or honour. That she should not disturbe either the peace of the King or Kingdome: not to attempt the breaking of her imprisonment: no wayes to excite the King of *France*, or Queene of *England* to any domesticall or externall Warre: no more to affect *Bothwell*, and neuer to seeke any reuenge against them that were his enemies.

Hee prescribes the Queene what shee should doe.

So soone as he was proclaimed Vice-Roy or Regent, he obliged himselfe by Writings vnder hand and seale, to attempt nothing that should concerne either war or peace, the person and marriage of the King, or the Queenes liberty, without the consent of the other Complices: and hee caused the Lord of *Lidington* to informe *Throgmorton*, that he should no more intercede for the Queene, and that both himselfe, and all others, made choyce rather to indure any thing else, than to permit that shee enioying liberty, should still retaine *Bothwell* about her, expose her Sonne to danger, the Countrey to molestation, and themselues to banishment. We well know (said hee) what you *English* men can effect by a warre, if you harrasse our frontiers and wee yours: and are well assured out of the ancient alliance they haue alwaies entertained, will neuer forsake vs. Neuertheleſſe, hee denied *Ligneroll* the French Ambassadour Leager, to see the Queene, while *Bothwell* were taken: and contrary to that which he had promised to the King of *France*, he daily intreated this miserable Queene most rigorously, for all the good shee had formerly done him. Hitherto, so much as I could collect out of *Throgmortons* Letters.

Hee is established Regent, or Vice-Roy.

Presently after, Earle *Murray* put to death *Iohn Hepborne*, *Paris*, French *Dowglas*, and some other of *Bothwels* seruants, who assisted in the murdering of the King. But when they came to their execution, they protested before God, and his Angels, (whereunto he gaue no eare) that they

Some of the murderers of the King, are put to death.

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They acquit the Queene of suspition.

they heard Earle *Bothwell* say, how himselfe and *Morton* were the originall Authors, and discharged the Queene of all suspition. As also, *Bothwell* himselfe, when hee was prisoner in *Denmarke*, had often protested, both during his life, and at his death, with a most sincere and religious attestation, that she was innocent thereof: and foureteene yeeres after, when *Morton* came to vndergoe his last punishment, he confest: that *Bothwell* sollicited him to consent thereunto, and he vtterly refusing to attempt the same, except he first saw an expresse command in writing from the Queenes owne hand, he replyed, that this in no manner could be compassed, but excluded it must be without communicating of it formerly to her.

The Queene of England, and the King of France, labour to procure her liberte.

Queene ELIZABETH, and the King of *France*, being much incensed with such a precipitant deposition, and the Conspirators obstinacy against the sute of their Ambassadours, it turning as it were to the reproch of Royall Maiesty, they began to fauour the *Hamiltons*, who still held the Queenes party. *Pasquier* also, Ambassador Leager for *France*, treated with Queene ELIZABETH, to procure her re-establishment by force of Armes, who thought it most expedient, first to prohibit the *Scots* all commerce with *England* and *France*, while she were deliuered: that so, some diuision might grow betweene the Nobility and the people, which Nobility seemed to conspire against her. But for a while, to passe ouer these affaires of *Scotland*.

Queene Elizabeth demands the restitution of Calais.

Question being then made of restoring the Towne of *Calais* to the *English*, according to the Treaty of *Cambray*, seeing the eight yeeres therein specified were now expired, *Smith* being sent into *France*, with *G. Winter*, Master of the Nauall Artillery, after the sounding of a Trumpet before the gate of *Calais*, which lookes towards the Sea, with a lowd voyce, & in the *French* Tongue he demanded, that, according to the Articles of that Treaty, the Town & Territory,

Territory, with some Canons, might be surrendred into his hands: he also at the same time, drew an Act, by the hand of a publique Notary, in the presence of some Germane and Flemish Merchants, who were accidentally there at the same time, and taken for witnesses, and then he went presently to the King of *France*, at *Castell de Fossat*, where, with *Norris*, Ambassadour Leager, he made againe the same demand. The King sent to his Councellors, amongst whom *M. de l'Hospitall*, Lord Chancellor, Proloquutor for the rest, with a graue and well compiled discourse, spake to him in this manner:

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The French maintaine, how they ought not to doe it.

THat if the English *had any right to lay claime to* Calais, *they might as well challenge and pretend title to* Paris, *for by the fortune of Warre, they had conquered and lost both the one and the other. That the right they pretended to* Calais, *was but new, whereas that of the* French, *tooke beginning with the Kingdome it selfe. And though the* English *possessed it for the space of three and twenty yeeres more or lesse, yet the originall title euer remained to the King of* France, *as well as that of the Duchies of* Guyenne, *and* Normandy, *which the* English *likewise detayned for a long time, by the force of their Armes. That the* French *did not conquer, but rather recouered* Calais, *with their Armes, euen as they did their former Dukedomes. That the prescription of times, alledged by the* English, *tooke no place betweene Princes, but their right lay alwayes in their force, and in the Law of the twelue Tables: for one might eternally challenge his owne properties out of the hand of his enemie. That the* English, *though sufficiently instructed in Treaties and contractations of affaires, were neuer mindefull of* Calais, *in the Treaty which passed not long since, at* Troyes, *though they*

enterprised a warre principally for the recouery thereof: so as hereby they manifested, that they had giuen ouer all pretence to the same. That this Treaty of Troyes *was a Renouation, by meanes whereof that of* Cambray *was in some poynts reformed, notwithstanding the clause of the Reuocation of rights and claimes, because that touched onely inferiour and petty Priuiledges and claimes, whereas that of* Calais *was held for one of the most principall, and important. That, notwithstanding any thing which* Francis *the Second attempted in* Scotland, *this would not accrue to the preiudice of* Charles *the Ninth. That in some specialls cases, the attempts of particular men, were subiect to the Lawes, but in the proceedings of Kings and Princes it tooke quite otherwise. That, for whatsoeuer was vndertaken in the Kingdome of* Scotland, *made ouer in dowry to King* Francis, *the* English, *who by surmizes aymed at his, and the Queene of* Scots *proiect, they should rather complaine vnto her, seeing they entred* Haure de grace, *which is in* France, *vnder a colourable pretext of the Kings preseruation, where placing a strong Garrison, and diuers warlike munitions, they held it by force of Armes, and furnished the Prince of* Condé *with Moneyes: for which cause, they lost the claime which they had to* Calais. *That* GOD *permitting the* French *to recouer the same, resolued in his heauenly prouidence, that it should be a meanes, to end the warres that had beene betweene them, in that they were seuered and separated by the Sea, which running betwixt both coasts, serues for iust borders and limits: as that* Poet *sings,*

And the English, who are certaine Nations,
Seuer'd by Sea, from other Regions.

That

That the Queene of England *should take a better course, in embracing Peace with the King of* France, *then by seeking to recouer* Calais. *Finally, that no man should dare to moue a word to the King, about surrendring it to the* English, *but if any were so presumptuous, that he deserued extreme punishment, yea, greater torments then those of hell fire.*

Whereunto *Smith* made answere: *That it nothing concerned him, and to search out what right and title the* French *had in former times to* Calais, *one must rip vp wonderfull ancient and absolute Antiquities; but well he perceiued at last, that what the* French *laid hold of, either by right or wrong, they take it for their own, as if their claimes and titles lay in nothing but Armes, and little car'd, whether they possest a good or bad conscience. That they resolued to hold* Calais, *by that Law of Nations, which permits captiues to release themselues from their enemies, and recouer former libertie, though the other held it by vertue of a solemne Conuention and Accord. And that they cal'd not to consideration, how after the first, there was another, so as they determined in no wise to performe their promise giuen touching the restitution of* Calais. *And yet neuertheless, this was of more waight and consequence then the most important reasons that could bee alleadged. That they euer tooke to themselues, and denyed the* English, *the glory and honour which then they willingly ascribed to them, for beeing capable and apprehensiue in Contractations. That this renouation of Contract, was but a meere Antistrophe, which might iustly bee returned vpon the* French, *because the reason why the Queene redemanded* Calais, *was for nothing else, but in that the* French *attempting and innouating by their Armes in* Scotland, *had lost the right they pretended there-*

Sir Thomas Smith's answere.

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thereunto: because the Queene of England, *vpon this, surprized* Haure de grace: *As if in so doing, the one Prince minded not to yeeld one iot to the other. We,* said he, *accorded a Peace at* Troyes; *which, if it induced any nouation or change, this innouation or change, cut off the right which the* French *had to* Calais, *and confirmed the* English *Title, which the* English *could not as yet iustly claime, because the eight yeeres were not then fully expired.* Whereupon rising, and turning toward the Councell of France; *I appeale,* saith hee, *to your faith and conscience, seeing your selues were then present, when wee insisted in making a Reseruation, by expresse termes, for our right to* Calais, *you labouring as much to haue it omitted, because the full time was not expired: Is it not true, that the Accord was made betweene vs, with this prouiso, and secret reseruation, exprest in this Clause,* All other respectiue intentions and demands to remaine solid and entire, and so likewise, the exceptions and prohibitions both of the one and the other side reserued. *As for* Haure de grace, *the* English *entred it without one blowe strucke, at the intreaty of the Inhabitants, and the Normane Nobility, and after a solemne protestation, that it should bee kept and held to the King of* France *his behoose, so as heerein they vndertooke nothing against him by course of Armes, nor innouated not any thing to the infringement of the former Treaty. As for the moneys lent to the Prince of* Condé, *and his Confederates, this was done with no other drift or intention, then to satisfie the* Almaine *Souldiers, who mutined for their pay, and to detaine them from foraging those Countries, that liued vnder the King's obedience, which the King himselfe acknowledged to haue beene done to a good end, and for his owne speciall seruice.*

And

And thus you see what Sir *Thomas Smith* vttered, with diuers such matters and allegations.

Whereupon, *Monsieur Memorancy*, beeing Constable of *France*, holding vp his Sword on high, the Scabbard whereof was set with Flowers-de-Luce, for a marke and embleme of his high Office, and vsing many words of the great warlike preparations which the *English* brought before *Haure de grace*, as if they had not only beene able to defend a small Towne, but further to haue taken in all *Normandy*.

> *No man* (said Smith) *need to wonder, because the* Englishmen, *being a maritime Nation, vnderstanding that they haue no command ouer the Winds, who are Lords of the Sea, they prouide plentifully and in due season for time to come.*

Then the *Frenchmen* complaining, that conformable to the Accord, the Protestants that fled out of *France*, were refused to bee deliuered to the *French* Ambassadour, who had demanded them: this busines was put off till another time, and so by little and little, came to be buried in silence, the Ciuill Wars instantly renewing in *France*. And certainely, the *French-men* were resolued among themselues, neuer to deliuer vp *Calais* againe: For they no sooner tooke it, but they razed all the old Fortifications, began to make new, let houses and grounds for fiftie yeeres, and granted a perpetuitie in others.

While these matters thus passed in *France*, the Count of *Stolberg* came into *England*, from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to treate of a Marriage with the *Arch-duke*, for which end likewise, the Queenes Maiestie not long before had sent to the Emperour, the Earle of *Sussex*, with the Order of the Garter; who, for the loue he bare to his Countrey, and hatred to the Earle of *Leicester*, employed all his best endeuours

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The Earle of Sussex is sent to the Emperour.

endeuours, to bring to passe, that the Queene might marry with a strange Prince, and *Leicester* by this meanes to bee frustrated of his hopes; this alwaies readily comming out of his mouth, That whether in respect of honour, power, or meanes, a strange Prince was to be preferred before the most noble Subiect of the Kingdome of *England*. Which made one of a contrarie opinion, vpon a certaine time, vtter ingeniously these words in his presence: *That in marriages, wherein respect is had to three things, to honour, power, and riches, the Diuell, and the World were the Paranymphes and Solliciters.* Notwithstanding, *Leicester* conceiuing good hopes, found meanes to suborne the Lord *North*, whom the Earle of *Sussex* had chosen to accompany him in his voyage, that he should giue an eare to what he spake, cast a vigilant eye ouer what hee did, and vnder-hand to plucke backe the Marriage of the Arch-duke, as fast as hee aduanced and set it forward: letting him vnderstand, that the Queene was farre from it, whatsoeuer shew shee made of a willing mind, and what face soeuer *Sussex* set on it. As also himselfe laboured incessantly in Court, to diuert the Queene from any such resolution, he hauing the command of her care, and to this end, he representing vnto her all the discommodities which might accrew, by her marrying out of the Realme.

Leicester hinders it.

Representing to her all the discommodities that might happē vpon marrie a stranger

The Marriage of late memory that her Sister MARY *contracted with the King of* Spaine, *whereby shee cast her selfe into perpetuall sorrow, and* England *into danger of comming vnder the* Spanish seruitude. *That it was vnpossible to discouer the manners, cogitations, and inward inclinations of strangers, though these things ought to be lookt into in the person of an Husband, who by an inseparable band, is one and the same flesh. How it was an extreme misery and griefe, to be dayly conuersant with a man of strange maners and language. That Children*

Children begotten in such marriages, tooke from their birth, I know not what kind of extraordinarie propertie and disposition. That frequent commerce with strangers, brought into the Common-wealth strange maners and fashions of life; and that Ladies Princesses, by these Marriages, in stead of augmenting their owne Kingdomes, added to those of their Husbands, submitted themselues and their Subiects to their commands, and laid open to strangers the secrets of their Kingdoms. That a strange Husband, out of the naturall affection he bare to his owne Countrey, would preferre his owne Subiects, before the Subiects of England. *That* England *had no need of the helpe of any stranger, beeing strong enough of it selfe, to defend the Kingdome, and the riches thereof, and to repell any forraigne Force. That the annexing of another Kingdome, would breed but charge, care, and trouble, and how Kingdomes, as well as humane bodies, fell many times by their owne waight. That some alleadged in scorne of the Nobility, That the Queene marrying within the Kingdome, should somewhat impaire her Royall dignity; whereas her Maiestie, who by her vertue opened a way to rise vnto this Soueraigntie, was extracted from Nobility, and that yet there are some Nobles of the Royall Blood, who are like Sprigs of the same Royall Branch or Arme, and hereupon, the Kings of* England *haue euer in their Letters, honoured Dukes, Marquisses, Earles, and Vicounts, with this Title of Cousins.*

In the meane while, the Earle of *Sussex*, taking his Iourney by *Antwerp, Cullen, Maguncc, Wormes, Spire, Vlme*, and *Ausberg*, came into *Austria* with a great and magnificent Traine: who beeing honourably entertained, he there remained fiue moneths at the Emperours charge, hauing daily conference with him about serious and waighty

Book I. 1567.

Articles of marriage mended.

matters, and touching the Marriage of *Charles*; and on a day appointed, he inuested him with the Order of the Garter, at an Euening Prayer, refusing, through scruple of conscience, to bee present at the celebration of Masse. In this affaire, many difficulties presented themselues about Religion, and the Arch-duke's mayntenance, the stile of King, and the succession to the Kingdome; and many points were argued both of the one side and the other: For the Title and Stile of King, it was accorded he should haue it. For the Succession, in that hee could not enioy it by the Lawes of the Kingdome, in that it was preiudiciall to the Children, hee should haue the tutelage and gardianship of them. And that nothing more was granted to *Philip*, King of *Spaine*, when he married Queene MARY. As for his maintenance, if hee would furnish them at his charge, whom he should bring with him and retaine in the Court, the Queene, out of her Royall Dignitie, would abundantly discharge the rest, yea, and that too, if he required it. But one scruple still remained touching Religion: For the Emperour demanded, as also *Charles* himselfe, that he might haue a publike Church granted him, whither hee might repaire with his Court, to the celebration of diuine Seruice according to the *Romane* forme. But this beeing refused, the Emperour was satisfied with an indifferent motion, which was, That hee might haue a peculiar place ordained within the Court for this purpose, where he might quietly performe his Deuotions, as euer it is permitted the Ambassadours of *Romane* Princes, with a prouiso that the *English* should not bee thereto admitted, and that neither hee nor his Followers did oppugne the Religion receiued in *England*, neither fauour any opposites. If any discontentment grew about Diuine Seruice, hee should for a time forbeare his ordinary exercise, and with the Queene repaire to that celebration performed according to the Church of *England*. When this Treatie had beene sagely discussed

discussed of in *England*, (that I may not relate any further of the negotiation) the Queene made answere, That if shee yeelded to this, she should offend her owne Conscience, and openly violate the publike Lawes of the Kingdome, to the extreme perill both of her dignitie and safety: But if *Charles* were pleased to come into *England*, to see her, he should reape fruites worthy his trauell and paines. And thus the Emperour dismissed the Earle of *Sussex* with great honour: and the Earle of *Sussex* turning a little out of his way to see *Charles*, tooke his leaue of him at *Gratz*; and the Arch-duke *Charles*, expecting to receiue a more fauourable Answere, found himselfe frustrated of his intention. For this prosecution was giuen ouer by little and little, which made a progression of seuen whole yeeres, with diuers intercourses of honourable Embassies: it leauing notwithstanding a mutuall loue and amity betweene the Princes, so cordiall and inherent, that the Emperour alwaies croft the Popes designes against Queene ELIZABETH. Not long after, the Arch-duke married *Mary*, Daughter to *Albert* the fifth, Duke of *Bauaria*, by whom, amongst other Children, he had two Daughters, whereof the one was Queene of *Spaine*, the other of *Poland*.

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About this time, came into *England*, from the mightie Emperour of *Russia* and *Muscouie*, *Ioh. Basilius*, *E. Twerdico*, and *T. Pogarella*, with most Martlet, Sable, and Ermyne Skins, whereof at that time, and in precedent ages, the *English* made great account, both for ornament and health: and they promised to the Queene and the *English* Nation, continuance of that affection which the Emperour had manifested, and what great studie and care he had taken for the *English*, euer since they frequented those parts, whereof you shall hereunder see the beginning.

Ambassadours sent from the Emperour of Muscouie.

In the yeere 1553. certaine Marchants of London, the principall of whom were *An. Iudd.* *G. Barnes*, and *A. Husay*, shaping out a course for *Cathay*, by the frozen or

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Hyperborean Sea, vnder the conduct of Sir *Henry Willowbie*, who was frozen to death in the Iourney, *Ro. Chancelour*, his Lieutenant, happily opened the passage of *Russia*, before this time vnknowne, running vp with the Riuer of *Duina*, till he came to sixtie degrees of the Pole Articke, where a little Monasteerie is seated, consecrated to Saint *Nicholas*. When the Emperour heard of it, he sent for him to the *Mosco*, in Caroches made after the manner of the Countrie: he entertain'd and dismist him with many graces and fauours, promising the *English* great immunities, if they would trade into his Empire, and reioycing that hee had met with a meanes to transport by Sea into *Russia*, forraign merchandize, which the *Russiãs* could not come by before, but with great difficultie, by the *Narue*, and the Kingdome of *Poland*, enemies. When *Robert Chancelor* vpon his returne gaue inforamtion thereof, and of what high esteeme the Clothes of *England* were in those parts, the low rate of Hempe and Flaxe, whereof they made their Cables and cordage, and what rich Skins they affoorded, these Marchants raised a society or company, by Queene MARIES permission, in a faire Building appropriated to their vse, which at this day we call the *Moscouie house*; and *Basilius* granting them many immunities, they haue since that time, sent euery yeere a Fleet of Ships, and maintained traffique, the which likewise hath been greatly augmented since the yeere 1569. when out of his loue to Queene ELIZABETH, he granted them, that none but the *English* of this Company, might trassique into the North part of *Russia*, and they onely should sell their merchandizes throughout the whole extent of his Empire, which is large and spacious, as in fit place shall be declared.

The Company of Muscouie Marchants.

An. Ienkinson returned with these Ambassadours into *England*, who had obseruantly runne ouer all this Countrey: he described the same in a Geographicall Map, and was the first man of the *English*, that cross'd the Caspian Sea,

Sea, and landed in the Countrey of the *Bactrians*. The Emperour committed vnto him secret matters, which hee would by no meanes communicate to any of his owne people, which was, seriously to treat with Queene ELIZABETH in his name, that she would enter into mutuall league with him offensiue, and defensiue, against all the world, and that she would send into *Russia*, Ship-wrights, Mariners, warlike Munitions, and to oblige her selfe by solemne oath, courteously to receiue him, with his Wife, and Children, if he were driuen out of his Empire, eyther by rebellious Subiects, or open enemies. And thus this Tyrant, whom no man could trust, seemed to be distrustfull euen of himselfe: and though he were somewhat moued with the short and ambiguous answer that her Maiesty returned, yet did he not giue ouer solliciting of her in these things, both by Letters and Ambassies, as hereafter shall be expressed, requesting her continually, to send him backe that same *Anthony Ienkinson*, who, as he thought, had not beene so faithfull, as in matters of so great waight was requisite.

Booke 1. 1567. *A secret message from the Emperour of Muscouy.*

The first Moneth of this yeere, dyed *Nicholas Wotton*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Law, and Deane of the Churches of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*: a very honourable person, for his parentage, but much more for his prudence: whereof he had giuen ample testimony both within and without the Realme. For, hee was one of the Priuy-Councell to the Kings, HENRY the Eighth, and EDVVARD the Sixth; as also, to Queene MARY, and Queene ELIZABETH. Nine times he went Ambassadour to the Emperour, the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and other Princes. Three times he was a Commissioner to make peace betweene the *English*, *French*, and *Scots*; and one of the sixteene, whom HENRY the Eighth chose for Executors of his last Will and Testament.

The death of N. Wotton:

And the Duchesse of Norfolke.

There dyed also *El. Leyborne*, third Wife to *Thomas*, Duke

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Duke of *Norfolke*, and formerly Widdow to the Lord *Dacres*, hauing brought him forth no Children. But she had one by her first Husband, *George* the Baron: who dyed young, with a fall off of a Vauting-Horse of wood, when he learned to vaut: and three Daughters, who were all affianced by promises of performance to the Dukes three Sonnes.

I told you, how *Shan O-Neale*, lawfull Sonne to *Cone-Oneale*, surnamed *Bacon*; that is to say, Lame; the mighriest man in the North part of *Ireland*, which is called *Vlster*, was come into *England*, and craued pardon for his offence, in the yeere 1563. When hee was returned into his Countrey, hee valiantly defended that part of *Ireland* against the *Scots* which landed there out of *Cantria*, and *Hebride*: and he slew *Io. Mac O-Neale*, his father in Law, and *Anny* his Brother, who conducted them. This victory causing him to be insolent, he began to exercise tyranny vpon other petty Lords of *Vlster*, not of so powerfull a command as himselfe: hee burnt *Armach*, the Metropolitane City of *Ireland*, for hatred to the Arch-bishop, draue *Mac-Guire* out of the inheritance of his Predecessors, pilled and sacked *Mac-Genisse*, and others; and the *English*, receiuing them into their protection, hee spied rebellious colours against Queene ELIZABETH. But he presently wrapt them vp againe, at the instigation of *Cusac*, a Knight of the Order, yeelded vp his Sonne in Hostage, and submitted himselfe. And Queene ELIZABETH, to containe him within bounds, hauing rent and torne all those Letters, by which HENRY the Eighth declared *Matthew* falsly reputed for his Sonne, to be Heire to *Cone*, she resolued to conferre vpon him, the honourable titles of Earle of *Tyrone*, and Baron of *Dungannon*, as being the vndoubted Sonne and Heire. But this man altogether impatient of repose, and peace, perceiuing that he was able to bring into the field a thousand Horse, and foure thousand

Shan O-neale raiseth troubles.

He rebels.

thousand foot of his Vassals, and Tenants, and he had already fiue hundred of his Guard, with barbarous pride hee reiected such titles of honour, in comparison of the name of *O-Neale*, but caused himselfe, by his owne people, to be styled King of *Vlster*: He trayned vp the Peasants to War, offered the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Queene of *Scots*, and conceiued such a mortall hatred against the *English*, that hauing built a Castle vpon the *Lac Eaugh*, he named it *Feogneagall*, which is to say, *the Hatred of the English*, and strangled some of his people, because they ate the bread of the *English*, though hee would neuer speake otherwise than honourably of the Queene.

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Sir *Henry Sidney* was commanded to arme against him, and *Randolph*, a braue Conductor, sent by Sea, vpon the Northerne Frontiers of *Vlster*, to *Derry*, which is a small Episcopall See, neere to *Loygh-foy*, with a troupe of horse, and seuen hundred foot, to assaile him vpon the backe, when the Vice-Roy would come vp, and set vpon him in his Van. *Shan* vnderstanding this, hotly beleaguerd *Dundalk*, but was repelled by the Garrison, with great losse of men: as he was likewise from *Wittscastell*, where hee met with no lesse losse. Then being about with fire and sword to waste the Earledome of *Louth*, with the ouerthrow of a number of men, he was rowted by a small troupe of the *English*: when, making towards *Derry*, he forraged all the Countrey round about, and prouoked the *English* Garrison to fight, who ranging themselues in battell, fell on all sides vpon this disordered multitude, disarrayed, ouerthrew, and put them to open flight. But the victory proued but sorrowfull, by reason of a lamentable accident that light vpon *Randolph*, who was slaine fighting valiantly among the thickest of his enemies: as braue a Gentleman questionlesse, as our present times haue seene, and none euer purchased greater respect, ioyned with loue, among Souldiers, than this man had done. S. *Lo* being con-

Sir Henry Sidney armes against him.

He is discomfited.

Booke i. 1567.

constituted in his place, he much endammaged the Rebels in that quarter, till on a day, when the Fort by an vnhappy accident, was set on fire, with all the Munition, and Powder, which blew vp many Souldiers. For then, embarking all his foot in shipping, and with a wing of Horse, commanded by one *Harney*, he past through the middest of his enemies, who continually galled him, and, by a way of foure dayes iourney, went to the Lord Deputy, who, to honour *Randolphs* vertue, solemnized his Obsequies, and was himselfe in mourning.

And raising forces presently to goe into *Vlster*, *Shan* retyred with his men into the Woods and Forrests, re-amassing againe together at seuerall times, here and there, the rest of his men, about *Clogner*, and *Castell Salmon*, belonging to *Turlogh-Leinich*, who then had left it. But when the Lord Deputy had constituted Garrisons, settled *Odonel* againe in his State, and was returned to appease the differences between the Earles of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, who in an ill time bandied one against another, *Shan* re-assuming courage, after he had spoyled and ranged farre vp into the Countrey, he againe besieged *Dundalch*, which he was presently constrained to giue ouer with great losse, and shame, many of his men being slaine: insomuch, that enraged with fury and madnesse, he practised most barbarous cruelty against them: for, many had forsaken him, and he perceiuing that his number was greatly diminished, (for besides those that left him, he lost a thousand in fight) and how the passages were stopped, and all places of retreat seyzed vpon by the *English*, he resolued to prostitute himselfe at the Deputies feet, and to craue pardon with an Halter about his necke. But, being dissuaded by his Secretary, and first to try the amity of the *Scots* of *Hebrides*, who were returned into *Clande-boy*, from whence he had formerly driuen them, and were there re-entred into an hot warre, vnder the conduct of *A. Oge*; which is to say, the

Shan re-assumes courage.

He vseth cruelty to his men.

He meanes to yeeld.

the youngest, and *M. Gillespie*, whose Brethren, *Anne*, and *Ioh. O-Neale*, himselfe had slaine in fight: he first sent vnto them, their Brother *Surley-boy*, that is to say, *Surley* the Redde, to recouer their fauour, and then went to them himselfe, with the Wife of *Odonel*, whom he had stolne away. They, boyling with choller, to bee reuenged for their brethren, and cousins, whom he had slaine, entertayned him but with feigned courtesie, but presently leading him into their Tent, in drinking they quarrelled with him, vpon some obscene speeches he vsed of their Mother, and so falling vpon him with their naked swords, slew both himselfe, and many others of his company.

Booke I. 1567.

He is slaine.

And thus you may see, what a bloudy end this *Shan* came to, in the middest of *Iune*, after he had taken away all gouernement from his Father, and life from his bastard-Brother. A man wonderfully polluted with Homicides, and Adulteries, a great gourmand, and an infamous drunkard, who, to refresh his body inflamed with too-much Wine, and Vsquebagh, he was faine to bury himselfe often-times in ground, vp to the chin. He left behinde him, *Henry*, and *Shan*, his Sonnes, that he had by his Wife, and many others whom he begot on the Wife of *Odonel*, & his other Concubines. His possessions and goods were confiscated by the Parliament of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, and *Turlogh-Leinich*, the mightiest man of the Family of *O-Neale*, and of a stayed spirit, proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the Queenes permission, and the peoples election. Neuertheleſse, the Queen, for an opposite to him, if he should chance to exceed the bounds of his duety, receiued to grace *Hugon*, Nephew to *Shan*, by reason of *Matthew* his Brother, who was commonly called the Baron of *Dungannon*, a young man then of small note, and yet afterwards he proued the Tempest, yea the very Plague and Pestilence of his Countrey.

Hugon, who was afterwards Baron of Dungannon.

Thus peace was concluded vpon *Vlster*. But in the meane

Booke I.

1567.

Troubles in Munster.

while, new troubles grew in *Munster*, through the debate and secret grudgings, about their seuerall limits and borders, which fell out betweene the Earles of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, so as they came to hand-blowes neere to *Dromell*, and were both summoned into *England*, to plead their causes before the Qu. Priuy-Councell. But they, the matter much encombred, sent them backe to the Vice-Roy in *Ireland*, where they might haue both their titles and testimonies neere at hand. Both of them being equall in the number of warlike subiects, in courage, and friends at Court, contemning the decision of Lawes, they resolued to end their suite by the sword. The Vice-Roy hindred it as much as he could, both by his authority and armes. But *Ormond*, who would be thought to haue the best cause, so wrought, that the Vice-Roy was blamed for bearing too-much with *Desmond*, and commanded to seyze his person, which he did, when hee least thought of it, and together with himselfe, he tooke *Ioh. Desmond*, his Vnkle by the Fathers side, neere to *Kilmalec*, and so, he sent them both into *England*, where, they had a strong Guard set about them.

THE

THE ELEVENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1568.

WHen *Tho. Harding*, *N. Sanders*, and *T. P.* Diuines, and Fugitiues out of *England*, boldly exercised the Episcopall Authority they had lately receiued from the Pope:

The Papists absolue many.

IN iurisdiction of conscience, to absolue all those English that would returne into the bosome of the Romane Church, to dispence in cases of irregularity, except in poynts proceeding from voluntary manslaughter, or growne to a contentious iurisdiction, and of irregularities, by reason of Heresie, so the absolued abstaine for three yeeres, from ministring at the Altar:

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The Innouators shew themselues.

On the other side, it hapned, that *Colman*, *Button*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and some others, who with ardent zeale professed the more pure Religion, reprehended whatsoeuer was performed without authority out of the holy Scriptures, and, whether transported with a desire of purer doctrine, of nouelty, or of dissentions, but, in the open view of all men, they questioned the Discipline of the *English* Church, authorized and receiued the *Liturgie*, and vocation of Bishops, expressly condemning them, as senting too strongly of the Romane Church, with which to hold any thing in common, they daily preached to be a singular impiety, vsing all meanes and endeuour that matters in the *English* Church might be reformed, according to the forme of *Geneua*. And, although the Queene commanded them to be clapt vp in prisons, yet they had an incredible number of Followers, who were presently branded with that odious style of Puritans: And in all places they encreased, out of a wilfull obstinacy, the imprudence of the Bishops, and the secret fauours of some of the Nobilitie, who barked at, and maligned the riches of the Church.

Puritans.

The Papists absolue many.

Second ciuill warre in France.

And, when some *French* likewise laboured after reformation of Religion, and fearing lest the Papists would enter into league against them, they repayred to the King with armes in hand, by reason of the iust feare they stood in, and in this manner presented vnto him a Supplication. A second ciuill warre hapned; for cessation whereof, the Queene commanded her Ambassadour *Norrù*, to sollicite the King; and so, hereupon, a Peace was agreed vpon, but, questionlesse hollow, and full of deceit, and stratagem. At the same time, the Queene, mother to the King of *France*, shewing great affability and grace, both to the Ambassadour himselfe, and diuers of the *English*, couertly shee vsed some speech, as pretending to treat of other affaires, that shee was desirous to marry *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, her

her Sonne, to Queene ELIZABETH, who was hardly seuenteene yeeres old, to diuert her, as diuers supposed, from assisting the Protestants of *France*, in the third Ciuill-Warre, which shee plotted presently to be set on foote.

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The Duke of Aniou, commended to Queene Elizabeth. for an Husband.

But then in *Spaine*, *Man*, the *English* Ambassadour, was disgracefully entreated: For, it beeing imputed to him, that he had spoken vnreuerently of the Pope, hee was prohibited the Court, afterwards banisht from *Madril*, to a little Village among boorish and rusticall people; he is forced to heare *Masse*, and the exercise of his owne Religion forbidden him. Wherein, I am not able to say whether the *Spaniards* shewed greater hatred to Queene ELIZABETH, or to Religion, considering that at the same time, she vsed all manner of humanity to *Guzman*, the *Spanish* Ambassadour in *England*, permitting him the exercise of his religion: Her Maiestie was wonderfully moued with this Insult, esteeming it offered to her own person, in that they vsed her Ambassadour so, as likewise for the iniurie which was done at the same instant to one *Iohn Hawkins*. This man went to traffique at the Port of *S. Iohn de Vlua*, within the Mexican Gulfe, hauing fiue Ships laden with merchandize, and some Negro slaues, of whom the *English* then made ordinary sale, hauing learn'd it of the *Spaniards*: but I know not with what honour they might so doe. The day after his arriuall, came in also the King of *Spaine*'s Fleet, which (because he would not violate the Peace) he suffered peaceably to enter into the Port, though he might haue hindred it, obtayning first a firme promise of security for himselfe and his people, vpon certaine prouisoes and conditions. The *Spaniards* thus entered; scorning to haue conditions imposed vpon them in their owne Proprieties, obserued a fit time, and falling vpon the *English*, slew many of them, seized on three of their Ships, and made pillage of the goods; a victory notwithstauding that cost themselues much blood. This treacherous Action, caused

The English Ambassador disgracefully vsed in Spaine.

Hawkins *ill intreated by the Spaniards in* America.

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the Souldiers and Sea-men of *England* to murmur, vrging them to call out for warre against the *Spaniard*, and dayly exclaiming, how they were breakers of Peace and Accord, because it was agreed vpon between the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and HENRY the Eighth, that commerce should bee free betweene their Subiects, in all and each of their Kingdomes and Dominions, as also in the Ilands, not excepting so much as *America*, which then appertayned to *Charles*.

The Queene of Scots escapes out of prison.

About the same time, the second day of *May*, the prisoner Queene at *Lake-Leuin*, made an escape out of prison, and retired to *Hamilton* Castle, by meanes of *George Dowglasse*, to whose Brother shee was committed in guard; where, vpon the testimonies of *R. Meluin* and others, and with an vnanimous consent of all the Nobles, who flockt thither in great numbers, Sentence definitiue was vttered, That the Grant or Resignation, extorted by meere feare from the prisoner Queene, was void from the beginning: and the Queene her selfe beeing present, tooke a solemne Oath, that it was extorted and forced from her. By meanes whereof, in two dayes such multitudes of men repayred to her out of all parts, as she raised an Army of sixe thousand braue Souldiers, who notwithstanding, when they came to ioyne battell with *Murray*, & fighting rather hare-braindly, then with wit or discretion, they were soone discomfited. This timorous Lady, beeing daunted with that hard successe, betooke her selfe to flight, and rode the same day threescore miles; when comming by night to *Maxwel's* house, Baron of *Heris*, she had rather expose herselfe to the mercy of the Sea, and rely vpon Queen ELIZABETHS Protection, than vpon the fidelity of her Subiects: But yet before her embarking, shee sent vnto her, *Iohn Beton*, with a Diamond that Queen ELIZABETH had formerly giuen her for a gage of their mutuall loue and amitie, to the end to aduertise her, that shee meant to come into *England*,

She is vanquished.

land, and demand succour of her, if her owne Subiects any longer pursued her by course of Warre. Queene ELIZABETH promised her all the kindnesse and loue of a Royall Sister: but she not staying the returne of the Messenger, committed her selfe to a small Vessell, against the aduice and counsell of her friends, and so the seuenteenth of *May*, with the Barons, *Heris* and *Flemming*, and some fewe others, came to *Werrington* in *Cumberland*, neere to the mouth of the Riuer *Derwenton*: and the same day shee wrote to Queene ELIZABETH a Letter in *French*, the principall heads whereof, I thinke good to set downe, euen as I extracted them out of the originall Copie it selfe, which comprehend a Relation of that which passed against her in *Scotland*, more at large then what before I haue deliuered.

She writes to Qu. Elizab.

MY most deare Sister, you very wel vnderstand, how some of my Subiects, whom I haue raised to soueraigne degrees of honor, haue conspired to suppresse and imprison both mee and my Husband: as also, that when by force of Armes I had expelled them out of my Kingdome, I receiued them againe into grace, at your entreatie; notwithstanding all this, they violently entred into my Chamber, and though I was great with Child, cruelly slew mine owne seruant in my presence, and shut vp my selfe vnder guard and close keeping. When I pardoned them of this crime, then presently they perpetrate another, the which, though it were plotted by them, and had obliged themselues to the execution thereof, by seal'd writings, subscribed with their owne hands, yet they imputed it to mee, and were ready with armed power to seize vpon me. But beeing confident in mine owne innocence, for the sparing of blood, I was content to yeeld my selfe vnto them: Foorthwith they committed mee to prison, beeing depriued of all my seruants,

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seruants, except two wayting-Maides, a Cooke, and a Phisician; enforcing me, by menacings and terrors of death, to resigne ouer the gouernment of the Kingdome, refusing to heare either me or my Attourneys, in a Conuention of the Estates, summon'd by their owne authority onely, stript off all my goods, and denyed the meanes to speake with any. After this, by Gods direction, I vsed a course to escape this imprisonment, and beeing assisted with the whole Flowre of the Nobilitie, who cheerefully made recourse vnto me out of all parts, I put mine enemies in minde of their duety, and of the fidelity they had sworne vnto me, offered them pardon, tooke order that each partie might bee heard in the Conuention of the Estates, to the end the Common-wealth might no longer bee rackt and tormented with intestine mischiefes; and for this effect, I sent towards them two Messengers: But they imprisoned both of them, proclaimed them Traytors that assisted me, and ordayned that they should presently forsake me. I entreated them vnder publike warrant and safety, to negotiate with the Baron of Boyd, *for the according of these differences: but in this motion they also refused me. Neuertheless, I conceiued some hope, that they might bee brought vnder obedience by your procurements: but when I saw that I must either dye, or vndergoe another imprisonment, I thought to goe to* Dunbritton, *and was onward in my way: They opposed and way-laid me, beat and ouerthrew my people, my selfe beeing constrained to flie. Then I retired to the Baron of* Heris, *and with him repayred into your Kingdome, relying on your Princely and Royall affection, that you will ayde me in my need, and by your example inuite others thereunto. Wherefore, I request you in all kinde affection, that beeing so deepely plunged in many distresses, as at this instant I am, you will cause mee to be conducted out of hand to*

your

your presence, and if you be pleased to commiserate my case, I will at large informe you of all. God grant you a long and happy life, and me the patience to attend that comfort I hope for from Him, by your gracious meanes, and dayly Prayer for, with all my heart.

Queene ELIZABETH returning her great comfort in Letters, and by the mouth of *Francis Knowles*, and others, promised her assistance, according to the equitie of her cause: but neuertheless she refused her accesse, because shee was commonly taxed with many grosse crimes, and commanded she should be conuayed to *Carlile*, where shee might remaine in greatest security, if her Aduersaries attempted any thing against her, by *Lowder*, Lieutenant Gouernour of the place, and the Gentlemen of the Couutrey. Hauing receiued this answere and refusall, she once againe made her request by Letters, and by the mouth of *Maxwell*, Baron of *Heris*, to this effect:

She writes againe.

THat she would admit her in her own presence, to report the iniuries and indignities had been offered her, and to answer those crimes laid to her charge: Intimating to her Maiesty, how it was iust that Qu. ELIZABETH, *who was so neere vnto her in blood, should giue eare to her in her banishment, and to re-establish her in her Kingdome, against those, who hauing beene expelled for their offences committed against her, by Queene* ELIZABETHS *intercession they were againe restored, and to her owne finall ruine, if the storme were not out of hand preuented. Wherefore shee requested her, that either shee might bee admitted to speake personally to her, and to grant her some ayde, or else to permit and be pleased that she might presently depart out of* England, *to seeke for succour some where else, and that she might not be detained any longer time*

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in the Castle of Carlile, *in that shee came voluntarily into* England, *vpon the confidence shee had in the loue and affection which had so many times beene honourably promised her, by Messengers, Letters, and Remembrances.*

Queene Elizabeth pitiues her.

These Letters, and *Heris* words, seemed (for who can diue into the secret thoughts of Princes? and wise men lay them vp in their hearts) to moue Queene ELIZABETH to compassion of a Princesse, her neere Kinswoman, and so deepely distressed, who hauing been surprized by her own Subiects with force, and Armes, committed to prison, brought to extreme danger of her life, condemned, and depriued of her Kingdome, without beeing heard, (although no Iudgement can passe vpon a priuate man, without former hearing) shee was retyred into *England* vnto her, with infallible hopes of finding ayd and succour. And the free offer which this vnfortunate Queene made, to pleade her owne cause in her presence; the charge she tooke vpon her, to conuince her Aduersaries of the same malefacts whereof they accused her, (though most innocent) were to her hopefull and encouraging motiues thereunto.

The priuy Counsell consult of it.

What pitty and commiseration soeuer Queen ELIZABETH had of her, the Councell of *England* deliberated grauely and aduisedly, what in this case was to bee done. They fear'd, that if shee remained any longer in *England*, hauing a perswasiue and mouing tongue, she might drawe many to her partie, who fauoured the Title which she pretended to the Crowne of *England*, who might peraduenture inflame her ambition, and attempt all meanes to maintaine her claime. That forraigne Ambassadours would be present at her Consultations, and the *Scots* would not in this case forsake her, seeing so rich a booty to offer it selfe. Besides, they considered, that the fidelity of her Guard might be doubtfull; and, if shee chanc'd to dye in *England*, though

though it were of ſome infirmity or ſickneſſe, many ſlanders might be raiſ'd, and ſo the QVEENE ſhould be dayly encumbred with new cares. If ſhe were ſent into *France*, the *Guizes*, her Couſins, would againe ſet on foot the Title whereby ſhe laid claime to the Crowne of *England*. That, what opinion ſoeuer was conceiued of her, ſhe might preuaile greatly in *England*, with ſome, for pretext of Religion, with others, for the probability of her right, as before I told you, and with the moſt part of men, out of their precipitate affection of Noueltiſs. That the Amity betweene *England* and *Scotland*, ſo behoofefull and beneficiall, would be broken, and the ancient Allyance between *Scotland* and *France* renewed, which would then bee more dangerous then heretofore, becauſe the *Burgundians*, who had no infallible friends but the *Scots*, ſhould bee linckt to the *Engliſh* by a firme Alliance. If ſhee were ſent backe into *Scotland*, thoſe that tooke with the *Engliſh* partie, ſhould thereupon be baniſht, and that of *France* raiſ'd to the publike adminiſtration of gouernment of Affaires, the young Prince expoſed to danger, Religion chang'd, the *French*, and other ſtrangers ſtill retained in *Scotland*, *Ireland* would bee more grieuouſly moleſted by the *Scots* of *Hebrides*, and her ſelfe expoſed to the perill of life within her owne Kingdome. Wherefore the greater part ioyned in opinion, that ſhee was to be retained in *England*, as beeing taken by the Law of Armes, and not to bee releaſt, till ſhee had giuen ouer her preſent claime to the Crowne of *England*, which ſhee tooke vpon her, and anſwered for the death of the Lord *Darley*, her husband, who was a naturall Subiect of *England*. For the Counteſſe of *Lenox*, mother to the Lord *Darley*, blubbered all ouer with teares, had, not long before, preſer'd a Petition about her and her husband, to the Queene of *England*, with ſupplication that ſhe might be brought to Iudgement for the murder of her Sonne. But the Queene graciouſly comforting her, admoniſht her, that ſhe would

The Counceil reſolues ſhe ſhould be retained in England.

The Counteſſe of Lenox complaines of her.

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not accuse so great a Princesse, who was her very neere Kinswoman, of a crime which could not be prooued by any euident testimonies: intimating vnto her, how the times were bad and wicked, and hatred blind, imputing offences oftentimes to the Innocent.

The Baron Heris inceeds for her.

On the contrary, the Baron of *Heris* was a suiter to Qu. ELIZABETH, that she would suddenly beleeue nothing to the preiudice of truth, and that Earle *Murray* might not hurrie vp Assemblies of Parliament in *Scotland*, to the iniurie and wrong of the Queene, who was expelled, and the absolute ruine of her good Subiects. But though the Queene of *England* much pressed this point, Earle *Murray*, the Vice-Roy, summoned them still in the Kings name, banished some that remained yet behind of her partialitie, and vented the malice hee bare to them, vpon their demeanes and houses. The Queene of *England* beeing herewith mightily incens'd, certified him in expresse termes by *Mildemay*, that she could not endure, for a most pernicious President to Kings, that the Royall Authoritie of sacred Maiestie, should bee esteemed vile and abiect amongst the Subiects, and trampled vnder-foot at the will and pleasure of men turbulent and factious. That howsoeuer they forgot the duety and fidelitie which Subiects owe to their Prince, yet for her part, shee could not bee vnmindfull of that pitty and Commiseration, which obliged her to a Sister, and a neighbour Qu. Wherefore she wisht him either to come in person, or to substitute vnderstanding men, to answere those complaints which the Queene of *Scots* would exhibit against him and his Confederates, and to yeeld some iust cause and reason of his deposing her. If not, that herselfe would presently set her at liberty, and employ all her forces for her re-establishment. And so likewise she admonished him, not to sell her precious habits and ornaments, though the States of the Kingdome had permitted him.

Earle Murray is commanded to yeeld a reason of the Queenes deposition.

Earle

Earle *Murray* obeyed: there being no other way, to call in question his administration and gouernement, but those that came out of *England*, and the great Men of the Kingdome refusing any manner of deputation. Wherefore, he came himselfe in person to the City of *Yorke*, a place appointed for this proceeding, with seuen of his most inward friends, being Deputies for the Infant-King; that is to say, the Earle of *Morton*, the Bishop of *Orcades*, the Gouernour of *Dunfermlin*, the Baron of *Lindsay*, *Io. Macgill*, and *Henry Barneuay*, accompanied with the Earle of *Lidington*, whom *Murray* drew thither with faire promises, in that he durst not leaue him behinde in the Kingdome, and *George Buchanan*, who was wholly at his deuotion and becke. And the very same day came thither the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Sussex*, who not long before was constituted President of the North, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a Knight, and one of the Priuy-Councell, who were nominated, to heare, and examine the cause, why the Queene of *Scots* was deposed. The Bishop of *Rosse*, the Barons of *Leuingstone*, and of *Boyd*, the Gouernour of *Kenwinin*, *Iohn Gordon*, and *Iohn Corburne*, appeared there for the Queene of *Scots*, who was wonderfully wroth, that the Queene of *England* would neither see nor heare her, hauing commanded that her owne Subiects should stand vp against her before the Commissaries, in that being an absolute Princesse, she stood not bound, except she listed, to make answer to her Subiects accusations, and obiections.

Being assembled on the seuenth of October, and read the Commissions, both of the one side, and the other, *Lidington*, who was there present, turning towards the *Scots*, admonished them, with a marueilous free and plaine discourse:

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Deputies for the King of Scots:

For the Qu. of Scots.

That seeing it seemed, the Queene *of* England *pretended no other thing by the authority shee had conferred*

Lidingtons *declaration to the Scots.*

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vpon the Commissaries, but to staine the honour, and impaire the reputation of the Queene, *the Kings Mother, and to interpose herein her owne censure, as an honourable Arbitratrix: but that they should weigh and well consider, what a perill they exposed themselues vnto, and how they were like to purchase not onely the hatred of the* Scots, *who continued deuoted and affected to the* Queene, *but further the ill-will of other Christian Princes, and of such affinitie as shee had in France, in criminally accusing and hazarding her reputation, in such a publique and iuridicall Tryall before the* English, *sworne enemies to the Scottish name; and what account could they giue to the King of such a presumptuous and insolent accusation, which could not but redound to the preiudice of* Scotland, *when, being of riper yeeres, hee shall repute both himselfe, his Mother, and countrey hereby dishonoured? And therefore hee thought it very fitting, to let fall this odious accusation of so great a Princesse, except the* Queene *of* England *had contracted with them a mutuall League, offensiue, and defensiue, against those that should in case molest or trouble them. And thus much* (said hee) *out of his loyaltie and dutie, a Scottish Secretarie hath aduertised you of.* Hereupon, looking vpon one another, they remained not vttering one word.

The protestation of the Queene of Scots Deputies.

The Queene of *Scots* Deputies, who had the honour to speake first, before the taking of their Oath, protested, That though the Queene of *Scots* thought good, to haue the cause betweene her Maiesty and her disloyall Subiects, handled before the *English*, yet neuertheless they conceiued not themselues herein to be vnder the command of any but their owne Princesse, seeing Shee was free and absolute, and ought neither faith nor homage to any other.

The

The *English*, in like manner, protested, How they accepted not of this protestation, to the preiudice of any right or prerogatiue, which the Kings of *England* haue heretofore challenged, as Soueraigne Lords of the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

The next day, the Queene of *Scots* Deputies put in their Declaration in writing:

A declaration for the Queene.

How the Earles of Morton, Mar, *and* Glencarne, *the Barons of* Hume, Lindsay, Reuthen, *and* Sempil, *and others, had rayſed an Armie in the Kings name, againſt the Queene her ſelfe, taken her, vſed her diſgracefully, and clapt her vp in priſon, at Lake-Leuin: They broke open the Mint, carried away all ſorts of Coyne, Gold, and Siluer, Money or no Money, crowned the King her Sonne, who was yet but an Infant: and the Earle of* Murray, *vnder the title of Vice-Roy or Regent, vſurped his power and authority, and ſeyzed on all the wealth, munition, and reuenewes of the Kingdome. Afterwards, they alledged, that the Queene being eſcaped out of Priſon, after ſhee had beene there restrayned for the ſpace of tenne dayes, denounced publiquely vpon her oath, That whatſoeuer ſhee had yeelded vnto during her impriſonment, was extorted from her againſt her will, by force, threats, and terrour of death. Notwithſtanding, to prouide for common tranquillitie, ſhee had giuen authoritie to the Earles of* Argathel, Eglenton, Caſſil, *and* Rothſay, *to accord all differences with her Aduerſaries, who, for all this, forbare not with a ſtrong and armed hand to ſeyze on her perſon, as ſhee retyred by priuy wayes towards* Dunbritton: *they ſlew the moſt of her loyall Subiects, and, for thoſe remayning, ſome they carried away priſoners, others they baniſhed, and all this for nothing, but onely in that they had faithfully ſerued*

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ued their Princesse: And that for these inhumane outrages, shee was constrained to repaire into England, *to implore of* Queene ELIZABETH *that ayd and succour, which shee had oftentimes promised her, that so shee might be restored to her Countrie and former dignitie.*

A few dayes after, Earle *Murray*, Vice-Roy, and the Deputies for the Infant-King, (for so they were nominated) put in their Answer: which was;

The answer of the Kings Deputies.

THat Lord Darley, *the Kings Father, beeing slaine, Earle* Bothwell, *who was reputed the author of this Murder, had so bewitched the Queenes heart, as hee carried her away by force, remoued her to* Dunbar, *and, after a separation from his owne Wife, married her. That the Nobles of the Kingdome, being moued herewith, they thought they could not discharge a better office, than to punish* Bothwell, *the author of this assassinate: for, all ouer the Country, it was imputed to a generall conspiracy among the principall of the Nobilitie, to restore the Queene to her former libertie, to dissolue this vniust marriage, and to prouide for the young Kings safetie, and the quiet and tranquillitie of the Kingdome. When the matter was so exasperated, as they were readie to come to handblowes, the Queene caused* Bothwell *to retire out of the Realme: against the Nobilitie shee thundred out such threats, and threatned such reuenge, as they were enforced to commit her to a guard, while they could finde out, and execute* Bothwell. *But shee, weary of reigning with so infinite many disturbances, had willingly resigned, and transferred ouer the Kingdome to her Sonne, constituting the Earle of* Murray *for Vice-Roy. That hereupon, her Sonne was solemnely consecrated*

crated and crowned King, all confirmed and ratified in Parliament, by the States of the Kingdome. That, by reason of Iustice, which was equally ministred, the Scottish *Common-wealth had recouered some vigour, and strength, while some particulars, who could not endure the publique repose, had, contrary to their oath, cautelously released the Queene out of safe custodie, and taken vp Armes, violating herein the fidelitie they owe to their King, and though (thankes be to GOD) they obtayned victory ouer them, yet notwithstanding, with an hostile and disloyall heart, they presumptuously enterprized against their Countrey and Prince: and therefore, the Royall Authoritie must needes conformably haue beene suppreſt by such tumultuous and mutinous Subiects.*

After a reiteration of the former protest, the Queene of *Scots* Deputies replyed in these words:

The Queens Reply.

THat what Earle Murray *and his Complices alledged, for hauing taken vp Armes against the Queene, in that* Bothwell, *whom they accused of killing the KING, was in great grace and authoritie about her, could not iustly brand them with the marke of disloyall Subiects, seeing there was no euident proofe of his murdering the King; but contrariwise, by sentence of the Peeres, hee was cleared thereof, and this absolution confirmed by Act of Parliament, with their very approbation and consent, who at this time accuse him, and that then perswaded the Queene to take him for her Husband, as beeing more sufficient than all others, to sway and gouerne the Kingdome: they obliged vnto him their fidelitie in Writing, and not so much as in words, disallowed of this marriage, while they had drawne to their partie*

the Captaine or Gouernour of the Castle, and the Maior of Edenborrough. For, then in the night, which was a very vnfit season, in hostile manner they assayled the Castle of Bothwick, where the Queene was, and shee, retyring her selfe, by the fauour of the night, they presently raysing an Armie, vnder pretext of her defence, went themselues into the field, way-layde her, as shee went to Edenborrough, and aduertized her, by Grange, whom they sent to her, that shee should shake off Bothwell, while hee had appeared in iudgement, and cleared himselfe: all which shee willingly did, to auoid effusion of bloud. But Grange, vnder-hand, admonished Bothwell to with-draw himselfe, promising him with oath, that no bodie should pursue him; so as hee made away with their owne consent, and (beeing minded) they might easily haue taken him afterwards. But, when they had once gotten the Queene into their hands, for the mannaging of their ambitious designes, they made no great reckoning of him: and it is no great wonder, when they beeing the Queenes Subiects, and hauing vowed fidelity to her, shee bitterly rebuked them, hauing so basely and vnworthily entreated her Royall Maiesty. Shee freely referred the matter to the whole Estates of the Kingdome, and made a declaration thereof vnto them, by Lidington her Secretary. But, they would not so much as giue any eare vnto it, but conueyed her away secretly by night, and emprisoned her at Lake-Lenin. In saying, that wearied with her Reigne, shee resigned and gaue ouer the Kingdome, is a most palpable inuention, because shee is neither too-much broken with yeeres, nor of such a feeble and weake constitution, but equally vigorous both in bodie and minde, to mannage weightie and great affaires: but most certaine it is, that the Earles of Athol, Tubardine, and Lidington, who were also of her

her Councell, aduized her to seale the drafts of Resignation, to auoyd death, where-with shee was daily threatned: and this was not done with any preiudice eyther to her selfe, or her Heires, because shee was then a prisoner, and imprisonment is a iust feare; *for, according to the opinion of Ciuilians,* a promise made by a prisoner, is of no worth. *Hereunto also she was perswaded by* Throgmorton, *who presented vnto her a draft written with his owne hand; whom shee entreated to informe the Queene of* England, *that shee aid it constrained, and contrary to her will. That when* Lindsay *presented to her the Patents, for her to subscribe vnto, hee terrified her with feare and horrour of death, and so by this meanes, enforced her to seale with weeping eyes, not hauing so much as read the Contents. That the Lord of the Castle of* Lake-Leuin, *vnderstanding, and seeing apparantly, that shee had subscribed and sealed against her will, hee would not set to his hand, as also this Resignation was most vniust, because shee had nothing hereby assigned her for her owne behoofe and entertainement, neither grant of libertie, nor assurance of life. That whosoeuer will but equally ballance things, hee cannot but iudge this, to be a weake infringement of Royall Authoritie; because, when the Queene was at libertie, in the presence of many Nobles of the Kingdome, shee declared how shee had done it out of meere constraint. And what they boast to haue effected by Act of Parliament, can no wayes preiudice her Royall prerogatiue, because in this tumultuarie Parliament, there were present but foure Earles, one Bishop, two Abbots, and sixe Barons, though aboue an hundred, betweene Earles, Bishops, and Barons, haue a voyce in the Parliament of* Scotland: *and yet of so small a number, some protested, that what was done, should not redound to the preiudice of the Queene*

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or her Successours, because shee was a prisoner. That the Ambassadours of France *and* England, *could neuer be certified from her, though they had many times instantly vrged it, whether she voluntarily resigned ouer the Kingdome or no. And so farre the Commonwealth hath beene from beeing iustly gouerned, vnder the vsurping Vice-Roy; that on the contrary, all manner of impieties neuer bare a greater sway: for hee hath beene seene to demolish sacred buildings, to ruine illustrious Families, and to afflict and grinde the faces of the miserable poore. And therefore, they humbly entreated the Queens Maiestie of* England, *to be assisting with her best fauour, counsell, and ayde, to the Queene her neere Kinswoman, so lamentably oppreſt.*

Thus farre I copied out of the proper Writings of the Commissioners.

Murray *refuseth to yeeld an account of the Queenes imprisonment.*

These matters thus heard, the Commissioners enioyning *Murray* to produce and proue with more solid reasons, the occasion of so strange a rigour vsd to an absolute Queene, because all formerly alledged, had no pregnant testimonies, but only ambiguous and improbable Letters: and *Lidington* hauing priuily made known, that he himself had often counterfaited the Qu. hand: *Murray* would no further prosecute before strangers, the accusation he had framed against his Sister, except the Queene of *England* promised of her part, to take vpon her the Protection of the Infant King, and wholly abandon the Queene of *Scots*. But the Deputies, by vertue of their Delegation, hauing no authoritie to promise any such matter, two on both parts were sent vp to *London*; to whom Queene ELIZABETH made knowne, that shee could not yet discharge the Subiects of *Scotland* of the offence they had committed against their Princesse, but notwithstanding, that shee would request her in their behalfe, and also heare them, if they could alledge

alledge any thing for their iust excuse. Earle *Murray*, who presently followed them, absolutely refused to insist by Accusation against his Sister, but vpon the conditions hee had mentioned at *Yorke*. The Commissioners were presently called home, and their authority disanulled; whereof, the Duke, who alwayes fauoured the Queene of *Scots*, was very glad, and thought he had nothing more then to effect, but only to brand her with an eternall infamy, to exclude her, with her young Sonne, from all right of succession to the Crowne of *England*, and that hee had auoided two dangers: for, in giuing sentence against her, he feared to ruine her, and violate his owne conscience; and denouncing Iudgement on her side, to vndergoe the vnplacable wrath of his owne Queene, and of all those, who, for Religions sake, and any other consideration, were opposite to the Queene of *Scots*.

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Authoritie of the Commissioners reuoke.

The Duke of Norfolke glad.

But when Earle *Murray* saw, that the friends shee retained in *Scotland*, disturbed all affaires, and that his presence was requisite, he framed his Accusation in the presence of the Queene, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, the Earle of *Leicester*, *Clynton*, Lord Admirall, *Cecill*, and *Sadler*, who by new letters were constituted new Commissioners; and to proue the Queen of *Scots* culpable of her Husbands murder, hee produced some probable and coniecturall Articles, the Depositions of some Witnesses, the Acts digested in the Assemblies of the States, but aboue all, certaine Loue-Letters and verses, written (as hee affirmed) with the Queenes own hand: as also hee brought foorth *Buchanan's* Booke, entituled, [*The Discouery*] to be openly read: but the greater number of the Commissioners gaue not much credit thereunto, it proceeding from a partiall man, and one that had made sale of his fidelity. As for the Verses and Letters, because they had no names, subscriptions, nor dates, and so many Impostors there be, who can counterfait others hands so naturally, as the one

New Commissioners granted.

Booke I. 1568.

can hardly be discerned from the other, Queene ELIZABETH would in no wise affoord them beliefe or credit, though shee were much instigated out of feminine emulation, wherewith that Sex is many times violently transported: remaining satisfied, that these Accusations had imposed vpon the Queene of Scots some reprochfull Aspersions.

Her Deputies hearing that shee was dayly accused by *Murray*, presented themselues to make answere; but shee had now reuoked their authority, which was but Delegatorie, as shee had beene secretly informed by certaine *English* Ciuilians; and this shee might doe by Law, seeing that of the Duke and others had beene so formerly reuoked. Afterwards shee peremptorily refused the new Commissioners, two of whom shee suspected, except the Ambassadours of France and Spaine were ioyned in commission with them, that shee might be admitted to defend her own innocency openly in the presence of the Queen of *England* and them, except *Murray* were restrained, & called to a Triall: auerring how she could conuince him, and proue that he was the author of the Lord *Darleys* murder. The Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, esteeming this to be but iust and equall, Qu. ELIZABETH grew into wonderfull choller, and told them openly, that the Queen of Scots could neuer want an Aduocate, till the Duke of *Norfolke* came short of his life; and shee was contented to impart those crimes, whereof *Murray* imputed her, to euery one of her priuy Councell, and to the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, *Huntington*, and *Warwicke*, whom shee conuocated to this end, vnder an oath of silence exhibited, not to damnifie either of the parties. And because *Murray* was called backe into *Scotland*, and 'twas commonly bruted abroad, that *Boyd* attempted to release the Queen of *Scots* of her imprisonment, this Proceeding was deferr'd to some other

The Queene of Scots, Wil not submit her cause to their hearing.

But vpon certaine conditions.

The Proceedings dissol-

ther time, Queene ELIZABETH, so farre as seem'd probable, sharply reprehending the insolency of the *Scottishmen*, in deposing their Queene.

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At that time, *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut*, came out of *France*, sent vnder-hand by the *Guizes*, to oppose *Murray* in the gouernment and administrations of the Kingdome during the yong King's minority, and maintayned before Queene ELIZABETH, that beeing neerest of blood to the King, he should be preferred before *Murray*, who was but a Bastard. Contrariwise, *Murray*, and the Kings Ambassadors alleadged, that the gouernment of the Kingdome was not to bee assigned alwaies to those neerest of blood, but to such, who by a generall consent of the States, were elected and chosen, as most sufficient and capable of that Charge. That it were a most vniust course, to put the King, who was young, into his hands, who by proximity of blood aspiring to the Kingdome, might easily be tempted to violate right, out of a desire to rule and reigne. And how this was greatly to be feared, especially of the *Hamiltons*, who had practised many enmities against the Earles of *Lenox*; the Kings Grandfathers, wickedly slaine his great Grandfather by the Fathers side, expell'd *Mathew*, his Grandfather out of *Scotland*, after he had reduced him to low pouerty; and also of himselfe, who made this motion, who with bitter and implacable hatred, wonderfully molested *Henry*, the Kings Father, and, the more easily to enioy the Kingdome, he married his Maiesties Mother with the King of France. The which when Queen ELIZABETH vnderstood, shee made knowne to *Hamilton*, how his demand was most vniust, and forbade him to depart out of *England*, till Earle *Murray* were returned into *Scotland*.

Debate about the Gouernment of Scotland.

Murray, a little before his departure, was so subtill, as that secretly by his man *Meluin*, he offered the Duke of *Norfolk* to marry with the Queene of *Scots*; and her he promised to re-establish in her Kingdome, as presently we will declare.

Not-

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Murray offers to marry the Duke of Norfolke to the Qu. of Scots.

He dispersethrumors against her.

Notwithstanding, to conceale it from Queene ELIZABETH, he caus'd a rumor to be spred, that shee had made ouer her claime of the Kingdome of *England*, to the Duke of *Aniou*, and how this alienation was confirmed at *Rome*: he shewed certaine Letters shee had written to those of her partie, wherein shee blamed Queene ELIZABETH for sayling of her promise, and vaunted, that shee expected succours otherwise then from her. Whether these reports were true or fained, I am not able to say: But certainely, Queene ELIZABETH was much moued herewith, who could not imagine from whom she should attend these new reliefes, because ciuill warre was so hotly kindled in *France*, as the Bishop of *Rhemes*, sent by the King, entreated her that she would not haue any hand in those affaires, and the Duke of *Alua*, who was come the yeere before into the Low-Countries to supplant the Protestant Religion, staid still there, by reason of the troubles.

The Duke of Norfolke suspected.

But as afterward it proou'd apparant, and as *H. Catene* writ to Cardinall *Alexandrine*, Pope *Pius* 5. not daring to send an open Nuncio, had suborn'd *R. Ridolpho*, a *Florentine*, who had lyen a long time Factor in *London*, vnderhand to stir vp the Papists against Queen ELIZABETH, as questionlesse he very industriously performed, and with great secresie. A slender, but maruelous weake suspition was raisd of some priuie conferences were held at *Yorke*, betweene the Earle of *Lidington*, the Bishop of *Rosse*, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, who being sollicited to employ his aduice and care for the safety of the afflicted Queen, by the Earle and the Bishop, who promised to marry him to her; with a modest answere he made refusall thereof, promising neuertheleſse, that hee would not forsake her in her aduersities, so far as might safely stand with his honour, and the dutie and fidelity he ought to his Prince. This suspicion was greatly augmented by meanes of *Ligon*, one of the Dukes seruants, being a great Papist, by reason of the dai-

ly

ly goings and commings he made to *Bolton* Castle, which belonged to my Lord *Scroope*, where the Queene of *Scots* was kept by *Francis Knowles*, vnder colour to visit and salute his wife, who was the Dukes Sister. And though nothing was yet certainely knowne, neuertheleſſe the Queene was remooued from *Bolton*, where a number of Papists dwelt neere together on all sides, to be conducted to *Tudberry*, situated in the heart of the Kingdome, and was committed to the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*.

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Queene ELIZABETH was then the more carefull, both of her owne, and of the safety of Religion and the Common-wealth, because the *Guizes* in *France*, and the Duke of *Alua* in the *Low-Countries*, had begun to put in execution those Dessignes they proiected formerly at *Bayon*, touching the vtter extirpation of the Protestants Religion. For the Propositions of Peace, set downe in *France* about the beginning of this yeere, came to nothing: For Edicts were publisht, whereby the exercise of the Protestant Religion was absolutely prohibited; they that made profession thereof, depriued of their publike places; the Ministers commanded to depart the Realme within a prefixt time; they were threatned with warre all ouer, runne vpon in euery place, and cruelties practised against them: though Queene ELIZABETH vsed many and importunate intreaties by her Ambassadour *Seris*, to bring them to a firme and solid Peace, perswading the King not to excite mens stomacks by vnseasonable courses, and that he should take heed of them, who by remouing from about him his faithfull Subiects, laboured so to breake and dis-vnite the Forces of *France*, that it might be exposed as a prey to other Nations. When he made no account of her Entreaties or Remonstrances, and forbare not to draw out of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spaine*, both money and men; to re-enforce Queene ELIZABETH also, not to abandon them who ioyned with her in one and the same cause, she sent

The third Ciuill-war in France.

an hundred thousand Crownes, in pieces of gold, cald Angels, with great warlike preparations, to the Protestants, who then professed religiously, that they tooke not vp Armes to make warre vpon the King, but onely to defend themselues; and shee with all humanity entertain'd the *French* that made their refuge into *England*, as also the *Flemmings*, who seeing that the Duke of *Alua* breathed nothing but blood and slaughter, were in great multitudes retired thither, as to an Asyle, and planted by permission, both at *Norwich*, *Glocester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone*, and *Southhampton*, to the singular benefit (certainely) of *England*: For they were the first that brought in the Art and knowledge of making those light Stuffes which are called Bayes and Sayes, with other such like of linnen and woolen.

Who did good to England.

But because I must often commemorate the warres of *Flanders*, as linkt and combin'd with the interest & affaires of *England*, I shall not digresse much from my purpose, if I heere relate how they tooke their beginning.

The beginning of the Wars in the Low countries.

When the *Spaniard* would by no prayers nor intreaties mitigate his bloody Edicts against Religion, and those who made profession thereof in the *Low-Countries*, but in stead thereof exercised all manner of cruelty against mens consciences, by the meanes of the *Spanish* Inquisition, prohibited all the Assemblies of the States Prouinciall of the *Low-Countries*, which is the onely and most vsuall remedy for the appeasing and according of their differences: but gouerned the Common-Wealth by Acts digested in *Spaine*, and not by the Councels of the people of the same Countreys; it so happened, that a few of the very scumme of the Vulgar sort, tooke certaine Images in euery place out of the Churches, and tumultuously brake them in pieces, and though this Tumult was as soone appeased as excited, yet following their counsell who desired to impose a yoke on this Nation strongly bent to liberty, and taking occasion from

from the temerity of some few particulars, he entoyled all the people with a publike Delict of manifest Rebellion; and as if they had then lost all their liberty; to inuade the Gouernment, he sent *Ferdinando Aluarez*, Duke of *Alua*, a cruell and bloody man, who beeing constituted supreme Gouernour, contrary to the ancient customes and immunities of the Countrie, though hee was in no sort a Prince of Blood, raisd a long and fearefull Warre, abridging the Authority of former Iurisdictions, erecting new Tribunals, condemning the Nobility of the Country, by the ministery and prosecution of such as were not their Iudges, putting them to death, placing *Spanish* Garrisons in the Borroughs and Townes, building Citadels, and for each alienation and commotion, drawing by force out of their purses, the tenth part of their immouables, and the twentieth part of their mouable goods.

Book

1568

The Du of Alua.

At the very selfe-same time it happened, that certaine Marchants of *Genoa* and other parts of *Italy*, sent out of *Spaine* into *Flanders*, a quantity of coine, to haue it put out to vse, in a great Ship of *Biscay*, and foure lesse, which the *Spaniards* tearme *Zabres*, which beeing chased by *Chasteler*, a *French-man*, and defended by *Winter*, an *English-man*, had much adoe to saue themselues, in the Ports of *Plimouth*, *Fawmouth*, and *Southhampton* in *England*. So soone as the Queene was aduertised of it, she commanded all the Magistrates of those Ports, to vse the *Spaniards* very kindly, and to defend their Shipping from the *French*: and *G. D'espes*, Knight of the Order of *Calatraua*, Ambassadour Leager of the King of *Spaine* in *England*, fearing the *French*, obtayned of the Queene, who thought verily that this money had belonged to the *Spaniard*, that new Mandates might bee sent downe, for the defence of these ships against the *French*, who lay in wayte for them: and afterwards hee vsed the meanes to haue this money brought into *England*, and from thence to *Antwerpe* by Sea. But in the meane

Moneys into the Countrie detained England.

Anno 1. 1568.

while the *French* had almost taken away one of the Ships, which had bin perform'd, but that they were repell'd by the *English*: And therefore it was thought expedient to land it, for better security, which was done out of hand. But notwithstanding it was not all brought on shore: for *D'Essés* supposing the Queenes intention to be other then is was, gaue the D. of *Alua* to vnderstand, how she had seized vpon it. While he was in Consultation with him, *Odet de Chastillon* Cardinall, who was retired into those parts by reason of the troubles in *France*, certified the Queene, that this money belonged to certaine Marchants of *Genoa*, and not to the *Spaniard*, and that hee would seize on it against their wils, to employ it to the ruine of the Protestants. And this was the reason the Councell made a question whether they should detaine it or no; and the greatest of them that sate in Councell were of opinion, that it should bee sent into the *Low-Countries*, for feare of prouoking the *Spaniard*, who was a great Prince, and stood already but hardly affected to *England*. But Queene ELIZABETH, beeing assured by two of them to whom it belonged, that the Marchants were onely interessed in it, the King of *Spaine* nothing at all, she resolued to take it vp of the Marchants by way of loane, and giue them caution for it, as Princes many times vse to doe with such goods as they find in their Ports, and the *Spaniard*, not long before, had done the like. And when the *Spanish* Ambassadour shewed her the Letters the Duke writ vnto her, for the transportation of this money, she told him, she had taken it by loane, and religiously protested to restore it againe, so soone as she should truely vnderstand that it belonged to the King of *Spaine*. The very same day, which was the twentie ninth of December, the Duke, in hot rage and furie, seiz'd on the *English-mens* goods, all the *Low-Countries* ouer, where he found any, and taking their persons prisoners, committed them to the guard of his Souldiers. So that euery one may conceiue, by comparing the

The English mens goods detained and seized vpon in the Low-Countries.

the times, that he did this to terrifie the *English*, what satisfaction soeuer the Queene gaue afterwards for the money. But her Maiestie, nothing at all daunted with this, commanded likewise the *Flemmings* goods to be seyzed vpon in *England*, their merchandize and shipping, which was much more than those of the *English*, that the Duke light vpon in *Flanders*: so as he repented too late, that hee had vnseasonably enlarged that wound, which in the beginning might easily haue beene cured.

1568. *The like done to the* Flemmings *in England.*

The last day but one of this present yeere, (pardon mee this short digression, for the memories sake of an honest and vertuous man) who beeing borne in the Countie of *Yorke*, and brought vp at *Cambridge*, was the first of our Nation that refined the Greeke and Latine Tongues, and the puritie of the Stile, with singular commendation for his eloquence. Hee was sometimes a Reader to Queene ELIZABETH, and her Secretarie for the Latine Tongue. And yet notwithstanding, in that he was giuen to play, and Cock-fighting, he both liued and dyed not very rich, leauing behinde him two elegant Bookes, as monuments of his rare wit and vnderstanding, one of which was styled, *Toxophilus*; the other, *Scholarca*. But let vs returne to our Historie.

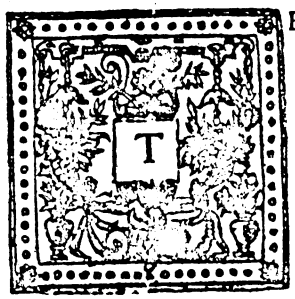
The death of Roger Askham.

Booke 1.
1569.

THE TWELFTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1569.

A Proclamation touching goods detained.



THe sixth of Ianuary, there was a Proclamation publiquely read in *London*, concerning goods detayned by the Duke of *Alua*, wherein most of the circumstances I formerly mentioned were expreſt, and the fault laide vpon *D'eſpes*; and another Writing diuulged by him to the contrary, in which hee alledged, That this Proclamation came not out by the Queenes Order, but from the authority of ſome diſaffected to the King of *Spaine*, in the behalfe of the *Flemmiſh* Rebels: he highly commended the fauour that the Queene had alwaies beene ready

Another declaration againſt the former Proclamation.

ready to shew to the *Spaniards*, grieued that shee was alienated in her affection for nothing, and much stomacked that no more credit was giuen to him being Ambassadour, and to the Duke of *Aluae's* Letters; as also, hee wondred the Money was detained, considering the Queene, (as hee said) had more reason to furnish the *Spaniard* with money against the Rebels, than to take any from him: and finally, taxed her with offering the first wrong, excused both himselfe, and the Duke of *Alua's* proceedings, and not resting there, he spred abroad infamous Libels, wherein hee offended the Queenes reputation, vnder the title of *Amadis Oriana*.

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Some great men of *England*, among whom was the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earles of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Pembroke*, *Leycester*, and others, laboured to lay the blame of this detention of the Money, vpon *Cecill*, as formerly they did that which was sent to the Protestants in *France*; and in effect, they did so: for they could not digest the great power and authority he had about the Queene: they suspected he fauoured the House of *Suffolke* for the succession to the Crowne, and feared hee would oppose himselfe to their designes. Wherefore, they consulted one with another to imprison him, at the suggestion of *Throgmorton*, his emulator, who gaue them to vnderstand, that if hee were but once clapt vp, he might easily be ruinated. But some one, whom I cannot name, discouered this proiect to the Queene; and *Cecill*, by the fauour of this Princesse, who bare a very great liking and affection to him, without any difficultie, ouercame those plots that were prepared for him, and at the same instant, cut off another more secret intention they had, which was, to proclaime the Queene of *Scots*, vndoubted next Heire apparant to the Kingdome, after Queene ELIZABETHS death, against a certaine Libell that was written, and published, in the behalfe

Practices against Cecil.

1569.

The money returned in England, is demanded.

behalfe and fauour of the Earle of *Suffolke*.

D'Assonuil came at that time from the Duke of *Alua*, to demand the money which was detained; but, hauing no Letters to that effect from the King of *Spaine*, Queene ELIZABETH referred him to her Councell, to whom, at first hee was not willing to addresse himselfe. Wherefore he went presently to them: and when he was heard, about a moneth after hee returned, without doing any thing in the businesse.

Free traffique established at Hamborough for the English.

The *English* Merchants carry their Merchandizes to *Hamborrough* in *Germanie*, as to a place lately ordayned for free traffique. The Duke of *Alua* perceiuing this, prohibited absolutely all commerce with the *English*, and keeping all things from being imported or transported out of the Low Countries, hee suborned certaine Spies, amongst whom, one *Iohn Storie*, a Doctor of the Ciuill Law, was very subtilly industrious, who before, had practised with *Prinstal*, an impostorous Magician, against the life of his owne Prince, and sent aduertisements to the Duke of *Alua*, for the inuading of his owne Countrey. But, being purposely brought into a Ship, which was reported to haue brought heretical commodities and bookes out of *England*, the Marriners presently setting sayle, hee was thither conueyed, and afterwards executed, as shall be declared in proper place.

Doctor Story taken.

Practises against Ce.

The Duke of Alua enraged against the English.

The Duke of *Alua* not satisfied with this, prohibited all shipping to goe out of *Flanders*, who were not armed, and he commanded them to seyze on the *English*, wheresoeuer they met them: and gaue directions that the like should be done in *Spaine*; where, the *English* Merchants and Saylors goods were confiscated, themselues put into the Inquisition, and condemned to the Gallies. The *Spaniard* also, by Letters written to the Count *De Mont-Agond*, Gouernour of *Boetia*, forbade the transportation of Oyle, Allum, Sucker, Aromatiques, and all other such like things,

things, into *England*, supposing, that if the *English* wanted these things, they would readily rebell: and so vpon this, he likewise treated with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Ormond*, by secret messengers, to the end the latter might hold the Queene play in *Ireland*, and the former in *England*. But they freely discouered his motions, out of the fidelity and loyalty they bare to the Queene. When the inhabitants of the coasts of *England* heard of these things, it is incredible to see with what ioy they made out to Sea, and how resolutely they put in execution their Letters of Mart against the *Spaniards*: so that, to depresse them, Proclamations were faine to be published, prohibiting the buying of any Merchandize of such as came by it by way of reprizall.

Men of war called in.

As the *English* men were denyed traffique in the Low Countries, so were they no lesse debarred the same in *Russia*, as well through the false dealing of Factors, and bad intelligence that past betweene them, as out of the enuy of the *Germanes* and *Russians*: the *Russians* complaining of fraudulent commodities, and that the price of Merchandizes was enhaunsed; and the *Germanes*, of their monopoly and societie. To remedy these euils, *Thomas Randolph* was sent thither the yeere before, who, (though with no liking to the Emperour of *Russia*, because, whereas hee should haue treated of the amity hee desired to entertaine with Queene ELIZABETH, whereof wee spake in the yeere 1567. hee onely employed himselfe carefully in the matter of traffique,) neuertheless obtayned so much by his sollicitations, that the Emperour, for the singular good will he bare to the Queene, and the *English* nation, granted to the Company of *English* residing in *Russia*, immunities from customes, with Commission to sell their commodities ouer all the Countrey where they would, within the extent of his Empire, which is ample and large, and to transport them into *Persia* and *Media*, by

Traffique of Russia hindred.

Liberties of the English in Russia.

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by the Caspian Sea, though Merchants of other Nations were permitted to goe no further than a mile beyond the Citie of *Mosco*: hee allotted them houses to winde and twist their Ship-tacklings, with Wood for their yron-workes: and he receiued the *English* for OPPRISMEY; that is to say, the elect seed, and choyce of his people.

Their traffique into Russia.

Wherefore, they began to trauell more confidently ouer all those Countries, and to transport their commodities to *Vologda* vpon the *Dwine*, in Vessels made of one entire peice, drawne by force of arme, against the current of the water, by an handiworke gouerned with Oares, and long Piles: & from thence to *Teraslaue*, which is ten daies iourney by Land: afterwards into *Germanie*, for 30. dayes and nights trauell, downe the riuer of *Volga*, which is about a mile in breadth, and runnes along a clay soyle, set with Oakes and *Bouleaux*: and when they had built Boats, they oftentimes crossed the *Astracane*, and the *Caspian* Sea, that in many places may be waded ouer, and so by the Desarts of *Hercania*, and *Bactriana*, they came to the *Teueres* and *Casbine* Cities of *Persia*, out of an assured confidence they should at last open a way and passage to *Cathay*. But, the warres that suddenly grew betweene the *Turkes* and *Persians*, and frequent robberies of the *Barbarians*, cut off this commendable designe of the *London* Merchants: and, as for the Emperour, he sent backe *Randolph* with gifts and presents, and with him *An. Gregoritzki*, an Ambassadour, in very honourable equipage certainely for the custome of that Countrey, who was receiued of the *Londoners* with great festiuities, and of the Queenes Maiestie with much honour.

And into Persia, by the Caspian Sea.

A Russian Ambassador in England.

This Ambassadour exhibited a formall Writing in the *Russian* Tongue, and required, that the alliance and amitie might be confirmed in his presence, in the same termes, & a secret Letter which hee propounded, translated into the *Russian* Tongue, with all the Letters subscribed with the Queenes

Queenes Hand, and sealed with her Seale; and that shee should likewise send an Ambassadour into *Russia*, reciprocally to receiue from the hand of the Emperour, priuy Letters, written in the same words, which in his presence should be sealed with his Seale, and confirmed with a kissing of the Crosse. The Queene agreed to this Alliance, reseruing onely this Clause:

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So farre as that formerly contracted with other Princes, might permit.

Alliance of Russia.

That they might so ayde one another against their common enemies, that nothing be performed vniust or vnlawfull: and, by the word of a Christian Princesse, in the presence of the Ambassadour, and the most honoured of her Priuy-Counsell, shee promised inuiolably, whereof likewise hee had Letters sealed with her owne Priuy-Seale; that if accidentally eyther by his owne Subiects or strangers, he brought to such a poynt, as to forsake his Countrey, she would receiue and entertaine both himselfe and his children, with al the honour befitting so great a Prince; shee would assigne him a peculiar place for his residence, permit him freely to exercise his Religion, and to depart at his pleasure. For these things hee earnestly required in his secret Letters. But this was so far from satisfying this harsh-natur'd and sauage man, who held for all right and Law, meerely his will & pleasure: that he, by numerating and setting out at large, by Letters, the sundry benefits and good deedes which hee had done to the *English* Nation, and reproaching them with such fauours and friendships, growes angry, and is irritated against Queene ELIZABETH, for not sending an Ambassadour, with his, to take the Oath; blames her Maiestie, that shee made no greater account of her selfe; saying, shee was ouer-much giuen to Merchants affaires, (as much vnworthy to be so much re-

The Emperour of Muscouia, and Russia, is irritated and inflamed against the English.

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spected of a Prince) and suspecting the Marchants to be opposite to his designe, as being ouer-base, vpbraided them in contemptible, despitefull and iniurious manner, as sordid people, who respect their owne profit and priuate gaine, more then the Honour and credit of their Soueraignes, threatning them in a most barbarous manner, to suppresse and abolish all former Priuiledges by him granted to them. Which neuertheless hee effected not, beeing moderated and appeased by the courteous and kind Letters that Qu. ELIZABETH wrote vnto him, which were sent by *Ienkinson*: he shewed himselfe all his life time most diligent and carefull to please her Maiestie, cherishing and honouring her as a Sister, often vrging her to confirme more straitely and firmely that Alliance, and lou'd singularly the *English*, far aboue all other Nations.

Murray had then procured a safe returne into *Scotland*, propounding vnto the Queene herselfe and the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the rest of her friends in *England*, her re-establishment in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, who to that end had hindred and kept in awe the *Scots* who sought to kill him, by straitely charging and prohibiting, not to hinder his comming. Being first arriued in *Edenborough*, he summon'd all such Nobles as fauoured the Queene, vnder pretence and colour to consult with them about her re-establishment. But the Lord *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut*, (then made Lieutenant of *Scotland* by the Queene) and the Baron of *Heris*, were perswaded by the Letters of the credulous Qu. But *Murray*, fearing to be deceiued by them, circumuents them, and claps them vp in prison, not expecting the comming of others, and pursued grieuously, in oppressing all the fauourers of the Queene with all the rigors of Warre.

Murray appeased the friends of the Queene of Scotland.

This Act produceth rumours through all *Scotland*, That *Murray* had agreed and determined with Qu. ELIZABETH that the young King IAMES should be giuen her to be brought

Rumors spread throughout Scotland concerning Murray.

brought vp, and educated in *England*; and that the Castles of *Edenborrough* & *Sterling*, were to be fortified with *English* Garrisons, *Dunbriton* also taken by force for the vse and profit of the *English*, and *Murray* be publisht and declar'd true and lawfull Successour of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, if the King should happen to dye without Issue, and to hold the Kingdome, as Tenent to Queene ELIZABETH. These rumours increased, ran, and were divulg'd in this manner, and through a certaine probability, strook in such fashion, the spirits of men all ouer *Great Brittaine*, that Qu. ELIZABETH thought herselfe obliged to take away and clense all such spots, both for her honour, and *Murray's* sake. To which end, her Maiestie declar'd by a Royall Speech, published and set forth in Print, That these things were farre opposite to the Truth, and meerely forged and inuented by such as enuyed the Peace and tranquillitie of both Kingdomes. That since the last departure of *Murray* from *England*, there was not any such thing propounded, nor such Paction past, either by word of mouth, or writing, betweene her Maiesty, or any of her Officers and him, that came to her knowledge. But that the Earle of *Lenox*, Grandfather to the yong King, had prayed her Maiesty that he might be sent into *England*, if hee could not bee secure in *Scotland* from the plots of the wicked. Likewise her Maiestie affirmed, that she held the Compact as false, which was reported to bee betweene *Murray* and the Earle of *Hartford*, to wit, that they had both agreed and resolued together, mutually to helpe and giue assistance one to another, for to enioy the Crowne of both Kingdomes: and to conclude, that it was not her fault, that the affaires and businesses were not ended betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and her Sonne; but rather she still endeuoured that it might be finisht: and though her Maiesty was in a conflict, through feare and inueterate emulation, which neuer dyes betweene Femall Princesses, yet out of the remembrance

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Queene Elizabeth is diligent, and endeuours to quench such false rumors.

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brance and recordation of the misery of *Scotland*, and the commiseration of humane frailety, she sincerely laboured to effect it.

The Queene of *Scots* made an addition to that her pious pitty, and sollicited her with many kind Letters, in which she solemnly protested, that in regard of the kindnesse she had found, and the propinquity of their affinity, she would attempt nothing against her, neither be willing to owe restitution to any other Prince for her re-establishment. This caus'd Queene ELIZABETH, by Letters sent by *Wood*, to deale with *Murray* and other *Scots*, for her re-establishment to her Royall Dignity; or if that could not be granted, that shee might bee permitted to leade a priuate life, and spend her daies at home freely and honourably; which notwithstanding could not any wayes moue *Murray*, hauing brought his busines to perfection.

She deales by Letters concerning her restoring.

There was a rumor at this time, amongst those of better sort, that the Duke of *Norfolke* should be linked in *Hymens* bonds with the Queene of *Scots*, the which was desired of many, the Papists expecting by it the aduancement of their religion, & others hoping by that meanes for the welfare of the Common-wealth. Truely, many which saw the Queene remote and farre from marriage, and the forraigne Princes, which were deadly professors to *England*, did settle their eyes and hearts vpon the Queene of *Scots*, as the true and vndoubted heire of *England*; they esteem'd, (for to ground their rest and tranquillity, and to keep thereby the Queene of *Scotland* within the bounds and limits of her Kingdome) it was much more behoofefull and expedient that she should be married with the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was the most Noble, and the greatest Peere of *England*, beloued of the people, educated and brought vp in the Protestants Religion, then to a forraigne Prince, by whose meanes both Kingdomes should be in danger, and the hereditary succession by him apprehended, which they had

had alwayes and from the beginning wisht to be re-vnited in an *English* Prince of the blood, the yong King of *Scotland* happening to dye, whom they propounded to send into *England*, to the end, that as he was the true apparent heire thereof, and being educated and brought vp there by the *English*, he should be to them dearer and more beloued, all scruple of Religion taken away, and Queene ELIZABETH hauing him in her power, were free from all feare and apprehension, both of the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Queene of *Scots*. Moreouer, lest the Duke should attempt any thing against her, but should more dearely affect her, they resolued, that *Margaret*, the only Daughter of the Duke, should bee marryed afterward to the young King of *Scotland*. Amongst these were the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Sussex*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and many other Barons: and *Leicester* himselfe, (it being doubtfull whether aiming & intending the destruction of the Duke) thought it fit, first to acquaint the Queene with it, and to commit it to her iudgement & censure, and that she should prescribe and make wholsome Lawes, salutiferous to her selfe, Religion, and the Kingdome. But this, if you please, you may haue written more at large, in the Dukes Confession, and the Commentaries of the Bishop of *Rosse*, which was a great part of this businesse.

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When as the Deputies and Arbitrators put in trust with those affaires, had met at *Yorke*, *Lidington*, and the Bishop of *Rosse*, in their Enquirie, acquainted the Duke with the intended Contract, as *Murray* himselfe did also at *Hampton Court*: who in his priuate conference with the Duke and some others, dissembled, and did seeme that he desired and wisht for nothing more, then that all differences being ended in *Scotland*, shee might be restored to her former Dignities, prouided that she should truely and heartily affect her Subiects, as she had done formerly, all iniuries on both sides beeing forgotten, forgiuen, and buryed in obliuion.

The first mention of of this marriage.

Murray's *proposition to the Duke of* Norfolke.

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Notwithstanding hee feared, that if (as shee desired) shee should marry a man out of *France*, *Spaine*, or *Austria*, shee would reuenge her former iniuries, make an alteration of Religion in *Scotland*, and much damnifie the State of *England*. To preuent all which, he promised his assistance and best endeuours, that she, who formerly had beene married to a Child, an improuident young man, nay more, a furious young man, should now be contracted to the Duke, a man of stayednesse & mature iudgement, the which would conduce (to the welfare of both Kingdomes) the peace of either Prince, and chiefly for the aduancement of Religion, since he, who was so great and worthy in Queen ELIZABETHS estimation, should make friendship betweene the *Scots* and the *English*, and might more easily perswade the Queene of *Scots* to the true Religion which hee had embraced.

Murray also, by the meanes of *Robert Meluin*, imparted this closely to the Queene of *Scots*, and officiously promised his assistance: but the Duke answered, that he could not determine any thing of the marriage, till she could cleare her selfe from her suspected crimes, and wipe off those infamous aspersions: but *Rosse* notwithstanding persisted in his perswasion, and ceast not to draw him (though vnwilling) to it.

Throgmortons counsell.

Not long after, *Nicholas Throgmorton* met the Duke in *Westminster*, who professing himselfe as euery way obliged and bound to performe all duties of obseruance, said, that he vnderstood that *Leicester* dealt with the Duke concerning the match twixt him and the *Scots*: which seemed strange, and moued admiration in him, since *Leicester* himselfe not long since had beaten the same bush, and gone about it, and friendly aduised the Duke, that hee should put it off to *Leicester*, who formerly had sought the honour of that marriage: but if that could not be done, that he should refuse it, in regard the *Scots* accused her of many crimes: but

but *Throgmorton* said, that hee wisht that shee might bee ioyned to him in marriage, that it might be prosperous to Religion, and that she might wholly and soly depend and rely vpon Queene ELIZABETH. But I doe premonish you, that if you proceede in this matter, *Leicester* may precede and goe afore you in counsell: for by your owne meanes onely you cannot procure the assent and good will of the Queene.

Propositions of the match, made by Leicester *to the Duke.*

Two dayes after, the Earle of *Leicester* propounded the affaire to the Duke, and receiued of him the answere that *Throgmorton* had forged and inuented afore-hand, and when it came to the crimes, he did moderate them according to the instructions and assurance that he had receiued of *R. Cauendish*; of whom, though suspected yet he recommended him to the Duke, to make vse of his seruice. After this, he acquaints therewith the Earle of *Pembroke*, who giues notice thereof to the Earle of *Arundell*, and they all, with *Throgmorton*, doe write to the Queene of *Scotland*, recommending vnto her Maiestie the Duke of *Norfolke* for her Husband, as likewise *Murray* had formerly done. The Duke himselfe also writes, and witnesseth his loue vnto her, offering her Maiestie louingly his humblest seruice: and from that time he still communicated vnto them all such Letters as past betwixt them. As for them, they had ordinary and familiar discourses with the Bishop of *Rosse*, concerning the meanes whereby they could effectuate and bring this marriage to passe; and the twentieth of *May*, 1558. a Proposition was made to the Queene of *Scotland* by *Cauendish*: These ensuing Articles were written by the owne hand of the Earle of *Leicester*:

The Articles of marriage propounded to the Queene of Scotland.

THat she should not vndertake any thing in the succession of the Kingdome of England, *preiudicious to* Queene ELIZABETH, *or the issue her Maiestie might that haue; she should passe*

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an offensiue and defensiue League 'twixt their two Crownes. That she should settle and firmely establish the true Protestants Religion in Scotland. *That she should receiue to her mercy, all such* Scots *as then were against her: she should reuoke the assignation that she had giuen of the Kingdome of* England, *to the Duke of* Aniou, *and that shee should take to her Husband some of the* English *Nobility, and namely, the Duke of* Norfolke.

She agreed them in some manner.

And they promised her, that in case her Maiestie should conclude and agree the Articles, to re-establish her anew in her Kingdome, with all possible speed as could bee, and to confirme her in the succession of the Crowne of *England*. The Queene of *Scots* accorded them presently, except that concerning the Allyance, shee excus'd her selfe, as not able to answere to it, except shee had first consulted with the *French* King: and concerning the assignation of the Kingdome of *England*, she protested that she had neuer made any, yet neuertheleſſe shee would labour (if they should desire it) that the Duke of *Aniou* should renounce it: Admonishing them, to procure aboue all things, the will and consent of Queene ELIZABETH, for feare the affaire should turne, and be preiudiciall both to herselfe and the Duke of *Nolfolke*, as shee had formerly experimented in the match with the Lord *Darley*, priuately contracted without Queene ELIZABETHS consent. Yet they neuertheleſſe esteemed fit, first to sound the will and affection of many Noble-men, who for the most part gaue their voice and consent, prouided, their Queene also to grant hers: and likewise the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* were not against it; but they onely had an apprehension of *Murray*: and forasmuch as he had beene the first to propound this affaire, promising to employ himselfe therein with all his might, he should bee the first now to hinder it.

They

They yet notwithstanding were all of a mind, that *Lidington*, who then was lookt for, should first sound the intention and disposition of Queene ELIZABETH. In the meane while the Duke declares to the Lord Baron of *Lumley*, all that was done and past in this businesse; and with much adoe could hee obtaine from the Earle of *Leicester*, leaue to take further consultation and advice of his other friends: he neuertheless made *Cecill* acquainted with it, the Earle of *Pembroke* consenting thereunto.

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At the same time, the Lord *Dacray* resolued in himselfe to steale away the Queen of *Scotland*, who at that time was prisoner at *Winfield* in the County of *Derby*, vnder the keeping of the Earle of *Shrewsburie*. The Earle of *Northumberland*, who was of his counsell, gaue notice thereof to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who forbade to doe it, fearing they went about to marry her to the *Spaniard*, being then vpon hope to obtaine the loue and consent of Queene ELIZABETH.

A designe to free the Qu. of Scotland.

The rumors and pretence of this match, arriued presently to Queene ELIZABETHS eare, beeing told her by some of those craftie and curious courtizans, who smell and find out sooneſt the secrets of Louers. The Duke knowing it, labours with his vtmost power, to make a proposition thereof to the Queen, and to that end employed therein the Earle of *Leicester*, the Earle of *Pembroke*, and *Throgmorton*, putting it off, and deferring it from day to day, as if he expected a fitter time and opportunity. But *Cecill* seeing the said Duke perplexed in his mind, counselled him himselfe to declare the businesse to the Queene, for to take sooner away all scruple. But the Earle of *Leicester*, contrary to that opinion, is against it, promising him to propound the same to her Maiestie, when she should walke abroad in the fields. But whilest that hee by such sweete courtesies deferred the affaire from time to time, Queene ELIZABETH beeing at *Farnham*, causeth the Duke to

Notice is giuen thereof to Queene Elizabeth.

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approch neere vnto her Table, and with a most graue and serious smile, warned him,

That hee who was repos'd, and rested himselfe vpon a Cushion, should take heed, and looke to himselfe.

The Earle of Leicester treates the whole busines with the Queen at Tichfield.

And finally, the Earle of *Leicester* beeing at *Tichfield*, found himselfe ill, (or else he counterfaited the sicke) and being visited and graciously comforted by the Queene, he was seized with such feare, that her Maiestie could easily discerne it, beholding his blood and vitall senses to shrinke in himselfe: which was the cause, that after he had asked pardon, and implored forgiuenesse with sighs and teares of the Queene, he declared vnto her all the businesse from the beginning.

She rebukes the Duke of Norfolke.

In that very same time, the Queen tooke the Duke aside into a Gallery, where she rebuked him sharpely, for hauing sought the Queen of *Scotland* in marriage without her leaue and permission, commanding him to free himselfe of it, for the fidelity and loyalty sake which hee ought to beare vnto his Soueraigne. The Duke most willingly promised the same, as if he had despised the match; and fear'd not to assure, that his reuennues and commings in heere in *England*, were not whit lesse to those of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, then miserably exhausted by the Warre; and that when he was in the Tenis-Court of his Palace at *Norwich*, he seemed in some fashion to be equall, and not inferiour to some Kings. But in a short space, this courage begunne to grow weake and flexible, discerning by the aspect and speech of the Queene, that her Maiestie was irritated against him, and that her anger rather augmented then diminished, also that many Noble-men withdrew themselues by little & little from his familiarity, saluting him but with much adoe, and breaking off in haste their discourses: At this, the Duke tooke his iourney to *London*, without leaue, and

The Duke departs from the Court without leaue.

and vpon the way, tooke his lodging at the Earle of *Pembroke's* house, who counselled him to be cheerefull, to hope well, and gaue him solace and consolation in his affliction. That very day, Queene ELIZABETH moued with anger, refused to set at liberty the prisoned Queene, to the *Scottish* Ambassadour, who implored it of her Maiestie, and commanded that she should behaue herselfe peaceably, or else she should see shortly, those vpon whom she most relyed, cut off and beheaded.

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Now, when as the rumor of the match had more increased, and the fame of it was euery where diuulged, and the Ambassadour of the *French* King, (more by the perswasion of some *English* than the command of his Prince, as it afterwards appeared) did earnestly labour, and vehemently vrge, that the Queene of *Scots* might haue her libertie; new suspicions were generally rayſed, and *Cecill*, who was alwaies diligently carefull, and studying for the well-fare of Religion, was desirous to finde out the matter; he dealt therefore with *Sussex* by Letters, who was then President of the North Countries, and a deare friend to the Duke, that if so be he vnderstood any thing concerning the Dukes marriage, he should certifie the Queene of it; what he answered, I am vncertaine. And when it appeared that the Duke had priuate conference at *Hampton-Court* with *Murray*, the Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, *George Carie*, the sonne of the Lord of *Hunsden*, was sent to enquire if the Duke had imparted any thing to him concerning the marriage.

Cecill findes out the matter.

In the meane time, the Duke affrighted with the false rumor of the rebellion and insurrection in the North, and being certified of *Leicester*, that he should be committed to prison, went into *Norfolke*, till his friends at Court (as they promised) had stilled the storme, and he pacified the offended minde of the Queene with submissiue supplicatiue Letters.

The Duke of Norfolk goes into Norfolke.

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When hee found no comfort amongst his owne, and *Heiden*, *Cornwallis*, and other of his traine, perswaded him, that if he were guilty, should flye to the Queenes mercy, he was almost distracted with sorrow.

Hee accused to the Court through feare.

In the meane time, the Court was sollicited and possest with feare, lest hee should haue made Rebellion: which if hee did, they report it was determined to cut off the Queen of *Scots*.

But hee, out of his innate goodnesse, and a most pious conscience, had not offended against any Law of her Maiestie (that Statute made in the Reigne of HENRY the Eighth, which prohibited the marrying any of the children of the Kings Sister, Brother, or Aunt, without the consent and knowledge of the King, being abolished and nullified by EDVVARD the Sixth) and also out of a feare that they should vse the Queene of *Scots* more hardly, sends Letters to his friends at Court; in which, he certified that he went into the Countrey for feare of imprisonment, that through time and absence, he might finde a remedy against ill reports and defamations, which the Court was ready to intertaine: hee most submissiuely intreateth pardon, and forthwith prepareth to goe to the Court.

He returnes to the Court.

In his returne, hee being at Saint *Albons*, *Owen*, the Earle of *Arundels* man, was sent priuately to him from *Throgmorton* and *Lumley*, who formerly had beene in custody, aduising him, that hee should take all the blame on himselfe, and not lay any fault on *Leicester* or others, lest he should turne them from being friends, to enemies. There *Edward Fitz-Gerald*, brother to the Earle of *Kildare*, Lieutenant of the Pensioners, went before, drew him from thence, and brought him to *Burnham*, about three miles from *Windsor*, where the Queene was: to whom, foure dayes after, the Abbot of *Dunfermline* deliuered Letters in the behalfe of *Murray*, importing, how the Duke had secretly treated with him in the Royall Mannor of *Hampton-Court*,

Murray discouers the business.

ton-Court, to procure his fauour to this marriage; on the contrary, greatly menacing him in case he did refuse. That to auoyd the dangerous practice of one *Norton*, who watcht to kill him, at his returne, he gaue his promise to the Duke; That the Duke assured him, neither *Norton*, nor any other, should attempt any thing against his life: and a little while after, being sollicited by Letters written in Cypher, to giue consent to this marriage, he gaue him to vnderst and by *Boyd*, that he would neuer abandon the Queene of *Scots*: and moreouer, how her Maiesties owne Officers had in some sort perswaded the Vice-Roy, that Queene ELIZABETH gaue also her liking and approbation to this marriage, and putting the same Queene of *Scots* in hope, that shee should succeed to the Kingdome of *England*. Renowned Queene ELIZABETH perceiuing also very euidently, that to draw some great men of *England* to her partie, shee gaue them expressly to vnderstand, how she was taking a course for the Queenes Maiesties securitie, and the infallible safety of the whole Kingdome.

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The Duke, who subtilly held correspondency by Letters with the Bishop of *Rosse*, *Leicester*, and *Throgmorton*, causing them to be priuily conueyed in bottles of Beere, being at the same time strictly examined about the poynt of this marriage, after his confession of the greatest part, and a bitter checke giuen him for departing the Court without leaue, and being further accused of Innouation, was sent to the Tower of *London*, vnder the guard of *Neuill*, a Knight of the Golden Order. Two dayes after, the Bishop of *Rosse* was likewise examined, and *Ridolph*, that Florentine Councellor, of whom, both hee and others made familiar and common vse, committed in keeping to Sir *Francis Walsingham*: the Earle of *Pembroke* commanded to betake himselfe to his House, and reserued to a priuate examination. But, by reason of his Nobility, and old age, it was agreed, that by reason himselfe could not write, his

The Duke is imprisoned.

And others.

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his Confession should not be taken in writing. After this, some great men were prohibited the Court, as Complices, who exhibited their petitions, and demanded pardon, when they had acknowledged, that they were consenting with the Duke to this marriage, which *Murray* had formerly propounded: yet after such a manner, as the Queene of *Scots*, the Duke, and all the others were aduertized, how the matter was first imparted to the Queenes Maiestie of *England*, before any treatie of it. The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* being Confederates in this dessigne, made in like manner their submissions to the Earle of *Sussex*, then Gouernour in the North parts, whom they intreated to sollicite the Queene for them. Many Libels were in like manner dispersed against this marriage, the Queene of *Scots*, and the right and title, whereby she layde claime to the Crowne of *England*, as next heire apparant, with such shamelesse insolency, as the Queene resolued to send out prohibitions, by a seuere Proclamation to the contrary, and playing at hood-winke with the Bishop of *Rosse*, she appointed him to answere them, as hee did by another Booke, intituled, *Morgan Philips*, wherein hee maintained the honour of the Queene of *Scots*, her right of succession, and that the Kingdome might be swayed and gouerned by women, as this poynt was also called in question. But since, he ingeniously confest in his Commentaries, that his reasons he set downe, about her right of succession, he drew out of Sir *Anthony Brownes* bookes, chiefe Iustice of the common Pleas, and of *Carrell*, both very vnderstanding Gentlemen in the common Lawes of *England*.

Their Complices craue pardon.

Libels against this marriage.

In those daies, there came from the Duke of *Alua*, *Chapin Vitelli*, Marquis of *Ceton*, with Letters from the *Spaniard*, (who seemed to haue cleane lost his writing) vnder pretext to accord some differences about commerce, but really to obserue the issue of this rebellion, which was presently

Chapin Vitelli *comes into England, and why?*

sently to be raised, and to command the Souldiers priuily to march downe into *Flanders*, according to the Duke of *Alua's* promise, who likewise sent for his fore-runner, *Le Mot*, Gouernour of *Dunkerke*, apparelled like a Mariner, that he might the better discouer and sound the Ports, as himselfe since hath auerred. But when it appeared, how this Marquis was onely substituted by the Duke of *Alua*, who was the principall partie himselfe, wherein the other was but a meere Lieutenant, a doubt was made whether they should treatie with him, as an Ambassadour. Notwithstanding all this, the Queenes Maiestie made knowne that she would acknowledge him for the Ambassadour of *Spaine*. But when he made shew of no further Commission, than to re-demand some moneys detained, the Queene affecting peace, aduised him to procure a larger Commission for the ordering of affaires: while hee stayd, and attended the same, the rumor of that Rebellion to be excited in the North Countrey, was daily augmented.

Rebellion in the North.

To relate the matter more originally, there ran a great fame and brute of this Rebellion, about the beginning of Autumne, which at the first being contemned, it presently strengthned and encreased, by reason of the frequent meetings of the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and some others: so that the Earle of *Sussex*, then Gouernour, and Deputie of the North, cited them before him, and interrogated them precisely, about these reports and rumors. They could not deny, but they had heard of it, marry so, they were in no wise guiltie or culpable, with many and deepe protestations, offering to lose their liues in the Queenes seruice, against any Rebels whatsoeuer: and thus he sent them backe to their owne houses, with authoritie to enquire and search out the authors of this report, which neuertheleſſe daily so augmented, as her Maiestie, conceiuing that nothing was rashly to bee credited of so great men, so commanded them by the Lord of *Sussex*, to

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repaire presently to *London*, for the remouing of all suspition. Notwithstanding, my Lord of *Sussex*, I know not for what drift or policy, enioyned them to come and meet him, as if he meant to consult with them about some occasions of that Prouince. At the first they drew backe, but presently after, expressly refused to repaire thither. This ministred occasion to the Queenes Maiestie, to command them by peremptory Letters which shee writ, and caused to be conueyed with all expedition, that laying apart all delayes and excuses, they should incontinently appeare in her Royall presence; and this onely to terrifie and absolutely diuert them from entring into this Rebellion, or at least, that they might precipitantly vndertake the same, before they rallied their forces, or that the matter grew to any maturitie. For they relyed vpon some secret succours, which the *Scots* Leaguers, and the Duke of *Alua* were to land at the Port of *Herripoole*, within the Bishopricke of *Dunelme*, as afterwards it was manifested.

So soone as the Earle of *Northumberland* had read these Letters, being of a tractable nature, guiltie in his owne conscience, deepely affected to the Romane Religion, and excited to choller, by reason that out of the prerogatiue Royall in Mynes, a rich Copper Myne found in his owne grounds was taken from him, wherein hee thought himselfe to be wronged: but neuertheless, fed with notable hopes of the Queenes clemency, hee was in a wonderfull perplexitie, whether he should flye, or openly rebell. His Friends and seruants being now prepared for a reuolt, and seeing him floating in these ambiguities, came vpon him a certaine night on a suddaine, and headlongly and continually beating into his eares, how *Osirell*, *Vlstrop*, and *Vaughan*, his enemies, were arriued with a troupe of armed men, ready to take him prisoner, they vrged, entreated, and coniured him, that he would not forsake himselfe, his friends, and the Religion of his fore-fathers, assuring him,

him, how the Catholiques were then in armes all *England* ouer, to re-establish the Romane Religion: and to stirre vp the multitude, they tumultuarily founded a Larum bell in all the Countrie Townes and Villages, though 'twas not yet time to attempt any such matter. Affrighted, hee presently start out of his Bed in the Chamber, retyred to a Gallerie, which looked into a Parke neere to *Topcliffe*, and the night following, he went to *Blanspeth*, to the Earle of *Westmerlands* House, where many were assembled, who knew not what the matter was.

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For to amasse, and draw together an ignorant multitude, they commanded some to take vp armes for the Queenes defence: others were made beleeue, that all the great men of *England* conspired with them, to re-erect the Romane Religion: othersome they told, how they were enforced to take vp armes, for preuention that the ancient Nobility of *England* might not be trampled vnder foot by late start-ups, and their Countrey yeelded as a prey to strangers. This carried them violently into a manifest Rebellion, and they were the first, who disturbed the publique peace of this Kingdome, which had continued vnshaken for the terme of eleuen yeeres, vnder the happy Reigne of Queene ELIZABETH, they being boldly and powerfully incited hereunto by *Nicholas Morton*, a Priest, sent from the Pope, to denounce Queene ELIZABETH for an Heretike, and therefore depriued of all power and gouernement. Suddenly likewise, they diuulge by a publique Manifestation, That they tooke vp armes to no other end, but to set vp againe the Religion of their Ancestors, to remoue from about the Queenes bad Councellors, to restore the Duke and some other great Men, who were dismissed of their places and dignities, to former libertie and grace. But as for the Queenes Maiestie, they would attempt nothing against her, but vowed, that both then, and at all times, they would perseuer and continue her most obedient Subiects.

Pretext of the Rebels.

They runne violently into a Rebellion.

Their declaration.

iects. They writ also to the Papists, dispersed throughout the whole Kingdome, to ioyne their forces together. But, in stead of cohering to them, the most part sent to the Queene, both their Letters, and the Bearers: All the particular men of the Kingdome, and the Duke of *Norfolke* himselfe, both their seruice and meanes, and to be employed against them. So that, vpon this occasion, shee made a iust triall of her Subiects singular and vnspotted fidelitie, and of Gods rare clemency and protection, for which shee gaue him great and vnfaigned thankes.

The Rebels went presently to *Durham*, the next Episcopall See, where they rent and trampled vnder foot, the sacred Bibles, and Bookes of the *Liturgie*, written in the *English* Tongue, as they light vpon them in the Churches. Afterwards, they celebrated Masse, wheresoere they went; they leuied and brought into the field many men, vnder flying colours, wherein were painted in some, the fiue wounds of our Lord; in others, the Challice of the Eucharist; *Robert Norton*, a venerable and graue Gentleman, who was old and bald, carried the Crosse, with the Colonell ensigne: they came by small dayes marches, to *Chiffordmore*, which is not farre from *Wetherbie*, where, making a generall muster of their Army, vpon the two and twentieth day of their Rebellion, they could make no more but sixe hundred Horse, and foure thousand foot: and when they heard that the Queene of *Scots*, (for whose releasement out of imprisoment, they had principally taken vp armes) was conducted from *Tudherie*, to *Couentrey*, a strong Citie, and committed to the guard and custodie of the Earles of *Shrewsburie*, and *Huntington*: that the Earle of *Sussex* of the one side of them, had raised a mightie Armie, to set vpon them: that Sir *George Bowes* lay at their backes, with chosen and maine troupes, and had fortified *Bernard-Castell*: and how the Earle of *Cumberland* and the Lord *Scrope* had manned and secured *Carlile*, and dayly leuied

leuied more forces, they retired from those quarters, and returning speedily, in a manner the same way they came, they came before *Rabie*, which is the principall house and seate of the Earles of *Westmerland*; from whence departing, they straitly beleaguerd *Bernard* Castle, which in a short time yeelded to them for want of prouision & victuall, and Sir *George Bowes*, with *Robert Bowes* his brother, and all the Souldiers of the Garison, issued out with their Armes.

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1569.

They returne.

They take Bernard Castle.

They were formerly proclaimed Traitors, by sound of Trumpet. The same very day, my Lord of *Sussex*, accompanied with the Earle of *Rutland*, & the Lords of *Hunsdon*, *Euers*, and *Willowbie* of *Parham*, marched against them with seuen thousand men. When they saw they were come to *Ackland*, being terrified and daunted, they fell to flight, and fell backe toward *Hexham*, which place also leauing speedily, they crossed along by vnbeaten paths, that so they might creepe couertly vnder the hedges, and came to the Castle of *Naworth*; where, vnderstanding that the Earle of *Warwicke* and the Lord *Clynton* Vice-Admirall, followed close at their heeles, with twelue thousand men, drawne out of the South parts of *England*; the two Earles fled into the neerest parts of *Scotland*, with a few men, vnknowne to the rest, where the Earle of *Northumberland* obscured himselfe for a while, about *Harclaw*, in the little countrey *Hamlets*, amongst the *Grymes*, most notable Theeues, who deliuered him afterwards into the Earle of *Murray*'s hands. The Earle of *Westmerland* found some meanes to hide himselfe about *Carry Furnhurst*, and *Bucklie*, and at last scapt into *Flanders*, with some other *English* in his company, where he liu'd a long, but a poore life, vpon a small Pension which the King of *Spaine* allowed him. The rest saued themselues, some by flight, some by lurking in holes and dennes. For example and terrour, sixe inferiour Magistrates were hanged at *Durham*, and others,

They fly.

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1569.

Some are put to death.

The rest are banisht.

among which, one *Plumtree* a Priest, was a man of greatest note. There were formerly executed at *Yorke*, *Dighie*, *Falthrope*, *Bishop*, and *Pouenham*. And certaine moneths after, *Christopher* and *Thomas Nortons*, brethren, were put to death at *London*, and some others in other places.

After this, the most apparāt & notable Rebels, were condemned of high Treason, and banisht, as namely, the Earles of *North.* & *Westm.* the Countesse of *North.* the Daughter to the Earle of *Wigorne*, *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*, *Iohn Neuill* of *Leuerserg*, *Io. Swineborne*, *Tho. Marquensfield*, *Egre. Ratcliffe*, brother to the Earle of *Sussex*, *Char. Neuill*, *Ro. Norton* of *Nortonconniers*, *Christ. Marmaduke*, and *Thomas* of the Family of the *Nortons*, *Ro.* and *Na. Tempests*, *George Stafford*, and about some fortie others of Noble and worthie Houses, whose conuiction and banishment was confirmed by the whole house of Parliament, and pardon granted to some, who had no Estates, nor euer went out of the Kingdome. And thus the flame of this Rebellion was in a short time quencht, *Chiapine Vitelli*, who was priuie to it, as I told you before, openly admiring the same in the presence of her Maiestie, and many great men of the Kingdome, but (no doubt) inwardly greeuing this Rebellion was so easily and suddenly suppreſt, and that so his owne comming into *England* tooke so little effect.

A new Rebellion.

From the combustions of this Rebellion, thus couered and extinguisht, as out of the ashes of that former fire, a little flame began to kindle at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, neere to the Valley of *Seuerus*, which was raised by *Lau. Dacres*, second sonne to *Geor.* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilesland*. This man, after the death of the young Lord *Dacres* his Nephew, because he was the sonne of his elder Brother, being angry that so large a Patrimonie should by Law discend vnto his Neeces, whom the Duke of *Norfolke* their Father in law had betrothed to his three sonnes, hee commenced suite against them: but perceiuing that it would come

come to no prosperous issue on his side, hee secretly combin'd with the Rebels, and attempted to carry away the Queene of *Scots*, but all in vaine. But the Rebels being defeated sooner then he expected, and proclaimed Traitors openly, whilest himselfe lay in Court, after he had obtained the fauour to kisse the Queenes hands, hee promised to employ himselfe with his whole power against them; wherevpon he was sent home to his own house. But when he was in the way (as was discouered afterwards) hee imparted vnto them his dessignes by messengers, which renew'd their spirit and courage, making them many promises in the behalfe of diuers Ambassadours to strange Princes; and amongst others, perswading them, that with such men as he would raise in the Queenes name, he would kill the Lord *Scroope*, Gouernour of the West Borders, and the Bishop of *Carlile*. But not being able to effect it, he followed the Earles who were fled with Letters recõmendatorie to the *Scots*, surprized *Gristock* Castle, and other houses belonging to the *Dacres*, fortifyed the Castle of *Naworth*, as if he had some right and interest in it, and vnder pretext of defending his owne goods, and opposing the Rebels, hee got together three thousand theeues of the borders, and others, who stood best affected to the *Dacres*, much esteemed and respected in those quarters.

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The Lord of *Hunsdon*, with the most expert Souldiers of the Garrison of *Barwicke*, went into the Field against them, who trusting to no fortifications, went still forward, and with an Armie rang'd in Triangular forme, and flanker'd with Horse, they attended them, neere to a little Riuer called *Gelt*, where (questionlesse) they had a sound fight, both for the one part and the other; and *Leonard*, though he was lame, came short of nothing required in a valiant and resolute Captaine. But when the greatest part of his men were slaine, he left the Victory to my Lord of *Hunsdon*, not greatly pleasing to him, and so retired into the

The Rebells are defeated.

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the neerest places of *Scotland*, from whence, not long after, he crost ouer into *Flanders*, where hee died poore at *Louaine*; so that the curses imposed vpon him by his dying Father, prooued true. The Lord of *Hunsdon* commended the keeping of those Castles taken from the Rebells, to the Duke of *Norfolks* men, and the Queenes Maiestie by a publike Proclamation, granted a generall pardon to all the multitude which he had excited to Rebellion.

Qu. Elizabeth lends succours to the reformed Churches in France.

Though this Rebellion raisd many tumults and disturbances within her Kingdome, yet would not her Maiestie neglect the Protestants in *France*, their State beeing at that time wretched and deplorable: For the Princes of the same Religion hauing much importuned her to defend the common cause, she furnisht the Queen of *Nauarre* with money, vpon some Iewels and other ornaments, and permitted *Hen. Champernoune*, Brother by the Fathers side to *Gawyn*, who married the Earle of *Mountgomeries* Daughter, to conduct into *France* a Company of an hundred Noble voluntary Gentlemen, vnder one *Guydon*, who had written on it this Motto,

La vertu me donne fin.

Among whom, were *Phil. Butshed*, *Fr. Barkley*, and *Gualter Raleigh*, who was but yong, and tooke his first say and taste of the wars. The K. of *France* conceiu'd, that either to draw vp, or at least to diuert to some other employments, the great wealth of *England*, which was abundantly disburs'd in ayde and succour of the Protestants; he resolued to kindle a new warre against *England*, by assisting the *Scots*, who kept the Castle of *Dunbriton* for the Queene of *Scotland*. In which Seruice, *Monsieur de Martigues* was employed, a Souldier who then liued in the very prime of his Reputation; but he being slaine with an *Harquebuzada* at the siege of *S. Iean d'Angeli*, this Proiect vanisht, & tooke no effect.

Ireland

Ireland in those times, was no more free from Rebellion: For *Ed.* and *Phil. Butler*, brothers to the Earle of *Ormond*, who had iniuriously entreated their neighbours in *Munster*, refused to obey the Lawes, molested true Subiects with Pillories and wastel, and colleagued themselues with *Ioh. Fitz-Morris* of the house of *Desmond*, *Macartimore Fitz-Edmond*, Steward of *Imoquell*, and others who had negotiated with the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, to re-establish the Romane Religion in *Ireland*, and to suppresse Queene ELIZABETH: For which cause they were denounced Rebels against the State, and Sir *Pe. Carne* continually galled them with light Skirmishes, wherein Fortune was variable. Neuertheleſſe, hauing made an head of many *Galloglasses*, they beleaguerd *Kilkennie*, and commanded the Inhabitants to deliuer into their hands the wife of *Warham* of *Saint-Leiger*: but being repelled by the Garrison, who issued out vpon them, they miserably forraged and wasted the whole Countrey round about. The more to excite and spread the flame of this sedition, *Iohn Mendoza* came secretly in the behalfe of the *Spaniard*; and out of *England*, to extinguish it, the Earle of *Ormond*, who perswaded his Brothers to submit themselues, who were neuertheleſſe imprisoned. But the Earle obtained of the Queen, through his continuall and dayly intercession, that their Triall and Iudgement might be desired, and not be brought to the rigour of the Law, though their crimes and offences had deserued it: the which he tooke grieuously, not beeing able to endure, that at their occasion, such infamie should be vpon their most Noble and illustrious house, so neere allyed to Queene ELIZABETH, who reioyced and glorified so often, that the Nobility of that House had euer beene pure, and their blood vntainted. But the Lord Deputie pursuing liuely the remainder of that Rebellion, dissipated it in a very short space of time.

Some Troubles were also moued and stirred vp in *Vlster*

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by *Turlogh-Leinich*, who, through inconstancie, embraced sometimes warre, and sometimes peace; according to the headstrong desire & rash pleasure of his Followers, Officers and Seruants. But he was kept in awe & within the bounds of duety, not so much by the *English* Garrisons, as by the *Hebrideans*, who of those poore and meagre Islands, seized vpon his earthly possessions. Against whose incursions, there was sent out of *England* a great deale of money, to fortifie and strengthen the Sea-Coast: but in vaine, out of a misfortune, common as well to *England* as *Ireland*, where, for the most part, men intrude themselues, and are admitted into those publike places, who basely respecting their owne priuate gaine, doe neglect the publike weale, and generall commodity of the Kingdome.

* * *

The end of the First Book of the Annals and History of that mighty Empresse, Queene ELIZABETH, *of most happy and blessed memory.*

THE

THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND Euer-glorious *Empresse*, ELIZABETH, *Inuincible Queene of* England, Ireland, &c. *True* Defendresse of the Faith, of immortall Renowne, *and neuer-dying Fame and Memory.*

OR,

ANNALLES OF ALL SVCH REMARKable things as happned during her blest Raigne ouer her Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*; as also such Acts as past betwixt her MAIESTY *and* Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, *and the* Netherlands.

The second Booke.

Faithfully translated out of the *French*, and publisht in *English*, with the KINGS leaue and Authority, granted by his most Excellent *Maiestie* to ABRAHAM DARCIE.

To my Noble and wel-deseruing Friend,

Mr.

A dmire I would, but dare not, lest that I
B e thought to flatter, speaking VERITY.
R eason bids attribute to worth its due,
A nd he detracts, that spares to speake what's true:
H ow shall I shunne (if shunne the Truth to shame)
A Parasites, or a Detractors name?
M uch care I not, yet this much dare I say,

D ARESIE, thou hast done well, deseru'st thy pay,
A Guerdon due to thy laborious Pen,
R aising ELIZA's Royall Fame agen:
S uch as thy worke, such honour as is due,
S hall to thy well-deseruing Pen accrue:
I n making vulgar now this matchlesse Story,
E *ngland* shall euer eternize thy glory.

THOMAS GASNALL.

THE

To the worthy Patternes of *true Nobilitie, and Noble Fauourers* of LEARNING.

Theophilus, Lord *Howard*, of Walden, Heire apparent to the Earledome of *Suffolke*.

The Lady *Elizabeth*, Vicountesse of Walingford, his noble and vertuous *Sister*.

Oliuer, Lord St. *Iohn*, Baron of BLETSO.

Lady *Dorothy St.* IOHN Countesse of BATH, his *Right honourable sister*.

George,* Lord Berkeley, Baron of Berkeley-Castell.

And the most learned Lady, * *Elizabeth Berkeley*, his Most Noble *Mother*.

The Lord *Mount-ioy* *Blunt*, Baron of *Mount-ioy*.

SIR *Fulke** *Greuill* Baron of *Beauchamp-Court*, and Lord *Brooke*.

* *This Noble Family was honoured with the dignity of Lord* Howard *of* Walden, *by* Queene Eliz.

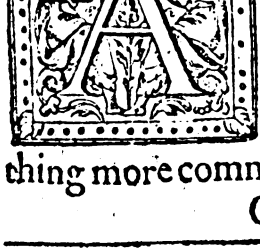
* *This Noble Lord is most highly borne from a most Honourable blood, being by his Father side descended from the illustrious Lord* William, Berkeley, *Earle of Nottingham, Vicount Berkeley, of Berkeley-Castell, and also Lord Marquis of Berkeley, Earle Marshall of England.*

* *Descended from* Charles Blunt *Earle of Deuonshire, Lord Deputy and Lieutenant of Ireland, a braue valiant Noble man, who expulsed the Spaniards there, and compelled the Irish Rebells to submission: he was created Baron of Mount-ioy by* Queene Elizabeth.

* *Their most ancient House was honoured with the title of* Baron of Bleso, *by* Qu Eliz. As also, this noble Countesses Husbands Predecessor, was also graced with the Earledome of *Rath* by her MAIESTIE.

* *An illustrious Branch of the Noble House of the* Caries, *created Baron of Horsdon, by* Qu Elizabeth.

* *Knighted by* Queene Elizabeth *at Kilburworth.*



ALthough a History, (Right Noble & Illustrious) bee most dangerous, and no lesse troublesome to write, yet there is nothing more commodious, beneficial and salutiferous

There is great differency and diuersity, tending to the manner of describing Stories: First there is Chronology, Chronicles, Ephe-

salutiferous to men, sith it is the Testimony of *Time*, the light of *Truth*, and the preseruer of *Life*; suffering scarce no mens Names to dye, nor their renownes to be buried in obliuion: for by the recordation of the deedes which they haue inacted in Times past, they are committed to future Times, eternized to the perpetuall honour of immortall fame, and neuer-dying glory: Nay more, they seeme as *Alexander*, *Scipio*, *Pompey*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Charles the Great*, and diuers other whose memory is fresh and euer-liuing: nothing else, but the eternall monuments of *Annalls* deliuered *Hercules*, and freed other worthy men (who liued well and singularly profitable to their Countrey) from fading and perishing, though dead and forgotten: It was this therefore which caused Princes, and other great men to desire nothing more, then that their worthy

meride, Epitomies, Khopsodies, Abridgment, History, and *ANNALS*. Chronology hath two conditions, both particular and necessary: called by the Greeches, *Alethia*, and *Apatia*, which is the truth of things set forth without any passion. The Chronicle aymes at the originall of matters, and to seeke the immemoriall Time, from the first antiquity and foundation of peoples and Nations, as *Herodote* for Greece, *Titus Liuius* for the Latine, *Le maire* in the illustrations of the Gauls, Mr. *Speed* for England, and others. The Ephemerides describes that which hath been said or done betwixt two persons.

worthy deedes and noble acts iudiciously performed in time of *Peace*, as well as generously in *Warre*, should be carefully written, and so propagated to all posterities by some learned *Historiographer*: as appeareth by *Alexander the Great*, who when a messenger came to him, exulting with ioy, and running with a chearefull countenance fully to relate the prosperous successe of his fortunate affaires, made him this answere, *What greater and better newes can you participate and vnfold vnto mee, vnlesse by certifying mee that* Homer *is liuing?* Intimating thereby, that all the glory of his Heroicke actions, were like to wither and be forgotten, except some such a one as *Homer* was, should reuiue, to sing worthily his Encomiums, & sound his Praises and Victories with the shrill sounding Trumpet of Fame.

Neuertheleſſe, confessing my selfe vnable

Rhapsodies and *Epitomes* are short obseruations of History. *Annalls* and History is different from all those, for they describe all the memorable deedes and particular actions that hapned yeerely, and from time to time: such as *Xenophon* was in Greece, *Salust* among the Latins, *Froissard* in France, and Mr. *William Camboden* in England, and so diuers others. The seuerall and yeerely acts must be described without any passion or affections

vnable (though much desirous to doe you that seruice, I haue vndertooke the translation of the Heroick *Annals* of that euer blessed Queene *Elizabeth* of most happy memory, by which I aime at the preseruation of her glory, * and to the perpetuall honor of your names, vnder whose honorable banner, I haue sought to shelter these my poore labours: To shew aswel the dutiful seruice of a poore Stranger to these Kingdomes in generall, as his humble and sincere affection to all your Honours in particular. The worthines of the Subiect, makes me not doubt of your noble acceptance, & inuites mee to bring my Oblation to the Temple of your Vertues; where, after vnfeigned Prayers for your Honours perpetuall happinesse, as well spirituall as temporall, I, with the lowest step of dutie, take my leaue; vowing euer to remaine

Your Honours humblest deuoted obseruant,

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

* Such courtesie from your Honours will ingraue your worth in the Temple of Eternity, making your names thereby immortall, sith it is onely this or such like seruice, that can make you liue againe in your graue, keepe your noble fame fresh, and your happy memory from falling, sith it wil cause your ashes to bring forth Laurell, and Palme flourish and spring out of your Tombes, when the base ignorant contemners of learning, (which doe abound in this iron age) will wither and fade: they seeme now only to liue on earth, but to warre against Vertues; much like vnto wormes in Libraries, to destroy and deuour learning, which they should cherish.

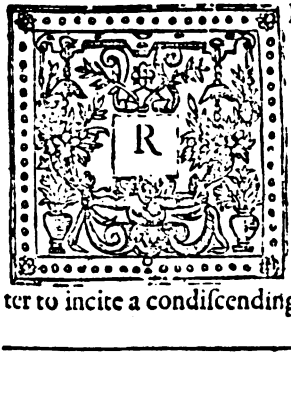
THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST High, Mighty, and Inuincible Princesse, Queene ELIZABETH, of most happy and neuer-dying memory:

OR

ANNALLES

Of all the most remarkable things that happened during her blessed Raigne ouer the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, &c.

The 13. yeere of her Raigne, Anno 1570.



Rebellion being then extinct in *England*, the Earle of *Murray*, Vice-roy of *Scotland*, with much care and policie, perswaded and industriously laboured that the Queene of *Scots* might bee resigned and deliuered into his hands; proffering to that effect hostages and pledges: withall, the better to incite a condiscending to this his demand, hee promised

The Earle of Murray demands that the Qu. of Scotland might be put into his hands.

Booke 2. 1570.

mised that the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* should be immediately deliuered backe. In the meane time, he wrought with such diligence, that the Bishop of *Rosse*, as an Author, Fauourer, and Assister of the Rebels, was committed into the safe guard and custody of the Bishop of *London*. And further to oblige Queene ELIZABETH by some speciall seruice, he powerfully entred with an Armie vpon the frontier Prouinces of *England*, there to seeke out the *English* Rebells; but apprehending some fewe of small note, in the conclusion finds out the Earle of *Northumberland* (whom he found hidden and disguised among a company of Out-lawes and Fugitiues) by the meanes of his Oast that discouered him: The Vice-Roy much reioycing in his Noble Prize, sent him as Prisoner to *Lake-Leuin*, safely there to be kept in guard, whilest he persisting in his reuenge, with much rigour afflicted the inhabitants of those Frontier parts.

He pursueth the English Rebells.

But vnfortunately retyring himselfe to a Towne called *Limnuch* (which vulgarly passeth by the name of *Lithquo*) there resoluing with himselfe, after so many wearisome trauails, and excessiue iournies, to giue a quiet repose to his ouer-charged spirits; the neuer-changing doome of heauen had there set downe the period of his dayes: for, riding through the Streetes, little suspecting the disaster that attended him, he was suddenly slaine by the stroke of a bullet vnder his nauell, sent from the fatall hand of the Lord *Hamilton*, who by present flight saued himselfe in *France*, where he remained certaine yeeres, oftentimes protesting, that the strength of his patience no longer able to hold out against the many insolent iniuries done him by the Earle, he made his owne hands the author of his owne reuenge: For the Vice-Roy knowing him to be one of the Queenes partisans, banished him, and afterwards imprisoned him, and by many threats and menaces of seuere punishment, constrained him to release to one of his Tenants, a little

The Earle of Murray is suddenly kild

Countrie

Countrie Farme, which befell to him by reason of his wife that became lunaticke. These inforst him to such rage, that hauing by some strange meanes broke his prison, hee committed this murder. Booke 1570

After this exploit, liuing in *France*, he was there reputed to be a very fit and ready instrument for such actions: yet could he neuer be perswaded or procured to doe the like to the Admirall *Coligni*; often answering, that he had himselfe taken vengeance of his owne iust griefes and iniuries (of which he repented himselfe) yet neither reward nor intreaties should any way preuaile so much with him, as to be the instrument of anothers reuenge.

Diuers opinions are of him.

The rumor of this murder being straight diuulged and spred ouer *Great-Britaine*, there arose various opinions, and diuers strange iudgements vpon the same; and among other surmizes, his mothers dreame was then recalled to memory, of a Lyon and a Dragon combating in her wombe, after she had beene priuately knowne by *Iames* the Fifth. Diuers were the opinions and censures of most men, but especially of those of sounder iudgement and apprehension, according to their diuers affections: of some he was much commended, because he was very studious for the expelling of the Romish Recusants out of *Scotland*, for so carefully preseruing the King, being yet an Infant, and likewise for his great and liberall bounty to men of learning; and aboue all, to *Bucchanan*: on the contrary part, hee was of other-some greatly condemned, because he, vnder the colour and couerture of Religion, enricht himselfe and his friends with the spoiles of the Church; and with a most iniurious ingratitude, insulted and tyrannized ouer the imbecillity of his Sisters weake Sexe, hauing before obliged him to her by many benefits. And of these, some would presage, through their suspicious coniectures, grounded vpon the mischieuous inclination which is incident to most bastards; That that man would not spare the

Sonne, that had bereaued the Mother of her Kingdome. The Queen of *Scots* exprest much sorrow for him, because such a violent and vnexpected death had snatcht him away before (as she said) he had by serious repentance expiated the multiplicity of the sinnes hee had committed against God, his Countrey, and his Prince. But forasmuch as hee greatly fauoured such *English* as were affected to the Duke of *Norfolke*, hee was thought and accused to bee a faigned and dissembling Politician.

The Scots and Rebels making incursions vpon England.

The next succeeding night to this murder, *T. Carrey* of *Fernihurst*, and *Walter* a Scottish-man of *Buchlui*, two of the hardiest and valiantest of those Frontiers, and so much affected to the Queene of *Scots*, that for their deuout following of her faction and party, they suffered banishment, with the confiscation of their goods, breathing forth defiance and vengeance against the Queene of *England*, because the Vice-Roy in her fauour, had so cruelly afflicted the Frontier inhabitants; they violated the peace, and by force entred into *England* with a rout of *Scottish* and some *English* Rebells, consuming and deuasting with sword and fire, the neighbouring Countries, as though they would haue made them desolate like Desarts: whereupon *T. Randolph* was incontinently dispatcht into *Scotland*, there, in a publike Assembly of the Lords of the Realme, to giue notice of this iniurious outrage: And if by reason of the manifold troubles wherewith *Scotland* was at that present incumbred, they could not represse the disturbers of the Peace, the Queene would reuenge and right herselfe by force of Armes, of that insolent affront which she had receiued; without any way indamaging others, saue those that had deseruedly incurred her vengeance. To this was only answered, That as yet there was no Vice-Roy chosen or designed amongst them: Neuertheless, that the iniuries done to the Frontier inhabitants might bee redressed, a command was giuen to the Lord of *Sussex*, to leauie a competent

petent Armie, and march against the Lords of *Buchlui* and of *Fernihurst*, to pursue and chase with deserued rigour, onely those that with the rebellious *English* had ouer-run & pillaged those of the Frontiers. Now the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argathel*, that had all this while laboured in the behalfe of the Queene of *Scots* hearing of his approach, sent vnto him one *Trebon*, to demand a Truce, and that they might obtaine so long respit, vntill they should acquaint Queene ELIZABETH with their affaires. But they perceiuing that they could by no meanes wrest him from his dessignes, they began first to vse threatnings, thinking to deterre him, but that not preuailing, they were enforst to vse submissiue intreaties, that he would become an arbitratour for the abolishing of certaine ordinances which had beene created in *Scotland*, some two yeeres before.

Booke 2. 1570.

Neuertheleſſe, *Sussex* about the midst of *Aprill*, entred into *Scotland* with the Baron of *Hunsdon*, *Drury*, Marshall of *Barwicke*, and the *English* Armie: where they burned through the whole Countrey of *Tiuisdale*, the houses and villages of *Buchlui* and *Carrey*, ouerthrew and destroyed their countrey, and vtterly ruinated *Fernihurst* and *Craling*, two of the principal Forts of *T. Carrey*. At the same instant, the Lord *Scroope* likewise entred vpon the East parts of *Scotland*, laying desolate on euery side, through the Earledome of *Anaudale*, the possessions of *Ionston*, & others that had in like maner fauoured the *English* Rebells, such was his expedition at his first cõming, that there were 300. houses consumed by fire, & 50. Forts at least laid leuell with the earth.

The English take reuenge thereof.

A few dayes after, the Lord of *Sussex* entred further into *Scotland*, with the Baron of *Hunsdon*, where they besieged the Castle of *Hume*, which was the chiefe refuge of the *English* Rebels which yeelded vp as soone as the great Artillery, were planted against it. But there were found in it but two of the Rebells, which they caused presently to be hanged; and placing a Garrison in it, *Drury* was forth-

They succoured those in Scotland that were of the Kings partie.

Booke 2. 1570.

forth-with commanded to batter downe *Fast-Castle*, which was also a prime Fortresse of the Baron of *Hume*, which likewise without resistance was yeelded vp.

The *English* Rebells then retired into the heart of *Scotland*, associated with diuers other Rebels, there with fire and sword they threatned the Frontier inhabitants of *England*, and those in like manner of *Scotland*, that were of the Queenes partie: the Lord of *Sussex* againe sent forth *Drury*, who returned within seuen dayes with 1200. foote, and 400. horse. *Drury* receiued from *Collingham*, certaine hostages for the Earles of *Angus*, of *Morton*, of *Mar*, of *Glencarne*, and for the Barons of *Reuuen*, and of *Lindsay*, who with diuers others had recalled the *English*. Then *Sussex* himselfe, accompanied with *G. Carrey*, *P. Manours*, *R. Constable*, which hee had honoured with the order of Knighthood with *Druray*, *A. Bowes*, *G. Knolles*, *T. Brichwell*, *R. Gam*, *Elrington*, *Carnill*, with other Captaines and Commanders in the Armie, marching toward *Edenborrough*, ioyned his forces with those Earles, and the Duke of *Lenox*, then newly returned from *England*, who before was suspected to be of the partie with the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Queene of *Scots*. Thus marching through *Limnuch* towards *Glasco*, where the Lord of *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastelraut* had retired himselfe, and from thence towards the Castle *Hamilton*, which, after they had mightily battered with the Cannon, and almost beaten it downe, was yeelded vp in a small space. Then were the houses of the *Hamiltons*, with their stately and magnificent buildings, defaced and consumed with remorcelesse fire, ransacking their demaines of *Cluisdale*, and at their chiefe Mannour house, situated neere *Limnuch*.

They take the Castle of Hamilton.

Thus the *Hamiltons* with the rest, that tooke part with the deposed Queene, beeing extirpated and put to flight, the Lords of *Scotland*, and those of the Kings part, beeing ready to assemble about the election of a new Vice-Roy, they

they sent to demand counsell of Queene ELIZABETH, who sent them this answer: That because she would not preiudicate against the Queene of *Scots* (her cause not as yet being iudged of) she would not intermeddle with that election. Vpon which answere, they chose *Lenox* first of all *Inter-Roy*, and presently after *Vice-Roy*, the Queene of *England* not any way gaine-saying it; because she knew well, that he was naturally addicted to loue the King his Nephew, and was also assured that he was well affected to the *English* by reason of the many benefits receiued from them, and would alwaies be at her deuotion, in respect that his wife remained in her power.

The Earle of Lenox is establisht Vice-Roy of Scotland.

In the meane time that the Queene thus fauoured the Kings party in *Scotland*, the *Spaniard* failed not in any point towards the imprisoned Queene; but at the motion of the Lord of *Hamilton*, Rector of the Church at *Dunbar*, sent vnder the hands of the Gouernour of *Flanders*, certaine prouision for warre, as a certaine quantitie of powder, with seuen Peeces of great Cannon, and some small summes of money, to the Earle of *Huntley*, Gouernour for the Queene in the North parts of *Scotland*. Wherevpon the Earle of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earle of *Argathell*, by a common aduice and consent, with the approbation of the Queene of *Scots*, whose Lieutenants they were, did send this Ambasie to the Duke of *Alua*, by the Baron of *Setone*, who thus in the Dukes presence proposed his message in these termes:

The King of Spaine giues succours against those who were of the Kings side.

THat he was sent from a Realme, which, by the treacheries of rebellious Subiects, was depriued of its publike peace, and a most gracious Princesse; and that the tenour of his Ambasie was, to demand and entreat assistance and succours, to recouer her from a miserable Captiuity, being detayned in a strange Land, and the Realme from the oppression of strangers: That

The Lord Setone his Ambassage to the Duke of Alua.

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That the Scottish *Rebells might not be suffered to traffique in the* Spanish *Confines, and that there might bee deliuered to the Queene the tenne thousand Crownes that were assigned vnto her: shewing also, that shee did wholly cast her selfe into the hands of the King of* Spaine, *well knowing that he did alwaies harbour in his heart a sincere loue to true honour, iustice, and piety; obiects most worthy and fitting for a Catholike Prince; and employed for Intercessor the Duke D'Alua, who she knew would endeuour himselfe to accomplish his desires. That he propounded not to the King of* Spaine *any profit or commodity that might redound to him, beeing a thing vnworthy of so great a Maiesty, but onely offers to him from an vnfaigned heart, the perpetuall amity and humble seruice of his most Illustrious Queene, and her most warlike Countrey-men, the* Scots. *That the Glory of* Charles *the Fifth, his Father, would for euer liue eternized, for re-establishing the Duke of* Ferrara, *and the* Mahumetan *King in their first dignity. But if hee should re-establish the Queene, being a constant Professor of the true Catholique religion, and an absolute Princesse, of the consanguinity and alliance of the greatest Princes of Christendome, and an vndoubted Heire to two flourishing Kingdomes, it would bee to him an euer-liuing glory, and an incomparable argument of most Christian piety. That in so doeing, hee should not onely binde* France, Denmarke, Lorraine, *the* Guizes, *S.* Peter, *and all Christendome to his loue, but also make his fame equally celebrated with his Fathers, nay, euen surpasse him farre, in relieuing and re-establishing by his example, Princesses that are iniustly and treacherously deposed from their lawfull Thrones: That being himselfe the greatest Monarch in Christendome, and hauing vnder his command and obeisance farre distant Countreys, which might giue occasion*

with

with great ease of such and so insolent arrogance, yet getting by this meanes interest in all Princes, they may with more ease be suppreſt; That this pernicious example of deposing Kings, was neuer left vnreuenged; That he should be a most excellent and fruitfull modell of rare Iustice, and that if he should re-establish her that flieth and sueth to him for succour, hee should tye in most fast bands of Amity and Alliance to himselfe, a Queene Dowager of France, *absolute of* Scotland, *and most certaine Heire to* England; *with her the* Scottish *Nation, which since* Charles *the Great, haue manifested themselues to all the world most firme, constant, and faithfull in their Alliance with* France. *And furthermore, that now occasion was offered him, to reuenge the many iniuries which hee had receiued from the Queene of* England, *that aideth and fauoureth the Rebels of the* Netherlands, *that hath vniustly seized vpon his Coine, and the goods of his Subiects, and also euill-intreated and abused his Ambassadours. That to sit still any longer, and see the* Scottish *Nation fall vnder the subiection of the* English, *would be a lazie slumber, and absurd sottishnes. That through the increase of power and domesticke strength which that Woman hath acquired, shee will at last proue terrible to her neighbours, and as she is of a Masculine courage, and of a sexe couetous of command, shee may easily finde a meanes to entangle the King of* Spaine *in a long and troublesome warre. But if shee were preuented in this, she might easily be kept vnder her proper feare. That there are but a very few in* Scotland *that will oppose the imprisoned Queene. That all the Catholikes, and the greatest part of the Nobles, are fauourers of her cause. That she hath all the Ports & Hauens in her power, and that the Pope would not spare the very goods of the Church, to maintaine a warre so iust and holy. And*

that it meerely depended vpon the Catholike King, who was to muster his forces, and shew his power in so iust, pious and salutiferous a cause, and that all the Catholikes of Great Brittaine *expected from him onely, in this occasion, either their comfort or vtter ruine.*

he answere f the Duke f Alua.

To this the Duke of *Alua* answered, that he was ready, and addrest himselfe to the King of *Spaine* for the aduancement of this affaire, but could not deny traffique with the *Scottish* Rebels, because that might infringe the liberty of *Flanders*; promised to supply them for the most part with money. In the meane time, *Setone*, the deeper to oblige the King of *Spaine* and the Duke of *Alua*, passing ouer to the *Flemmings* Confederats in disguised manner, procured by soothing flatteries, feastings, and other-like meanes of corruption, the *Scottish* Companies vnder them, to reuolt, and as he was ready to be questioned about it, and in great danger of his life, saued himselfe with much adoe, vnder the Duke of *Alua*, who promised to furnish him with ten thousand Souldiers for sixe moneths: but in vaine, in regard they were so full of troubles in *Flanders*, that they could not transport any Souldiers for *Scotland*.

The Bishop of Rosse is set at liberty:

Whiles these things were a doing, the Bishop of *Rosse*, who had meritoriously laboured the affaires of the Queene of *Scotland*, in *England*, and had beene committed to the custodie of the Bishop of *London*, about a secret practice of Rebellion, being now set at liberty, brought it so to passe, that the King of *France*, by his Ambassadour *De Monluc*, laboured most earnestly with Queene ELIZABETH for the re-establishment of the Queene of *Scotland*, complaining that she was more strictly handled then formerly, vnder the custodie of the Earle of *Huntington*, her sworne enemie and emulator, who (as well as she) had secret aimes to the Kingdome of *England*. The Ambassadour of *Spaine* also at the sollicitation of the Bishop of *Rosse*, prest that point

Laboured the liberty of the Queene of Scots.

point very hard, in the name and behalfe of his King. But the Queene, after shee had seriously reuolued the cunning deuices that they all practised to free the Queene of *Scots*, and had couertly giuen out, that she was ioyned with them in the Rebellion lately appearing, answered him,

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THat it was an inconsiderate and dangerous folly, to free one that so apparantly aspired by ill practice to the Crowne of England. *That she had need more straightly then ordinary to looke vnto her, and discharge some of her Seruants, whom she had (for the most part) chosen for her own proper designes, and to giue for an assistant to the Earle of* Shrewsbury, *whom she had appointed for her Keeper, who began to suspect the loyaltie of these people, the Earle of* Huntington, *whom she neuer knew to haue any title to the Kingdome, but onely out of some relation to her in affinity: and that neuertheless, she had discharged him long sithence; promiseth to omit no meanes of agreement with the* Scots, *and protesteth to prosecute no iniuries receiued by her. That she euer hoped, that the King of* France, *the King of* Spaine, *and the* Queen *of* Scotland, *would not take it in ill part, that she onely prouided for the peace and safety of her selfe & her subiects, since nature, reason, and the honour of her Royall Name, did of right require the same at her hands: And that if any of them knew any way more expedient to preuent that imminent menacing danger, shee would not onely heare, but most willingly embrace it.*

After this, they sate in Councell often hereupon at the Court, whether it were best to send the Queen of *Scotland* backe into her Countrie, or retain her stil in *England*, and how they might best prouide for the safegard both of the Queene, and their Religion. Whiles they were consulting

They co about th freedom the Qu of Scot

sulting hereabout, *William Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*, happened to dye, being issue to *Richard*, son to *R. Herbert* the eldest Earle of *Pembroke*, being in the Climacterical yeere of his age, as if he had presaged what mischiefe should befal him, if hee had longer liued: leauing behinde him three children, *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Anne*. Hee was buried in S. *Pauls* Church, with stately and honourable Rites, and a most glorious Tombe erected for him; a Noble person, who out of his owne meanes raisd a Fortune to himselfe: For he so wrought into the fauour of HENRY the Eighth, that he made him one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, and by his owne prudence increased his meanes, especially after the King had married *Katherine Parre*, his wiues Sister. And vnder EDVVARD the Sixth, hee procured (whiles the Court was distracted in seuerall factions) to be of the Order of Saint *George*, Knight of the Garter, the honour to be the Kings Squire, the Title of Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, and the dignity of the Earle of *Pembroke*. He was Generall, vnder Queene MARY, of her Troopes she sent against *Wyat*, and for the *English* Armie at S. *Quintin*, President of Wales, twice Gouernour of *Calais*: vnder Queene ELIZABETH, he was constituted Steward of her houshold, whose fauour he lost for a time, in regard that hee was the first moouer of the match betweene the Duke of *Norfolke* and the Queene of *Scotland*, notwithstanding his intention and will were no way ill affected therein, and failed narrowly a little before his death, of being questioned vpon certaine euidences at large dilated, and presumptions secretly found out.

Hitherto Pope *Pius* the Fifth had laid a foundation of abstruse & darke conspiracies for Queen ELIZABETH, and the yeere before, she hauing no warning thereof, nor cited by a Bull declaratorie, priuily sends forth an Anathema, and excites Rebellion, and causeth the said Bull to be fixed to the Palace Gates of the Bishop of *London*, in these words.

THE

THE SENTENCE

Declaratory of the Holy Father Pope *Pius* the Fifth, against ELIZABETH the *pretended* Queene *of England, and those Here*tiques adhering to her:

And finally, all such as obey her, to be insnared in the same.

PIVS, Bishop, a seruant of the seruants of GOD, for the future memory of the businesse.

Ee that rules in the Heauens aboue, and to whom all power is giuen both in Heauen and Earth, gaue vnto one onely vpon Earth, viz. *to* Peter, *the chiefest amongst the Apostles, and to the* Pope *of Rome,* Peters *Successor, a holy, Catholique and Apostolique Church, (without which there is no Saluation) to gouerne it in the fulnesse of power. And this he ordayned as chiefe aboue all Nations and Kingdomes, to pull downe, destroy, disseuer, cast off, plant, and erect: to combine in the vnitie of spirit, his faithfull people, connext together*

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ther through mutuall charitie, and present them whole and sound to his Sauiour. Which charge, Wee, who through the grace of GOD, are thereunto called, submitting our selues to the gouernement of the same Church, cease not with all our best labours and indeuours, to preserue this vnitie and Catholique Religion, which hee, (who was the Author thereof) so suffered to be incumbred, for the triall of the faith of his, and for our correction. But the number of the vngodly is so great in power, that there is not a corner left vpon the whole Earth now vntainted with their wicked Doctrines. Amongst which, ELIZABETH, pretended Queene of England, is, aboue all, the shelter and refuge of Error, and most noysome enemies. It is She, who after shee had possessed the Kingdome, vsurping (monster-like) the place of the chiefe Soueraigne of the Church in England, and the principall iurisdiction and authoritie thereof, hath throwne into miserable ruine the whole Kingdome, when it was euen brought to the Catholique faith, and began to bring forth good fruits. For, shee with a powerfull hand prohibiteth the exercise of the true Religion (which was heretofore ouerthrowne by HENRY the Eighth, the forsaker thereof, and afterwards repayred with the helpe of this See, by MARIE, lawfull Queene of England, of famous memorie) and embraceth the Heresies of obscure persons; the Royall Councell once composed of the English Nobilitie, shee hath broken off, oppresseth such as made profession of, and exercised the Catholique Religion, reestablished the wicked Ministers and Preachers of impietie, abolished the sacrifice of the Masse, Prayers, Fastings, the diuiding of the Meates, the Celibate, and all Catholique Ceremonies, sent Bookes ouer her whole Kingdome, containing manifest Heresies, commended to her Subiects the prophane Mysteries and Institutions

which

which shee had receiued, and obserued from the decree of Caluin, *displaced the Bishops, Rectors, and Catholique Priests from their Churches and Benefices, and disposed of them to Heretiques, and is bold to take vpon her to iudge and determine Ecclesiasticall affaires; forbade the Prelates, the Clergie, and people, to acknowledge the Roman Church, or obserue her Commandements, and canonicall duties; inforced diuers to sweare obedience to her detestable Ordinances, to renounce the authoritie due to the Roman dignitie, and acknowledge her the onely Soueraigne ouer temporall and spirituall things; imposed penalties and taxes vpon such as were refractory to her Iniunctions; inflicted punishments vpon those who persisted in the vnitie of the faith and obedience, imprisoned the Prelates and Gouernours of the Catholique Churches; where diuers being, with a tedious languishing and sorrow, miserably finished their vnhappy dayes. All which things beeing thus euident and apparant to all Nations, and so manifestly proued by the graue testimony of diuers, that there is no place left for any excuse, defence, or tergiuersation: Wee, perceiuing that these impieties and mischiefes doe still multiply one by another, and that the persecution of the faithfull, and the affliction of the Church doth daily increase, and waxe more heauy and grieuous, and finding that her heart is so obstinate and obdurate, that she hath not onely despised the wholesome Prayers and admonitions which the Christian Princes haue made for her better health and conuersion, but that shee hath denyed passage to the Nuncio's, who, for this end, were sent from this siege into England; and being compelled to beare the armes of Iustice against her, Wee cannot moderate the punishment that Wee are bound to inflict vpon her, whose Ancestors merited so well of the Christian Common-wealth. Being then supported by His Authoritie, who*

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who hath placed Vs vpon this Soueraigne Throne of Iustice, howsoeuer incapable of so great a charge, out of the fulnesse of our Apostolicall power, doe pronounce and declare the said ELIZABETH *an Heretique, and fauourer of Heretiques, and those who adhere vnto her in the foresaid things, haue incurred the Sentence of Anathema, and are cut off from the vnitie of the bodie of Christ. That shee is deprived of the right which shee pretends to the foresaid Kingdome, and of all and euery Seigniorie, Royaltie, and priuiledge thereof: and the Peeres, Subiects, and People of the sayde Kingdome, and all others vpon what termes soeuer sworne vnto her, freed from their Oath, and from all manner of dutie, fidelitie, and obedience: As Wee doe free them by the authoritie of these Presents, and exclude the said* ELIZABETH *from the right which shee pretendeth to the said Kingdome, and the rest before mentioned. Commanding moreouer, & enioyning all, and euery the Nobles, as Subiects, people, and others whatsoeuer, that they shall not once dare to obey her, or any her directions, Lawes, or Commandements, binding vnder the same Curse, those who doe any thing to the contrary. And forasmuch as it may seeme difficult for them to obserue these Presents in euery place where they haue occasion for them, Our will is, that Copies hereof being written by some publique Notarie, and sealed with the Seale of some Ecclesiasticall Prelate, or of his Court, shall be of as good effect through the whole World, as these Presents might doe, if they were exhibited and represented.* Giuen at *Rome*, at S. *Peters*, the 5. of March, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Sauiour 1569. and of our Pont. the 5.

Cæsar Glorianus.

This

This caused new iealousies to increase, that some Monster was a breeding: also, it manifested a new Rebellion presently begun in *Norfolke*, which neuertheleſſe was assoone extinct as kindled. Certaine of the Nobles of *Norfolke*, to free the Duke, whom all the World did with an especiall loue affect, practised a designe of collecting a great number of people together, at the instant as they were flocking to a Faire at *Harleston*, vnder colour of expulsing the *Flemmings* out of *England*, who to escape the tyranny of the Duke of *Alua*, were fled into this Country in great numbers. Some of them being apprehended, were brought to iudgement, and condemned of high-Treason: ELIZABETH, neuertheleſſe, to testifie her clemency, would suffer but onely three to be punished, amongst whom, *1. Throgmorton* was most remarkeable, who being examined by the Iudge, would answer nothing, but being brought to execution, cleared the rest, and acknowledged himselfe the principall author and perswader thereof.

Rebellion in Norfolke assoone ended as begun.

1. Felton, who stucke vp the Popes Bull vpon the Bishop of *Londons* Gate, making no great difficultie of retyring, and sauing himselfe, was presently taken, and brought to iudgement, and confessing boldly the deede, howsoeuer no way acknowledging it as a fault, was hanged hard by the place where hee had stucke vp the Bul, affecting a vaine kinde of shew of a glorious Martyr. For the rest, the modester sort of Papists misliked this Bull, because no lawfull admonition had preceded, & that She had formerly granted to them free exercise of their Religion in their particular Houses with securitie; or such as made no scruple of conscience to bee present at the Seruice in the English Church, fore-seeing a huge weight of dangers thereby to hang ouer their heads, continued euer after firme in their due obedience, perceiuing that the neighbour Princes, and Catholique Prouinces, neglected not the Queene, notwithstanding this Bul, but seemed to contemne it as a vain sound of words.

Felton punished for sticking vp the Popes Bull.

The Papists reproue the Bull.

The greatest part cōtemne this Bull.

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The ſame day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke acknowledging his errour to proceed from inconſideration, teſtified his repentance ſo farre, that hee did not onely ſeeme to diſclaim any thought of marriage with the Queen of *Scotland*, but that his eares abhorred the remembrance of it, and promiſed vnder his hand, neuer to thinke further of attayning it, was freed out of the Tower of *London*, (where the plague was already begun) and ſent to his owne Houſe, to the great ioy of euery one, to be vnder the free cuſtodie of *Henry Neuill*. Neither truely could they plead againſt him by right of her Maieſties Law, from the 25. yeere of *Edward* the Third, as *Cecill* aduertiſeth, who out of the affection he bare vnto him, laboured to eſpouſe him to another Wife, to the end to put by his thought of compaſſing the other, and to prouide for the publique peace. But, after a few daies, many things that hee ſuſpected, diſcouered themſelues: and their faith, who were of his moſt ſecret counſell, either with hope, or by corruption, was broken.

Cecil aduiſeth him to marry.

Diuers are imprisoned.

The times then were full of ſuſpitions and conſpiracies. For *T.* and *Ed. Stanley*, the two youngeſt ſonnes of the Earle of *Darbie*, by the Duke of *Norfolkes* Daughter, *Gerrard*, *Rolſton*, *Hall*, and others of the Countie of *Darbie*, conſpired to free the Queene of *Scotland* out of priſon; but *Rolſtons* Sonne, who was one of the company of the Gentlemen guarders, diſcouered the conſpiracy, and the reſt were impriſoned, except *Hall*, who ſaued himſelfe at the Ile of Man, and from thence was ſent ouer to *Dunbritton*, with re-commendation to the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, where hee was afterwards taken at the ſurprize of the Caſtle: and laſtly, put to death at *London*. The Biſhop of *Roſſe* himſelfe, being lately in cuſtodie, and ſet at libertie, is againe committed to the cuſtodie of the Biſhop of *London*, for intertaining clandeſtine conferences with the Earle of *Southampton*, a moſt deuoted man to the Romiſh Religion.

In

In the meane time; *Sussex*, accompanied with the Lord *Scroope*, with Companies of Souldiers being gone againe into *Scotland*, burn'd the Villages in the Valley of *Annandale*, ruined the Castle of *Annandale*, which belonged to *Herii*, and the Castle of *Caer-Laueroc*, belonging to *Maxwell*, who had made some pillaging incursiõs into *England*, and brought them to such distresse who continued on the Queene of *Scotlands* side, that the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argathell*, send them a promise in writing sealed vnder their hands, obliging themselues thereby no longer to maintaine warres, and to abandon the *English* Rebels. This being done, hee forthwith returned, and for their valour Knighted *Hastings*, *Russell*, *Browne*, *Hilton*, *Stapleton*, and *Musgrave*, and himselfe afterwards, for his approued wisdome and vertue, was admitted to be of the Queenes Priuy Councell.

Sussex chosen a Priuy-Councellor.

ELIZABETH, hauing her thoughts full of doubts, with various suspitions, by reason of this Bull, and *Norfolkes* conspiracy, sent vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, being then at *Chettesworth*, in the Countie of *Darbie*, *Cecil*, and *Walter Mildmay*, who, in regard the waters were risen aboue measure, it being in the Moneth of October, came thither with much difficultie, to consult with her about the most conuenient meanes how to compound the variance in *Scotland*, for the restoring of her to her former estate, to secure ELIZABETH, and prouide for the safetie of her young Sonne. Shee could say nothing, but deplore her afflicted condition, and complayned of the fraudulent deuices of Count *Murray*, iustified the Duke of *Norfolke*, and reposed all her hope on the courtesie of ELIZABETH, vnderstanding that shee had the generall gouernement of the affaires of *Scotland*, as well as of *England*. They propounded vnto her, that to conclude a certaine peace betweene the two Kingdomes, she ought to oblige her selfe, to confirme the Treatie of *Edenborrough*, and disclaime

Treaty with the Queene of Scotland.

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the title and right which shee pretended to *England*, so long as ELIZABETH, or any issue of her body should liue. Not to renew or entertaine any alliance with any Prince whatsoeuer, against *England*; Not to admit any forreine troupes into *Scotland*, nor hold any Councell with the *English* or *Irish*, without notice first giuen to ELIZABETH; To send backe the *English* Fugitiues and Rebels, to satisfie the dammages done vpon the Frontiers; To make search, according to the Law, of the Murder aswell of *Darley* her Husband, as of *Murray*, and deliuer her Sonne into *England* for a pledge; Not to contract her selfe in marriage with any *English* man, without acquainting the Queene of *England*, nor with any other, contrary to the Ordinances of *Scotland*; That the *Scots* might not goe for *Ireland*, without leaue of the Queene of *England*; That for the performance of these things, the Queene, and the Commissioners appointed for the same, shall thereto set their hands and Seales; Six Hostages, whom the Queene of *England* would nominate, should be sent into *England*; That if the Queene of *Scotland*, or any other by her procurement, attempted any thing against her, she should in that respect alone, be cut off from all right which shee might claime in *England*; That the Castles of *Hume*, and *Fast-Castle*, were held from the *English* for three yeeres space; That shee should deliuer into their hands certaine Forts in the Countrey of *Galloway*, or *Cantire*, to the end that the Borderers on that coast might not inuade *Ireland*: And lastly, that the State of *Scotland* should confirme al these things by Act of Parliament.

Sussex chosen a Priuy Counsellor.

Treaty with the Queene of Scotland.

To these things, her selfe suddenly with great dexteritie and wisdome, made answere: neuertheless referred it to be answered more fully by the Bishop of *Rosse* her Ambassadour in *England*, *Alexander Gordon*, Bishop of *Galloway*, and to the Baron *Leuinstone*, deputed by Her, lieutenants of *Scotland*; who afterwards allowing some of these Articles,

ticles, and reiecting others, made answer, as here followeth:

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The Answer to the proposition of the English.

THat it was reasonable to confirme the Treatie of Edenborrough, *and renounce the title of* England, *during the life of* ELIZABETH; *but as concerning the ancient alliance of* France, *it was to be considered, that if they did not intertaine that still, the* Queene *should lose her dowrie, the* 100. *armed Men, and the* 124. *Souldiers of the Scottish Guard, being Archers, the Merchants, Schollers, and many who are to haue inheritance, their pensions and immunities which they enioy, shall be cast out, and depriued of them, and of the loue and assistance of a most puissant Nation: which things, if the English did not amply satisfie, the* Queene *of Scotland could in no manner renounce this alliance. But that shee would not entertaine any forraigne souldiers, vnlesse such rebellion might happen, which could not be suppressed by the strength of the Countrey. That she would haue no intelligence, or keepe correspondancie with any of the* English, *to the preiudice of* England, *prouided that the Q. of* England *on the other side intertayned none with the Scots, to the preiudice of* Scotland. *That if there were any English Rebels, and Fugitiues in Scotland, they might demand them of the Scottish Rebels who were for the more part neere as they, to examine by deputies the dammages which they had receiued, and make inquiry, according to the Lawes of* Scotland, *of the death of* Darley *and* Murray. *That shee could not deliuer the King in pledge, in regard hee was in their custodie, who vnder his name coloured the Rebellion against the Queene. That it was a strange innouation, that a free Princesse should receiue Lawes from a stranger-Prince, or his Subiects, for her marriage. That the Scots should*

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not passe into Ireland, *to any preiudice of the Queene of* England, *prouided that the* Irish *were by a reciprocall Law obliged not to passe into* Scotland. *Agreed for confirmation of the securitie, to giue such pledges as the Queene of* England *should nominate, the Duke of* Chastelraut, *and the Earles of* Huntley, Argathell, *and of* Athole *excepted. Furthermore, it shall be in their power to exclude the Queene of* Scots *from all right of Succession in* England, *if shee should goe about to doe any thing contrary to the right and authoritie of the Queene of* England, *so that the Queene of* England *would be bound in the like penaltie, if shee should doe any thing against the power and priuiledge of the Queene of* Scotland. *They demand that restitution be made of* Castle-Hume, *and* Fast-Castle, *to the* Baron *of* Hume, *being the Lord to whom by right they appertaine, and the* English *to hold them no longer. To deliuer vp the Forts in* Galloway *and* Cantire, *were to no other end, but to minister a new occasion of warre.*

They cannot agree.

When these things could in no wise bee agreed vpon, neither any Commissioners came from the Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, in the meane while it was divulged all abroad, that the Pope, the King of *France*, and the Duke *D'Alua*, was importunately sought vnto for ayde, to set the Queene of *Scotland* at libertie; and the *English* Rebels, the Earle of *Westmerland*, and the Countesse of *Northumberland*, and others (whom the Pope had supplyed with 12. thousand Crownes by the Bishop of *Rosse*) were come backe out of *Scotland*; It is cleare that this Treaty brought forth nothing: but that ELIZABETH, (euen as one chosen by consent to sit at the Sterne of all *Great-Brittaine*, commands by her owne authority, that the Assembly of the States of *Scotland* should be prorogued, and Truce often talked

talked of. The Commanders doe grieuously vexe and torment all parts of *Scotland*.

1570. *The Bishop of Rosse requires helpe to free the Queene of Scots.*

Rosse sends the Articles of this Treaty to the Pope, to *France*, and to *Spaine*, and certified that the Queene must necessarily consent vnto them, vnlesse their succour and counsell came in time to relieue her, which he vehemently craued, but in vaine. For indeed their heads were possessed with other affaires; *Spaine* was preparing to marry *Anne* of *Austria*, daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperour, his Niece by the sister-side, who at the same time departed from *Zealand*, to goe for *Spaine*. To whom, ELIZABETH, for a chiefe testification of honour and loue to the House of *Austria*, sent *Charles Howard* with a warlike fleete, and choyce Nobilitie, to conduct her thither through the English Sea.

The twelfth yeere of ELIZABETHS reigne beeing now happily finished, in which the Papists expected, according to the prediction of their Diuines, the euent of a golden day, as they said; all good people were ioyfull, and happy, and with a delightfull ioy began to celebrate the seuenteenth day of Nouember, (being the day of her comming to the Crowne) with Prayers and Thankes-giuing, which were performed in the Churches, vowes were multiplied, ringing of Bells, Carrolls, Turneyes, and publique solemne ioy euery-where. And this hath continued euer sithence she liued, in testimony of the loue and obedience that her Subiects did beare her.

The death of the Earle of Cumberland.

In the middest of these things, dyed *H. Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*, the Second of the name, *Henries* Sonne, whom HENRY the Eighth had raysed to the honour of an Earle, in the yeere 1525. being otherwise of a very noble and ancient House, and hauing gotten a great increase of honour by marriages, which he contracted with the heires of *Vesciores* and *Viponts* or *Vieux-ponts*, who had beene anciently hereditary Vicounts of *Westmerland*, who by his first Wife begot

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begot *Eleanor*, the second daughter of *C. Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Mary*, Sister to HENRY the Eighth, *Margaret*, who was married to *Henrie* the Earle of *Darbies* Son, of much hope, and with great pompe, beeing the onely heire of that House. But hauing by his second Wife, *Anne Dacrey*, two Sonnes, who were successiuely heires to their fathers honour, this hope vanished.

The death of Throgmorton.

There dyed also *N. Throgmorton*, of whom I haue often spoken, the fourth Son of *G. Throgmorton*, the Golden Knight, and of *Katherine*, daughter of *N. Baron* of *Vaux*; a man of great experience, of solid iudgement, and of a singular dexteritie of spirit, who, stirring many things vnder the reigne of MARY, with great difficultie, by his prudence and eloquence, saued his life: afterwards vnder ELIZABETH, hee was imployed in many Ambassies, wherein he got much honour, vntill, for the gaining of the Earle of *Leicesters* fauour, hee opposed *Cecill*, who was his Emulator, for thereby hee could attaine but to very small meanes, and triuiall preferments, as chiefe Butler of *England*, and Treasurer of the Queens Chamber. Being at Supper in the Earle of *Leicesters* House, and eating sallads, hee was suddenly taken with an inflammation of the Liuer, as some haue affirmed, or with a Catarre, as others say, and not without iealousie of being poysoned, whereof hee dyed in a good time, both for himselfe and his, being then in great danger both of losing his life and goods, beeing a man of a stirring and working spirit.

Rebellion in Ireland quenched before they kiu the day.

In *Ireland*, *Connogher*, *O-Brien*, Earle of *Twomond*, not able to endure *Edward Fitton*, Gouernour of *Connaught*, who began to gouerne the Prouince something more seuerely, and to take away from the great Ones, and chiefe of the Countrey, all hope of polling the Subiects of *Ireland*, had secretly plotted Rebellion with others, but it was preuented by a happy chance. For, hauing appointed the day to take armes, comes in *Fitton*, who knew nothing, and courteously

courteously aduertised the Earle, that he would lodge the morrow following with him, with certaine of his friends. The Earles conscience accusing him, and beeing possest with a strange feare, (an ill signe in doubtfull things) thinking that he was now discouered, and that the Gouernour came to him rather like an enemy then a guest, retired himselfe forth-with into *France*, leauing them all in doubt what was become of him. The Conspirators, fearing that he was gone into *England* to discouer the plot, continued in obedience, whereof he vnderstanding, shewed himselfe wise at last, and hauing confest all the busines to *Norris*, then Ambassadour in *France*, imployed him to mediate Queene ELIZABETHS fauour, with whom he found such Grace, that he was restored againe to his Estate.

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Stukeley flieth out of Ireland.

But *Stukeley*, an Englishman, a riotous Prodigall, and vaine-glorious fellow, who after he had consumed all his estate, retired into *Ireland*, hauing lost all hope of getting the Marshall-ship of *Wexford*, and perceiuing himselfe to be despised of euery one, and being vnable to raise any commotion, after belching vp most vnworthy reproches of his Princesse, who had done him many fauours, slipped ouer into *Italie*, to Pope *Pius* the fifth, and by his flattering tongue, insinuated beyond all credit into the fauour of this pernicious old man, who breathed out the ruine of Queene ELIZABETH, making great brags, and promising that with three thousand *Italians*, he would driue all the *English* out of *Ireland*, and burne the *English* Fleet; which he afterward villainously attempted, but to his owne ruine, as hereafter we will shew.

THE FOVRETEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1571.

IN the first moneth of the yeere, Queene ELIZABETH entring into *London* in Royall State, visited that faire Cloister called the *Bourse*, which *T. Gresham*, Knight, a Citizen, and a Marchant Royall of *London*, had caused to be built for the vse of Marchants, and by the voice of a Cryer, and with sound of Trumpets in dedicating thereof, named it

The Royall Exchange.

The royall Exchange.

A few dayes after, howsoeuer She were very sparing in the disposing of Honours, hauing made in twelue yeeres space, not aboue foure Barons, she solemnly graced *William Cecill* with the Title of Baron of *Burghley*, hauing on Barons Robes, and with these formall words,

The creation of Baron Burghley.

As

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The manner of creating Barons.

As well in regard of the long seruice which he hath done in the time of our Progenitors, the Kings of England, *as also for the faithfull and agreeable obedience, which he hath alwaies and in diuers waies testified vnto vs from the beginning of our Raigne, not ceasing dayly, not onely in our great and waighty affaires to afford vs counsell, but generally in all designes concerning the Kingdome; as also in respect of his vigilancy, valour, prudence, dexterity, integrity of life, fore-knowledge, care, and fidelity: out of our speciall fauour, certaine testimony, and meere motion, we haue created, establisht, and raised him to the state, dignity, and honour of Baron* Burghley, *and haue imposed vpon him, and giuen and granted vnto him the name, stile, and title of Baron of* Burghley, *to haue and to hold the same forever, to him and the heires males which shall be borne from his body.*

Of whom I haue already freely spoken, and will againe make mention, as well as of others whom shee hath raised to the state of Barons, because it is amongst the most ample degrees of Honour. For the Barons of the Parliaments of *England*, are borne Peeres, and great Councellors of the Kingdome, and enioy diuers immunities and Priuiledges, which are not to be mentioned in this place, but I haue noted else-where.

Letters from the Pope to the Queene of Scotland.

A little after, *Ridolph*, a *Florentine*, who had vsed trading for fifteene yeeres space in *London*, deliuered secretly vnto the Queene of *Scotland*, Letters from the Pope, importing promises to imploy himselfe for the aduancement of the Catholique Religion, and Himselfe willed her to giue credit in all things to *Ridolph*, and to learne from him, who was then going for *Italy*, what meanes might be best for the re-establishing of the Catholique Religion, and appeasing of the mischiefs in *England*. *Ridolph* also sollicited the

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Queene, by the seuerall Letters which he wrote vnto her, to aduise hereupon with the Duke of *Norfolke* & his friends, and to recommend it to them. But shee deferred the returne of any answer, vntill she might perceiue how the Treaty which was already begun, would take effect, notwithstanding the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and the Duke of *Alua* had written to her to the same purpose. For the Earle of *Morton*, *Petcarne*, Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *I. Macgill*, were come to treat about the affaires of *Scotland*, in the Kings name, and hauing receiued command from Queene ELIZABETH, more cleerely to vnfold the causes of the Queenes deposing, and to proue them to be iust, exhibited a prolix Cõmentarie, by which, with an insolent freedome, and vehemencie of words, they strained themselues to proue by ancient and moderne examples, searcht out of all places, that according to the ancient right of *Scotland*, the people of *Scotland* were vnder the King, and that by the authority of *Caluin*, the Magistrates were appointed to bridle their vnruliе appetites, and had authority to punish wicked Kings by imprisonment, & depose them from their Kingdomes; and vaine-gloriously boasted to haue shewed the Queen courtesie, in permitting her to substitute her Sonne in her place, and appoint him Tutors. That it was not in respect of her innocency, that shee subsisted, but out of the mercy of her people, with diuers other things, which factious spirits are accustomed to alledge against Royall Maiesty. Queene ELIZABETH not able with any patience to read this, secretly condemned it, as iniurious to Kings; and as for the Deputies, she answered them, that she could not yet perceiue any iust cause why they should so vexe and trouble their Queen, and therfore wisht that they would rather seeke out some meanes to quench the discord in *Scotland*.

Edict of the Scots against the authority Royall.

Condemned by the Queene England.

In the prosecution whereof, it was propounded in the house of *Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, to the Bishops

shops of *Rosse* and *Galloway*, and to Baron *Leniston*, Deputies for the Queene of *Scotland*, that for the safety of the Kingdome and Queene of *England*, and the Nobles of *Scotland* who were of the Kings part, that the Duke of *Chastelraut*, the Earles of *Huntley* and *Argathell*, of *Hume*, of *Serit*, and another Baron ought to be giuen in pledge, and the Castles of *Dunbriton*, and *Hume* deliuered for three yeeres vnto the *English*, before the Queene could be set at liberty. To which they answered,

The demãds of the English for the freedome of the Qu. of Scotland.

THat it need not be doubted, that the Queene of Scotland, *who had voluntarily put herselfe vnder the Protection and guard of the Queene of* England, *would willingly giue contentment in any thing which might conueniently be done. But to deliuer such great persons in pledge, with such Forts, were nothing lesse then in depriuing a miserable Queene of the helpe of her faithfullest friends, and her strongest places of defence, to be exposed as a prey vnto her aduersaries.*

But they offered to giue in pledge the two said Earles, and two Barons: And as for the Forts, they said, that according to their Couenants with France, they could not giue them to the *English*, that they could not grant them also to the *French*. *But*, said Bacon, *the whole Kingdome of* Scotland, *the Prince, the Peeres, and the Forts, are not sufficient security for the Queene, and the most flourishing Kingdome of* England: *and therefore, what security soeuer the Scots might propose, the Queene of* Scotland *ought not to be set at liberty.*

The English refuse the offers of the Scots.

Hereupon the *Scots* forthwith began to coniecture, and spake openly, that now they fully perceiued, that the *English* had resolued to hold their Queene perpetually in *England*, and by the same meanes interrupt the Treaty, sithence they stood so stiffly in demanding such security, as *Scotland* could

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could not any maner of way performe. Howsoeuer, the other Councellours of *England* protested to desire nothing more then the freedome of the Queene of *Scotland*, prouided, that they gaue good and sufficient security; and in this nature they treated hereupon, and to haue the King, with *Morton* and his Companions. Who plainely answered, that they had no power nor authority to treat, whether they ought to receiue the Queene into Scotland, or deliuer the King. But her Deputies reiected such flying off, as friuolous, iudging that *those who were the authors of deposing her, had power sufficient to free her, without asking the other Conspirators, sithence the fault of one, equally polluteth all the Confederates. As for the Prince, who was yet scarce fiue yeeres of age, he could gine no power at all. And as for the Vice-Roy, that he had left all his affaires to the pleasure of Queene* ELIZABETH: *They prayed them, either to bring in the others who were sworne, into consultation, or to proceed without them vpon equall conditions.*

Alteration among the Scots.

But Queene ELIZABETH knowing well, that they could conclude of nothing for her security, or for the King and Queen of *Scotland*, if th'one and th'other consented not, thought it reasonable, that the States of *Scotland*, who ought forth-with to assemble, should make choice of certaine men, who might labour the mediation of the peace. Whereupon the Bishop of *Rosse* and his Colleagues openly complayned, that certaine Councellors of *England* had abused the vnderstanding of their Queene, and the patience of the Queene of *Scotland*, deceiued the Stranger Princes, and soothed the *Scots* with a preiudiciall hope; the Queene of *Scotland* her selfe being full of indignation and griefe, to see such delayes, called home the Bishop of *Galloway*, & Count *Leuiston*, & notwithstanding that Qu. ELIZABETH had commanded the Bishop of *Rosse*, to depart from *London*, she countermanded him to continue still there, which was not without ielousie to those who were

Complaints of the Scots against the English.

were of her part in *Scotland*, who determined to take vp Armes, and giue no more credit to those hurtfull truces, and assembles.

For whilest they treated of these things in *England*, they receiued great dammages in the punishments of many; and murdering of others, the taking of *Dunbrittō*, situated neere *Glotte* or *Cluide*, vpon an arme of the sea, beeing the strongest and best fortified Castle in all *Scotland*: *I. Hamilton*, Arch-bishop of S. *Andrews*, brother to the Duke of *Chastelraut*, was hanged, as a confederate of murdering the King, without being brought, according to the custome of the Countrey, to Iudgement, onely vpon the testimony of a priest, who iustified, that vpon taking confession of the assassinates of the King, he heard them say that he was of the confederacie.

The Queene being prisoner, could no longer harbour in her heart what shee had a long time concealed, perceiuing herselfe out of all hope, plunged in a deepe sorrow, that of all her seruants they had left her but onely 10. and a priest, to doe her seruice, and that all meanes both for her health and liberty (being euer most charitable) seemed to bee taken away. She sent thereupon secretly vnto the Duke of *Norfolke* a forme of her dessignes, which shee had written long before, and certaine amorous Letters, written in a particular Character only betweene them two, with other Letters, to perswade him still to rely vpon the Pope and the *Spaniard*, by *Ridolph*, whom shee recommended vnto him, as one most affectionate to his seruice, and very necessary to be employed in his Affaires.

A remembrance sent from the Q. of Scotland to the Duke of Norfolke.

But *Higford*, the Dukes Secretary, who copied out this remembrance, and those Letters in the vsuall Character, being commanded to throw them into the fire, hid them secretly vnder the mats in the Dukes Chamber, for some further Dessigne, as it seemeth. This *Ridolph* being one day in the Dukes presence, spake, and made *Barker* often iterate the same.

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THat he had obserued, that there was as well among the Nobles as meaner sort in England, *three sorts who studied nouelties; some were such as had flourished vnder the authority of* MARIE, *and were then but few in number; others, who beeing zealous of the Romane Religion, fretted that they were not permitted the free excercise thereof: others, who being transported with a new hope, grieued at their present fortune, who to enterprize any thing that would be propounded vnto them, wanted nothing but a Leader of some Noble Race, money, and forraigne assistance. That there could not be found one more illustrious, and capable in such respect, then the Duke, who had the generall fauour of the people, and that it stood with reason, that he should reuenge the iniuries done him, in that they had so long kept him prisoner, against the Lawes of the Countrie, and that they had not called him to the Assembly of Parliament, sithence hee had his place and voice, as beeing chiefe amongst all the Peeres, & Earle Marshall of the Kingdome of* England.

And with the greater efficacie to perswade him to these things, shewed him a Catalogue of the Nobles, who had deuoted both themselues and their fortunes to his seruice, if hee vndertooke this; assured him, that for forraigne helpe, the Pope would be at all the charges of the Warre, prouided that the Catholike Religion might bee aduanced, hauing to this end disbursed the yeere before a hundred thousand Crownes, when the *Bull* was publisht, of which he himselfe had distributed to the English Fugitiues 12000. promised, that the *Spaniard* (prouoked by the iniuries of the English) would send him for aide 4000. horse, and 6000. foot, which might very conueniently be brought in about the beginning of summer, at *Harwich*, a Port in *Essex*, at whose approch, the Duke had a great number of strong

strong ships; and without suspicion, because about the same instant, the Duke *Medinæ-Cœli* was to come into *Flanders* with a great Fleet. Concluded lastly, that this might be supposed to be a meanes to free the Duke from all suspicion of attempting the Kingdome, and to prouide for the safety of the Queene of *England*; prouided that she embraced, or at least-wise tolerated the *Romane* religion, and consented that the Queene of *Scotland* should marry the Duke.

The Duke conceiuing these things somewhat probable, gaue eare vnto him, but neuertheleise refused to subscribe the Letters of Credit, which were offered him by *Ridolph* being vpon departure, and would not harken to the counsel which the Bishop of *Rosse* suggested to him by *Barker*, after he had often reuolued it in his minde;

The counsell of the Bishop of Rosse.

To seize vpon the Queene on the suddaine, with a number of choise Gentlemen, & to disturbe the Parliament being then assembled. And that this might easily be done, considering the opportunity of times, since this Assembly afforded him so many Gentlemē at his deuotion, which could not be conuented in any other place without suspition. That he had iust cause to be mooued hereunto, in regard they had kept him so long prisoner, against the Lawes of the Countrey, and that they would not admit him to the Parliament, and that they had sought out most seuere Lawes against the Papists. And by pregnant examples, sithence Castriot *in* Italy, *and others in all Countreyes, hauing inopinately enterprized waighty affaires, haue happily succeeded in them. And if not long since, fiue Gentlemen of Scotland were able to breake off the Parliament, by which* Murray *was to be banished, and bring the Queene vnder their power; they might by the same meanes, and as easily, if they would lay hold of the occasion offered*

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vnto them) seyze vpon Qu. ELIZABETH, *accomplish the marriage of the Qu. of Scotland, and prouide in England for the Catholique Religion, without any great noyse or need of forreine assistance.*

The Duke, who of his naturall good inclination was far from offending, reiected this counsell from his heart, as most pernitious and dangerous. But now *H. Percy* offered the Bishop to imploy himselfe about the deliuerance of the Queene of *Scotland* from prison, prouided that *Grange*, and *Carre Farnihurst*, should receiue him at his entrance into *Scotland*, and that the Earle of *Northumberland*, (his Brother) who was prisoner, should be set free. Howsoeuer, being suspected, because of his great familiaritie with Baron *Burghley*, and for that hee so long deferred the enterprise, they gaue as little credit to this counsell, as to that of *Powels* of *Stanford*, one of the company of the Gentlemen of the Guard, and to that of *Owen*, one of the vassals of the Earle of *Arundell*, who should haue vndertaken this, but the Bishop of *Rosse* perceiuing they were vnable to effect it, being men of no note, hindered them. As for other businesses which were closely done in these passages, wee will omit, vntill the light discouer them.

The attempts of others.

A great Earthquake.

Whiles all these things were secretly handled in *London*, there happened a most feareful Earth-quake in the Easterne parts about the Countie of *Hereford*, neere the Towne of *Kinaston*. For, vpon the twelfth of March, about sixe of the clocke in the euening, the Earth opened, and a Mountaine with a Rocke vpon which it was situated, after a hideous noyse, and strange crash, that it was heard by the Neighbours a great wayes off, raised vp it selfe, as if it had wakened out of a profound sleepe, and forsaking his deepe bed below, mounted vp into an higher place, carrying with it the Trees which were rooted thereupon, the Shepheards Tents, and the Flockes of Sheepe feeding thereon. Some Trees were almost quite couered with Earth, as if they had

but

but newly taken root there. It left in the place from whence it departed, an ouerture of fortie foot wide, and 80. elles long: the whole field was twenty Akers or thereabouts. It ouerthrew a little Chappell neere vnto it, carryed from the East into the West, an Yew-tree which was planted in the Church-yard; and, with its violence, draue vp before it high-wayes, with Shepheards Caues, with Plants and Trees which were thereon. It made mountaines leuell, and arable grounds mountainous, as if then they had took their beginnings. And thus from Saturday at night, vntill Munday noone next following, it rested not, till at last, as if it were then tyred with the long way, and wearied with its weighty burthen.

A little before, there was celebrated in *France* at *Mesires sur Meuse*, the marriage betweene *Charles* the Fourth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austrich*, the Daughter of *Maximilian* the Emperour, with great and royall pompe. *Elizabeth*, to testifie her ioy with honour, according to the entyre affection shee bore vnto the Emperour, whom she honoured as her father, and to shew her loue vnto the King of *France* her Neighbour and Confederate, and for her owne honour, sent into *France T. Sackuil*, Baron of *Buckhurst*, who, according to his owne worth, and his Princes dignitie, was magnificently intertained. Hee was accompanied with *Guido Caulcancius*, a *Florentine*, a man of great experience, with whom the Queene-Mother of *France*, mannaging the affaires of her and her children, openly treated of a match betweene ELIZABETH, and *Henry* the Duke of *Anion* her Sonne, and gaue him withall certaine Articles to present vnto ELIZABETH: and after that, the King of *France* made earnest suit for his Brother by *Mauluoisie* his Ambassadour ordinary, *La Motte*, *F. Archant*, and *de Foix*, who bestowed a whole yeere in solliciting ELIZABETH, sometimes all together, and otherwhiles seuerally. This marriage did something for-

The Ambassage of Baron Buckhurst.

A proposition of a match betweene Elizabeth, and the Duke of Anion.

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tifie their hope, that the Romane Religion had taken no firme root in the Dukes heart, as well in respect of his tender yeeres, as being educated vnder *Carnalet*, who was much inclining to the Protestants Religion: the hopes which they had by little and little to win him to the profession of it, and the suppositions of the benefits which this marriage might bring to the reformed Religion: hee being a young Prince, and of a warlike disposition, might, by vniting the Forces of *Germany* and *England*, bring the refractory Papists to obedience, establish a perpetual league of peace betweene *England* and *France*, and interrupt the designes of the Queene of *Scotland*, the King of *Spaine*, the Pope, and the *Irish* Rebels, sithence hee might ioyne vnto the Crowne of *England*, the Dukedomes of *Anion*, *Burbonnions*, and *Auuergnia*, yeelding great Reuenues: And it appeared that hee might adde greater things hereunto. Lastly, if this match were refused, neuer would there be a more honourable match offered.

Articles of arriage.

After diuers debatings, the *French* propounded three Articles: the first of which concerned the crowning of the Duke: the second, the gouernement of the Kingdome ioyntly with Queene ELIZABETH: the third, the toleration of their Religion: To which, answer was made;

he Answer.

THat the Queene could not agree, without the consent of the State of the Kingdome, that hee should be crowned after the marriage was accomplished, but that she would willingly consent (if the States thought good) that vpon termes of marriage, he should be graced with the matrimoniall Crowne, (so She termed it) *without doing any preiudice to her Maiestie, nor to her Heires and Successors: And that she would not fayle to make him discerne a most ample honour when hee was once her Husband: As for the common gouernement, shee thought it not vnfit, to take*

for

for a Companion, and Coadiutor in a coniunct administration, him whom shee had honoured with the title of a King, and her Husband. And as for the toleration of the Religion which hee professt, that shee could not giue her consent thereto for certaine causes, which (as I haue collected them out of the Letters of Queene ELIZABETH, were these;) *That howsoeuer the externall reuerence of Religion might bee tolerated between the Subiects of the same Kingdome vnder diuers manners and formes, neuertheles, this strange forme, most repugnant of all, which should bee betweene the* Queene, *the head of her People, and her husband, seemed not onely dangerous, but of all most auerse and disagreeing.* That She desired the King of France, and the Queene, his Mother, *equally to weigh in euen Ballance, the perill which she should vnder-goe, and on the other side, the honour of the Duke of* Anion: *And that in tolerating his religion, she violated the Lawes establisht in her Kingdome, beget a dislaste in her good Subiects, & lightened the heart of the wicked, all which she verily should vndergoe for the honour of the Duke.*

But the *French-men* vrged, that if she liued without exercise of Religion, shee seemed to haue none at all, and that she would not for her Honour bee accounted an Atheist. She on the contrary replyed:

THat if she did but husbandize those seedes of pure Religion which were in him, and receiue increase thereof, he should see within a short time, that it would redound greatly to his Honour.

In the end they came so farre, that if the Duke would assist with the Queene in the celebration of Diuine Seruice,

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and not refuse to heare and learne the Doctrine of the Protestants; She would condiscend, that neither hee nor his people should be constrained to vse the Ceremonies and Fashions accustomed in the *English* Church, nor molested if they vsed other Ceremonies, not vtterly repugnant to the Word of God, prouided that they vsed them in priuate places, and that they ministred no occasion to the *English* of violating their Lawes establishr. *De Foix*, vpon these words, *To the Word of God*, paused a little. Queene ELIZABETH, to giue them content, commanded that in stead of those words, they should put in, *To the Church of GOD*; but the one pleasing no more then the other, he desired that *To the Catholike Church* might be put in. Queen ELIZABETH would no way assent thereunto: and hereupon this matter began to waxe colder by little and little.

To what end this marriage was proposed.

Some are perswaded, that this Match was not seriously vndertooke by the King of *France*, and the Queene, his Mother, but onely to the end that the remembrance of a match contracted with a Protestant Princesse, might bee a testimonie vnto the Protestants, of their sincere meaning vnto them, and to preuent the match which they suspected to be treated of with the King of *Nauar*, whom the King of *France* would haue married to his Sister. The like opinion was of Queene ELIZABETH in *England*, and that shee had not treated of this marriage, but to cause the King of *France*, his Mother, and Brothers, to shew themselues more fauourable to the Protestants in *France*, breake off the hopes of the Queene of Scotland, and the plots which the *Spaniard* and the *Irish* practised against *England*, by the negotiation of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and to auoid the Thunderbolts of the Pope, by the interposition of the *French*: For about this time, the Earle of *Leicester*, who saw more cleerely into the deepest thoughts of Queene ELIZABETH then any other, wrote vnto *Walsingham*, Ambassadour in *France*,

That

THat the Queene had a desire to marry, but that she was not very hot vpon it; and that she was of opinion, that it was more necessary then her desire was to effect it: & moreouer, that when the Duke of Aniou *went from the Article concerning the toleration of Religion, which Queen* ELIZABETH *would with such caution haue bound him to, that he no longer persisted in his suite.*

They hasten the mariage of the Qu. of Scotland.

As the *French* tooke care and paine to make vp this Match, certaine of the *English* laboured no lesse, to aduance that betweene the Queene of *Scotland* and the Duke of *Norfolke*, which through their wicked counsels they had againe reuiued, contrary to his promise, which first of all was discouered by these meanes.

Ridolph the *Florentine*, who we told you was sent vnto forraigne Nations, about the affaires of the Queene of *Scotland*, had declared vnto *Charles Bayliffe*, a *Flemming*, one of his houshold seruants, all that he had laboured with the Duke of *Alua*, and put into his hands a packet of Letters, written in counterfait Characters to her, to the Ambassadour of *Spaine*, to the Duke of *Norfolke*, to the Bishop of *Rosse*, and to Baron *Lumley*, which hee carried with him, notwithstanding the Bishop commanded him to leaue it with the Gouernour of *Callais* to keepe. But hee had no sooner landed at *Douer*, but hee was apprehended and imprisoned, and the Packet sent to the Lord *Cobham*, Gouernour of the Cinque Ports: The Bishop, who first of all knew it, wrought so quickly and craftily with *Cobham*, who was partly of counsell in the dessignes of the Duke, that he deliuered him this Packet, and another in stead thereof was sent to the Queenes Councell, wherein were old-dated Letters, tending to small purposes, and aduertised *Bayliffe* thereof, who being brought into question, neuertheleſſe confessed something of what had past, and

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and amongst the rest, that this Packet had past through the Bishops hands, who beeing aduertised thereof, forthwith sent away *Cuthert* his Secretary, to disperse amongst his friends the counterfait Characters, and all that might doe hurt; so as when *Sussex*, *Burghley*, *Mildmay*, and *Sadler* came to search his house, they could finde nothing at all, nor get any thing out of him by examination, he standing vpon it, that an Ambassadour ought not to giue an account of his dealings to any but his Prince. He was notwithstanding committed for two daies after to the Bishop of *Ely*, and a little while after that, carried to the Isle of *Ely*: *Stanley* and *Gerard*, Knights, and *Rolston*, of whom I haue spoken, were clapt vp in the Tower of *London*, and *Howard*, who aspired to the Arch-bishoprike of *Yorke*, was deliuered vpon suspicion to the custody of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

The Bishop of Rosse and others committed.

The Queene of *Scots*, hauing about this time sent a certaine summe of money to the Ambassadour of *France*, to be conueyed to those that were of her partie in *Scotland*, the Ambassadour deliuered it to *Barker* and *Higford*, who aduising with the Duke, put it into the hands of one *Browne* of the Towne of *Shrewsburie*, a seruant to the Duke, to be deliuered in *Scotland* to Baron *Heris*, by *Banister* and *Lowder*; *Browne* beeing a crafty fellow, perceiuing by the weight, that in stead of Siluer they, had giuen him Gold, deliuered it ouer to the Councell of State. Hereby the wiser sort began to obserue, that the Duke had already begun to trespasse against her Maiesty, in lending ayde to *Heris*, and to the *Scots* her professed enemies, who had forraged the Frontier Inhabitants of *England*. And hereupon *Higford* was committed to prison, who presently confessed all the businesse concerning the money, and shewed where the Letters and other writings were, and the secret Characters, and the remembrances and instructions of the Qu. of *Scotland*, of which I haue spoken, hidden vnder Mats and Tiles, importing,

Money sent into Scotland.

That

THat the French *approued of the intended meeting with the* Scots, *but that the Proposition of marriage of the Duke of* Aniou *with Queen* ELIZABETH, *was to no other end, but onely the better to colour the assistance performed to the Queene of* Scotland, *for her re-establishment. That they secretly preuented any contract with* Iohn *of* Austria, *but fauoured the other with the Duke of* Norfolke *very much, for the hatred they bore to the* Spaniard. *That the Duke of* Alua *did so farre disproue the Designe of sending the Queene backe into* Scotland, *that it would certainely be the ruine of her selfe, and of the Catholique Religion through all Great Brittaine; because, shee being returned, must of necessity, either hazzard the danger of beeing besieged, or try her fortune of the warres against the Rebels, who by the aide of the English, might easily bring her vnder their power, before such time that any Forraigne forces could arriue. That being then in no safety in* Scotland, *and no hope to be expected from* France, *so pestred with intestine warres, he thought it more expedient to procure ayde from the* Spaniard, *who had made an offer of marriage with* Iohn *of* Austria, *which notwithstanding she neuer intended, sithence she had promised, by meanes of the Duke of* Norfolke, *to re-establish the Romane Religion in* Great Britaine: *And moreouer, to send her Sonne out of* Scotland *into* Spaine, *where he might be safely preserued, and instructed from his Infancy in the Romane Religion, and by this meanes, all pretence taken from the Scots, who shaddowed their rebellion vnder colour of him: and lastly, for the effecting of these businesses, presently to dispatch away* Ridolph, *with caution, first, to conceale these things especially from the* French.

The Councell hauing receiued these instructi-

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ons, the Letters whereof I spake, and other dispatches from the Pope: and *Barker* who was surprized, hauing confest all these particulars, they commanded *Sadler*, with a Company of armed men, to goe vnto the Dukes house in *London*, which was then at *Charter-House*. Two dayes after, the Duke, who was altogether ignorant that those people had confessed any thing, and confident that those Letters and Remembrances were burned in the fire, beeing questioned, denyed all that they had confest: and therevpon was brought backe the seuenteenth day of *September*, by *Sadler*, *Smith*, *Neuill*, and *Wilson*, (to the great griefe of the people) vnto the Tower of *London*, from whence he was but the yeere before deliuered. Afterwards they imprisoned *Banister*, a Lawyer, whose counsell the Duke had taken and followed; after that, the Earles of *Arundell*, and *Southampton*, *Baron Lumley*, and *Cobham*, and *Thomas* his brother, *Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, and *Godier*, who all declared what they knew, in hope of pardon.

Assoone as the Councell had produced their Confessions in the Dukes presence, the Queene of *Scotland* and the Bishop of *Rosse*'s Letters, with the said Remembrance, hee was very much deiected, & considering this remembrance, and those Letters, which through a weake credulity he supposed to bee burned, he sighed, and brake out into these words;

> *I Haue beene betrayed and vndone by mine owne people, in fayling to distrust, which is the onely sinnewe of Wisedome.*

But he humbly besought the Councell to mediate the Queenes fauour in his behalfe, promising to conceale nothing of what he knew, and seriously protested, that he neuer approued of any thing, which was to the preiudice of the Qu. or Kingdome. But on the contrary, from the very

ry bottome of his heart, condemned the designe of seizing vpon the Queenes person, or the Towre of *London*, and the setting at liberty of the Queene of *Scotland*: and that hee neuer harboured a thought so much of bringing forraigne Troupes into *Great Brittaine*, but only to suppresse certaine of the *Scots*, rebelling against the Queen. Being this day examined vpon 50. Articles or thereabouts, hee answered without dissimulation. After that, they penned the substance of the whole businesse, in the *Star-Chamber*, before a great Assembly of Noble-men, in presence of the Lord Maior and Shiriffes of the Citie of *London*, & from thence, in the Palace of *London*, in view of all the inhabitants, by *G. Fleetwood*, Recorder of the Citie.

And forasmuch as by all these confessions, especially by the Dukes, the Bishop of *Rosse* was conuicted as Author of these Plots: they seriously consulted what was best to bee done: For (as they doe ordinarily that haue such charges) he conceiued, that it was lawfull for him to vse any meanes for the aduancement of the affaires of his Princesse; and that by the oath and inuiolable right of an Ambassadour, he was not bound to acknowledge the authority of any other: and relying hereupon, exposed himselfe to the liberty of diuers turbulent Actions, kindling of seditions, and taking counsell in the night with the Earle of *Southampton*, and afterwards inclining to the *English* Fugitiues in *Flanders*, the Duke of *Alua*, the *Spaniard*, and the Pope, about the inuasion of *England*. They proposed hereupon vnto *Lewes*, *Dale*, *Drury*, *Aubrey*, and *Iones*, men of sound iudgement in the Ciuill-Lawes. In the first place,

WHether an Ambassadour mouing sedition against the Prince vnto whom he is sent, may enioy the priuiledge of an Ambassadour, or not? and whether he be not subiect to punishment as an Enemy?

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To which they answered, that by the Common Lawe of Nations, and Ciuill-Law of the *Romanes*, such an Ambassadour was falne from all priuiledge, and was subiect to punishment, as an enemy.

WHether a Minister or Agent of a deposed Prince, another being crowned in his place, ought to haue the priuiledge of an Ambassadour?

They answered, that if such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his Minister cannot challenge the priuiledge of an Ambassadour, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, which haue soueraigne power, can constitute Ambassadours. In the third place,

WHether a Prince being come into another Kingdome, and kept in hold, may haue his Agent? and if this Agent ought to be accounted an Ambassadour, or not?

They answere, That a Prince may prohibit an Ambassadour to enter into his Kingdome, and command him out of his Kingdome, if he doth not containe himselfe within the limits prescribed to Ambassadours, but in the meane time he ought to enioy the priuiledge of an Ambassadour, for the authority of his Ambassie.

Vpon the answers of these Ciuill-Lawiers, the Bishop of *Rosse* being called backe from the Isle of *Ely*, and sharply reprooued, the Councell denounced him not to be acknowledged an Ambassadour, but to be punished as a pernicious Malefactor. To which he answered;

THat he beeing Ambassadour to an absolute Queene, vniustly deposed, had, according to his duty, laboured

red for the libertie of his Princesse, and for the good of both the Kingdomes: that hee was come into England with ample authoritie, vnder publique testimony, which hee exhibited, and that the sacred Rites of Ambassadours ought not by any meanes to be violated.

Whereupon, *Burghley* grauely shewes him, that neither the Rites of the Ambassies, nor publique Letters of Credit, are of validitie for Ambassadours which offend against the publique faith, but are subiect to penall actions, and that otherwise it should be permitted to wicked Ambassadours to attempt against the life of Princes, vnpunished. He on the contrary, opinatiuely maintained, that the authority of Ambassadours had neuer beene violated by way of Rite, but onely by way of fact (to vse his owne words) and boldly admonisheth them not to deale with him more sharpely then the *English* Ambassadours had beene dealt with, *Throgmorton* in *France*, *Randolph* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*, who had apparantly excited and nourished rebellions, and were acquitted vpon command to depart within a certaine time. They began to presse him vpon the witnesse of some English-men: he gently intreated them not to doe it, because (saith hee) that a receiued custome doth establish it selfe for a Law:

He declines from the English witnesses.

An Englishman ought not to beare witnesse against a Scottishman, nor a Scottishman against an Englishman.

After some arguings hereupon, whether such custome tooke place elsewhere then vpon the Frontiers of both the Kingdomes, and whether *English* Ambassadours had stirred Rebellion or no; *Rosse* is carried to the Tower of *London*, where being straitly kept, within a few dayes hee briefly made answere to all the interrogatories, with this caution, that his answeres might not be preiudicious to any. And first, he excused the Queene of *Scots*, (who being

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ing prisoner, and in the prime of her age) seeking to escape by any meanes, ELIZABETH hauing excluded all from seeing her, and barred her from all hope of libertie, and openly supported all her aduersaries: afterwards excuseth the Duke, that hee had not treated marriage with her, but by the aduice of many that were of Queen ELIZABETHS Councell, nor could he relinquish her, although he had vnder his owne hand-writing promised to doe it, forasmuch as before that promise, a former promise of marriage had passed betweene them: And finally, excuseth himselfe, that being Ambassadour and Minister, could not without blame leaue the duety of his charge, and be wanting to his Princesse in her afflictions, and that he had propounded the seyzing of the person of Queene ELIZABETH, to no other end, but to try whether the Duke had a minde prepared to doe a mischieuous act: and verily hee craftily extenuated the offences of the rest, and would neuer discouer the names of the Nobles which offered themselues to the Dukes seruice, for the seyzing of the Queenes person; onely confessed, that by the commandement of the Queene of *Scots*, he consulted with the Earles of *Arundel*, *Lumley*, and *Throgmorton*, and by *Lumley*, and the Vicount of *Mountague*, because that he was to deliuer into the hands of the *English*, the Castles which were in *Scotland*, the Hostages, and the King of *Scots*, to renounce the title to *England*, and the *English* Rebels. But for this matter, enough is spoken of this yeere; and the particularities of it, may be drawne from the Dukes confession, and the memoriall sent to the Queen of *Scots*, written by the Bishop of *Rosse's* own hand.

At the same time, *Mathew*, Earle of *Lenox*, Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, and great Grand-father to the King, hauing appoynted the assembly of States at *Sterlin*, and thinking to be safe there, was surprized by the Lords of the contrary faction, which met together by the Queenes authoritie

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at *Edenborrough*, and hauing yeelded himselfe to *Dauid Spencer*, who laboured very hard to protect him, was slaine with him by *Bell* and *Cauder*, after hauing with much trouble and paines ruled the Kingdome for the King his Nephew, the space of foureteene moneths, more or lesse: at what time *France* tooke the Queenes side, and Queen ELIZABETH the Kings, not so much to get their friends the victory, as to keepe them from being ouercome. Queen ELIZABETH hoped that the young King should haue beene deliuered into her hands, and the *French* thought that *Dunbriton* and *Edenborrough* should be giuen them: whereupon some *Scottish* Merchants were very much troubled, and traffique in *France* was denyed them, which drew a great partie to the Queenes side, in hope thereby to haue freedome of trade there againe. In *Lenox* his place, by the common consent of the people, *Iohn Areskin*, Earle of *Marre*, was elected Vice-Roy, a man of a calme spirit, and a great louer of his Countrie, who beeing no lesse afflicted with the turbulent counsels of his friends, then by the insultings of his aduersaries, for very griefe dyed, when hee had gouerned thirteene moneths.

Lenox Vice-Roy of Scotland is slain.

The Earle of Marre is elected Vice-Roy.

The iniquitie of these times, and the loue which the people of *England* bore to their Queene and Countrey, drew the States to *Westminster*, where they made a Law to preuent the plots of the seditious, by which it was ordayned by ancient authoritie:

Lawes against disturbers.

THat if any did attempt to ruine or hurt the Queene, to make warre, or excite others to doe it in any part of her dominions: or affirme that shee had no right to the Kingdome, but that it were more iustly due to another; or said, that shee was an Heretique, a Schismatique, or Infidell; that shee did vsurpe the right from another that was liuing; or that the Lawes and Statutes were not of power to define and

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tye the right of Succession, It should be Crimen læsæ Maiestatis. *If any one during the life of* Queene ELIZABETH, *should expresly affirme either by writing or Booke printed, that any one is or ought to bee the Queenes Heire or Successour, except the naturall Line which should proceede from her owne body; or that should publish, print, or sell Bookes written vpon this Subiect, he, and his maintainers, for the first time should suffer a whole yeeres imprisonment, and lose halfe their goods, but returning to the same offence againe, they incurred the penaltie of a* Præmunire; *which is, lose of all goods, and imprisonment during life.*

This seemed grieuous vnto some, which thought that the tranquillity of the Kingdome ought to be strengthened by the designation of an Heire, but it was beyond beliefe, what iests the maliciously-curious made of this clause, [*Naturally begotten of her body*,] because the Ciuill Law calls those Children naturall, which are borne out of marriage, and that nature onely, and not the honesty of wedlocke begot them: and the English Law, [*Legitimate*,] those that are lawfully begotten. And I remember being then young, to haue heard it spoken aloud, that this word was prest into this Law by *Leicester*, that some bastard-sonne of his should thrust in as one of neerest kinne to Queene ELIZABETH.

Lawes against Papists.

It was also ordained, that those who had by any Bull or writing from the Pope, reconciled any to the Church of *Rome*, should vndergoe the punishment of *Crimen læsæ Maiestatis*. Those who sustaine the Reconcilers or bringers into *England* of *Agnus Dei's*, *Graines*, *Crucifixes*, or any other things consecrated by the Pope of *Rome*, should lose all their goods, and indure perpetuall imprisonment: and those that shall conceale and not detect these Reconcilers,

lers, were holden guiltie of Misprision of Treason. Furthermore, those goods and lands, which were conuicted for Rebellion in the North, beeing in the possession of *Iames Pilkinton*, Bishop of *Durham*, who challenged Regall power betweene the Riuers of *Teise* and *Tyne*, were adiudged to the Queene and her Successours, because she had with great cost deliuered both the Bishop and the Bishopricke from Rebels, yet so, as that in time to come it shall not be preiudiciall to the Regall rite of that Church of *Durham*. It was also ordained, that to meete with the insolencies of such as were deuoted to the Pope, and despising the authority of the Lawes, and their obedience to their Princesse, who day by day with-drew themselues into forraine Countries, without the Queenes licence, (hoping in time with a great number, and to innouate something) they should returne within a certaine time, and make their submissions, and that the fraudulent conueyances which they had made, should be burnt. So much for the Papists.

On the other side, by wholsome Lawes they suppressed as well the couetousnesse of certaine of the Clergie, who, as if they had beene borne onely to themselues, with a notorious malice to their Successours, wasted the goods of the Church, and let out the Lands for many yeeres, as the impudencie of others, who, with a desire to innouate, opposed themselues to Articles of the Synod of *London*, for the abolishing of Schisme, in the yeere 1562. It was likewise againe propounded, that if the Queene of *Scots* should againe offend the Lawes of *England*, she might be proceeded against, as if she were a Peeres Wife of the Realme of *England*. But the Queene by her authority, hindered that from being made a Law.

In the beginning of *Iune*, the Parliament being ready to be dismissed, they sate vpon *Iohn Story*, a Doctor of Law, and Spie to the Duke of *Alua*, of whom I haue made

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mention in the yeere 1569. to know whether *Iohn Storie* being an English-man, should be found guilty *Læsæ Maiestatis*, for hauing conferred with a stranger-Prince in *Brabant*, for the inuading of his Countrey, and shewing the meanes to doe it. The learned'st sort in the Law did affirme, that hee might be accused *Læsæ Maiestatis*. Whereupon hee was called vnto iudgement, for hauing conspired against the life of his Princesse with one *Prestoll*, a man much addicted to magicke, and in giuing thankes at the Table, alwayes cursed her, and the King of *Scotland*, to the fiends of Hell, and demonstrated to the Duke of *Alua's* Secretary the meanes to inuade *England*, to make *Ireland* reuolt, and at the same time to bring the *Scots* into *England*. He refused to submit himselfe to be iudged by the Lawes of *England*, maintayning, that being a sworne Subiect not to Queene ELIZABETH, but to the King of *Spaine*, the Iudges of *England* had no power ouer him. But hee was condemned according to the forme of (*Nihil dicit*) because no man can free himselfe from the Lawes of the Countrey where he is borne, nor renounce his naturall Countrey nor his Prince, and suffered as a Traytor.

Iohn Storie condemned & dye.

There was then for certaine yeeres, controuersie betweene the *Portugals* and the *English*, during the commerce betweene them and the *Moores* for pure Gold, from the yeere 1552. in that part of *Africa* called *Guienne*, and others who had first discouered those Coasts, hindered as much as they could by force of armes, so as they fought sometimes by Sea, and detained Ships on both sides. But *Sebastian*, King of *Portugall*, being newly come to age, to make a peace, sent *Francis Gerard* into *England*, who made a Couenant with the Queene almost in these very words:

Differences appeased betweene the English and the Portugals. Guienne.

THat a perfect amitie may be made, and free commerce had on both sides, the one shall not attempt

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any thing to the preiudice of the other, nor lend succour to their enemies, Rebels, or Traytors; the Merchandize, Moneyes, and Ships, which are vnder arrest, to be restored. And Queene ELIZABETH, *to gratifie the King of* Portugal, *prohibiteth the* English *to vse any Nauigation in the Seas, or to the Lands which the* Portugals *had conquered. And that if they should doe otherwise, it should be vpon their owne perill, if the* Portugals *should deprive them both of goods and liues: The Kingdomes of* Portugal *and* Argarbe, *also the Iles of* Azores *and* Madera *excepted, in which, free Nauigation was permitted.*

This yere, *W. Parre*, Marquis of *Northampton*, being very old, peaceably departed this life, a man much conuersant and well read in the delectable studies of Musicke, and intertainement of Louers, and other courtly iucundities, who was first raised to the dignitie of Baron *Parre* of *Kendal*, afterwards he married *Anne Bourchier*, sole daughter & heire to the Earle of *Essex*, at the same time when the King married his sister; and afterwards by EDWARD made Marquis of *Northampton*; vnder the reigne of MARIE, hee was condemned of High-Treason, for taking armes on the behalfe of *Iane Grey*, who was brought in by subornation to be Queene, but was shortly after pardoned, and restored to his inheritance, as he was afterwards to his honours by Queene ELIZABETH. He had no Children, but left to be his heire, *Henrie Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his other Sisters Sonne.

The Marquis of Northampton dyes.

Iohn Iewell, a man of an excellent spirit and exquisit learning in Theologie, and of great pietie, died the same yeere, being hardly fiftie yeeres of age, descended of good Parents in *Deuonshire*, and commendably brought vp in *Corpus Christi* Colledge in the Vniuersitie of *Oxford*, who, in Queene MARIES reigne was banished into *Germanie*,

The death of Bishop Iewell.

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and afterwards by Queene ELIZABETH being made Bishop of *Salisburie*, put forth, in the yeere 1562. an *Apologie for the English Church*, and most learnedly defended the Protestants Religion against *Harding* who was falne from it, in two Volumes in our owne Tongue, which are now translated into the Latine.

Affaires of Ireland.

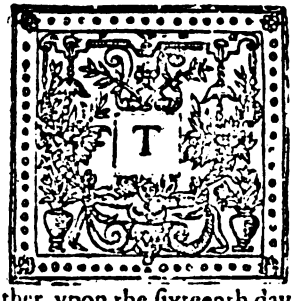
Ireland at that time was quiet enough: for *Iohn Perot*, President of *Mounster* had so ransacked *Iohn Fitz-Morris*, who had pillaged *Kilmalocke*, that hee was constrained to hide himselfe in Caues, and in the end, as wee shall relate hereafter, brought to begge pardon with humble submission. *Sidney*, Deputie of *Ireland*, returning into *England*, *Fitz-William*, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his place.

Williams Fitz-William Deputy of Ireland.

THE

THE FIFTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1572.



THe beginning of a new yeere, brought forth a new Tragicall spectacle to the Inhabitants of *London*; for in the Palace of *Westminster* a Scaffold was erected, from the one end to the other, with a Tribunall vpon it, and seates on either side, the like had not bin seene for eighteene yeeres before. Thither, vpon the sixteenth day of *Ianuary*, was *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, conducted betweene *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, and *Peter Carew*, Knight, before whom was borne the fatall Axe, with the edge forward; vpon the Tribunall was seated *George Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, constituted Lord high Steward of *England* for that day; vpon either side of him were placed the Nobles appointed Commissioners, which we call Peeres, to

Thomas, Duke of Norfolke is presented before the Nobles and Peeres, and arraigned in Westminster Hall.

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Peeres of the Kingdome.

to wit, *Reynold Gray*, Earle of *Kent*, *Tho. Ratcliffe*, Earle of *Sussex*, *Henry Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*, *Francis Russell*, Earle of *Bedford*, *Henry Herbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*, *Edw. Scimor*, Earle of *Hartford*, *Ambrose Dudley*, Earle of *Warwicke*, *Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leicester*, *Walt. Deuereux*, Vicount of *Hereford*, *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admirall, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Essingham*, Chamberlaine, *William Cecill*, Lord *Burghley*, Secretarie, *Arthur* Lord *Gray*, of *Wilton*, *Iea. Blount*, Lord *Mountioy*, *Will.* Lord *Sands*, *Tho.* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Bourrowes*, *Lewes* Lord *Mordaunt*, *Iohn Pawlet*, Lord *S. Iohn* of *Basing*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edm. Bruges*, Lord *Chandos*, *Oliuer* Lord *S. Iohn* of *Bletso*, *Tho. Sackuill*, Lord *Buckhurst*, and *Will. West*, Lord *De-la-Ware*.

The maner of his arraignement.

Silence being commanded, the Commission was read, importing the power giuen to the Iudge. Then *Carter*, chiefe King of Heralds, deliuered into his hands a white wand, which he presently after deliuered to the Groome Porter, who standing by, did hold it erected the whole time of the Court. Silence againe commanded, the Lieutenant of the Tower, was bidden to bring forth his charge, and present the Duke before the Seat of Iustice, who foorth-with appeared, on either side were the Lieutenants of the Tower, and *Peter Carew*, next of all, he that carried the Axe, the edge thereof turned from the Duke.

Silence the third time proclaimed, the Clerke appointed for the Acts of Iudgement, thus spake to the Duke,

> *Thomas, Duke of* Norfolke, *late of* Kenninghale, *in the County of* Norfolke, *hold vp thy hand.*

When he had holden vp his hand, the said Clerke read aloud the Crimes of which he was accused, that is to say, That in the eleuenth yeere of Queene ELIZABETH, and afterwards, the Duke hath treacherously held counsell to depose the Queene from her Kingdome, to take away her

her life, and to inuade the Realme by rayſing of warre, and bringing in troupes of Strangers. That notwithſtanding he had certaine knowledge, that *Mary*, late Queene of *Scots*, had arrogated to herſelfe the Crowne of *England*, with the Title and Armes thereof, yet hath he treated (vnknowne to the Queene) of a marriage betwixt them, and contrary to the promiſe vnder his hand and Seale, hath lent vnto her certaine large ſummes of money. That hee had aſſiſted and ſuccoured the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Marquenfield*, and others, notwithſtanding that hee had good notice, that they had raiſed Rebellion againſt the Queene, and were chaſed into *Scotland*. That in the thirteenth yeere of the Queenes Reigne, by Letters, he demanded ſuccours of the Pope, *Pius Quintus*, ſworne Enemy to the Queene, of the *Spaniard*, and Duke *D'Alua*, to ſet the Queene of *Scots* at liberty, and re-eſtabliſh the Romane religion in *England*. Finally, that hee had relieued and aided *Heris* a *Scottiſh-man*, and others, enemies to her Maieſtie in *Scotland*. Theſe Articles being read, the Clerke demanded of the D. if he were guilty of theſe accuſations.

Whereupon the Duke deſired (if the Law would permit it) that he might haue an Aduocate to defend his cauſe: to which *Catelin* the Chiefe Iuſtice anſwered, that it might not be allowed.

THen it is meet, ſaid he, *that I ſubmit to the ſentences of the Iudges; but the matter is full of ambiguities; neither did I know within theſe foure and twenty houres, that I was to come to Iudgement, and ſo was vnprepared of Bookes. I ſee now well that I muſt enter into combate for my life without Armes. I haue heard neuertheleſſe, that in the reigne of* HENRY *the ſeuenth, in a cauſe of* Læſæ Maieſtatis, Humphrey Stafford *had an aduocate aſſigned him.*

To which *Dier* Chiefe Iuſtice of the Common-Pleas, anſwered,

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The chiefe points of his accuſation.

The Duke demandeth an Aduocate to plead his cauſe.

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answered, that *Stafford* (indeed) had an Aduocate allowed him, to pleade for him concerning the right of *Azile*, from whence by force he was taken, but for the crime of *Læsæ Maiestatis*, without any assistance, hee pleaded his cause himselfe.

THen, this day (replyes the Duke) *must I my selfe plead for my life, goods, my Children, and for what counteruailes all these, mine Honour: but let that Honour passe; if I innocently perish, GOD will not let it passe vnrenenged. Yet this one thing let me be permitted to question; whether that enumeration of crimes will hold true in euery point, and to what point I must make answere?* Catelin made reply, Since the causes are true, this enumeration also must be esteemed true. *I desire to bee instructed* (saith the Duke) *whether euery of these bee crimes of* Læsæ Maiestatis? *For I haue heard related, that in the cause of the Lord* Scroope, *vnder the Reigne of* Henry *the* 4. But as he would haue proceeded, the Clerke interrupted him, speaking with a loud voice,

THomas, Duke of Norfolke, *art thou guilty of these crimes, or no?* The Duke denyed. Then he was further demanded, *How wilt thou be tried?* He answered, *I commit my cause to God and to these Peeres. The odiousnesse of these crimes amazeth mee, but the Royall clemency of her Maiestie, from which (besides what I haue receiued, I can expect no more) much refresheth me. But of you (my Lord Iudge) let me request thus much, that I may bee iustly dealt withall, and that my memory, which is indeede but weake, may not bee too much oppressed with a confused variety of matters. I confesse my selfe happy, hauing you my Peeres for Iudges, and with much willingnesse would*

would commit my life to the integrity of the most of you. I was assured in mine owne innocency, and therefore sought no way to fly. Yet I cannot but ingenuously confesse, that I haue beene wanting in my duty towards the Queene, but neuer did I any thing which might touch or offend so Royall a Maiestie. I beseech you then, that those higher matters may not bee commixt equally with those of Læsæ Maiestatis.

Then *Barham*, the Queenes Sericant at Law, began; Those Crimes (saith hee) of *Læsæ Maiestatis*, of which you thus expostulate, are these. You haue complotted to depriue the Queene both of Kingdome and life, you haue consulted of a marriage with the late Queene of *Scotland*, you haue inuited forraigne powers to inuade the Realme, you haue succoured Rebels, and haue sent ayde to those *Scots* which were the Queenes Enemies. The Duke interposeth, saying;

BArham, doe not (I pray you) exasperate the matter with words, in obiecting against me the marriage, and other things which fall not amongst the offences of high Treason.

Barham, turning to the Peeres, vrgeth this: He (quoth he) that will marry a wife that layeth claime to a Kingdome, doth likewise affect the same Kingdome. For the Duke had enterprized the same, being amongst the Commissioners at *Yorke*, appointed for the hearing of the Queen of *Scots* Cause, being at that time bound by his oath, equally to ballance the accusations and defences of either part.

The Duke replyeth,

There be diuers parts contained in that cause, which are not crimes of Læsæ Maiestatis.

But the Lord high Steward commanded the Duke not

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to stray so farre from the purpose by digressions: whereupon (*Barham* clamorously insisting) he acknowledged that the Queene of *Scots* had laid claime to the Crowne of *England*, but had long time since desisted. *Barham* on the contrary demonstrated, that shee had not as yet desisted, because she had not yet renounced the right which she pretended: hee furthermore grieuously accused the Duke, that he instructed the Deputies of the Queene of *Scots* what to answere, according as it appeared in the Confession of the Bishop of *Rosse*. The Duke confessed, that *Lidington* had made a motion to him of the marriage, but he refused the same, neither gaue he any instructions, but desired that *Rosse* might be produced in presence.

After this, *Barham* amply prosecuteth many things of the marriage, which haue beene spoken of, with an intent to prooue that the Duke had an affection to the Kingdome, and insisteth with often-repeated Interrogatories. What other thing could the Duke propound to himselfe, whilest (without the Queens knowledge) he determined to marry the Queene of *Scots*, being a woman without meanes or Kingdome (her Sonne being established in the Kingdome) then that by her he hoped to enioy the Crowne of *England*, and so consequently depriue the Queene both of rule and life?

The second Article of his accusation.

> *You haue* (quoth the Duke) *lowdly repeated these things, to connince me of enterprizing the deposing and ruine of the Queene.*

To come to the point (sayes *Barham*) it is sufficiently knowne, that you haue consulted about the surprizing of the Tower of *London*, which is the strongest place in the Realme, whereby it is necessarily manifest, that you had then plotted the ruine of the Queene, seeing that Rule is impatient of competitors. The Duke denieth not, hat one *Hopton* suggested him to the surprizing of the Tower of *London*,

London, but he vtterly reiected it. Why then (quoth *Barham*) did you aske counsell of the Earle of *Pembroke* concerning the same, who dissuaded you from it.

Barham proceedeth, and vrgeth, that when the Queene of *England* had demanded that the young King of *Scotland*, certaine Castles, and the rebellious *English* which were in *Scotland*, should be deliuered into her hands: The Duke had vnder-hand aduised the *Scots*, not to consent thereunto. He likewise accused him, that hee endeuoured to free the Queene of *Scots* out of prison; and that, after hee had religiously promised by his hand-writing, not to meddle with her in any kind of busines.

One *Candish* was then produced for a witnesse, who deposed, that the Duke had constantly resolued of the marriage, and had asked him, if (after the death of Queen ELIZABETH, he might draw his Vncle to his partie. These the Duke altogether denyed, reiecting his testimony, as of a poore and abiect fellow. After this it was demonstrated, that the Duke had secretly sent a Seruant to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, to aduertise them, not to stir in the Rebellion, because he thought it would be very dangerous. Letters also were brought in, which the Queene of *Scots* had written to the Duke, importing, that shee was much grieued that the Earle of *Northumberland* was apprehended before hee had taken vp Armes in the Rebellion: (For whether shee vnderstood this by report, or it was inuented of purpose, I cannot say.)

To this the Duke answered:

THat by these reasons it could not probably bee inferred, that hee had laboured the destruction of the Queene; neither was any thing that hath hitherto bin produced, of any moment against him, excepting the testimony of the Bishop of Rosse; *and that*

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also of him being a forreiner (by the authoritie of Bracton, *a man most expert in our Lawes) in no wise is to be admitted. That he neuer had* Northumberland *or* Westmerland *in such esteeme that hee would commit his life into their hands: and that his innocencie was such a sure rampire to him, that hee neuer meditated of any escape for himselfe.*

he third
rticle of
e accusa-
on.

Then *Gerard*, the Queenes Attourney, spake: It is more than sufficiently apparant, that the Duke would haue espoused the Queene of *Scots*, to destroy the Queene of *England*. The Letters which he hath writtē to the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and Duke *d'Alua*, doe iustifie that hee had a determination to inuade *England*. That which hee consulted of with *Ridolfe*, was now likewise openly knowne by the obscure Characters which were found hidden vnder the tiles in the house of the *Howards*, and by the Letters also (which he commanded to be burnt) but were found at the entry of his Chamber vnder the Matte. And all these things may easily bee proued by the interrogatories and answeres of them that haue not beene affrighted with torments, nor condemned to haue attempted ought against the State.

To which, the Duke replyed:

I *Haue not* (quoth hee) *beene eyther author or fauourer of the counsels and deliberations holden with the Pope or* Spaniard, *but to the contrary, I haue alwayes reproued and disallowed them. Those that haue offended, let them suffer, and not discharge them vpon me.*

Besides all this, *Gerard* accused the Duke, that hee had consulted with *Ridolfe* for the landing of tenne thousand men out of *Flanders* at *Harwich*, a Port in *Essex*: and this was iustified out of the examination of *Barker*. That Letters

ters were written by *Ridolfe* to the King of *Spaine*, and Duke *d'Alua*; to which, although the Duke subscribed not, yet by the counsell of *Rosse*, hee sent *Barker* his Secretary as Ambassadour, to auerre them to be the Dukes owne Letters.

The Duke of Norfolke contrary to the Romane Religion.

My memory (replyeth the Duke) *beginneth to falter, neither can it containe such an intricate varietie of matters: You other pleaders haue your notes and memorialls with you, but I must* ex tempore *answere to all mine accusers. But surely it is not probable, that I who haue alwayes beene contrary to the Roman Religion, should entertaine a treatie with the Pope. I had a great deale rather be torne in pieces with wilde Horses, than to depart from the Religion which I professe. Consider but the situation of* Harwich, *and it will easily annihilate the accusation. Who sees not how difficult a thing it is, to leade an Armie thorow that part of the Countrey, which is round inclosed with hedges, and most incommodious, by reason of the streight and narrow wayes and passages? Had I had a determination to rayse an army against my Princesse, without doubt I would not haue beene vnprouided of Armes: but I haue not for these tenne yeeres past, bought any more than eight Corslets; and for Gunpowder, not any at all. I neuer committed any Letters to the trust of* Barker, *but rather of* Banister, *that was to mee more than many* Barkers.

The Letters of the Bishop of Rosse, to the Qu. of Scots, are produced.

Then were the intercepted Letters of the Bishop of *Rosse*, which he writ in Prison to the Queene of *Scots* produced, by which, what things were before spoken, were confirmed. The Duke requested to see them, for it seemed that he suspected them to be supposed. But the Iudge answered, You need not call them in question, for they are

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The Dukes Letter to his seruant.

written with the Bishops owne hand. Besides these, a little Letter was brought forth, which the Duke had written in Okar to one of his Seruants, wherein hee commanded him to burne the packet which was hidden in a certaine place, and to turne the fault vpon the Bishop, who by the priuiledge of an Ambassadour, might delude the Law. To which, the Duke replyed in these words:

> *Being certified that it was diuulged abroad, that many had accused mee, I answered by this Letter, and seeing all things were so neerely searcht into, I commanded that packet should be burnt, because I would saue others from danger.*

The Letters of Ridolfe.

Of the Pope.

Bromley, the Queenes Sollicitor, presented the Letters of *Ridolfe*, wherein was conteined, that the Duke *d'Alua* had approued the designe: likewise the Letters of the Pope to the Duke, dated the fourth of the *Nones* of *May*. Then *Wilbraham* made a faire discourse, concerning what credit should be giuen to the testimonies of the Bishop, and of the Dukes seruants: whereto the Duke made answere:

> *Certes, it falls not vnder the power of my faculties, to frame a replication to such an elegant and polished Oration. Yet this Oratour, such and so great as he is, hath omitted to speake how great the violence of feare is, which oftentimes doth remoue a firme and well-composed minde out of its place and state. Againe, hee alledged* Bracton, *against the credit giuen to forreine witnesses.*

The testimony of Strangers.

But *Catelin* answered, that in such causes as this, the testimonies of Strangers were auaileable, and that it was in the power of the Peeres, eyther to giue or deny them credit.

Now

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The third Article of his accusation.

Now was that matter come to be proued, that the Duke had succoured the rebellious Fugitiues; which was found apparant by the Letters of the Countesse of *Northumberland*, in which shee gaue the Duke great thankes for the money wherewith he furnished her husband and her selfe. Finally, the last obiection of the relieuing of those *Scots* which were enemies to the Queene, was prooued by the Letters of the Duke to *Banister*, by *Banisters* confession, and by the Mony which was deliuered to *Browne* of *Shropshire*. Hereupon the Duke demanded of the Iudges, *Whether the Subiects of another Prince, confederate with the Queene, may be accounted enemies to the Queene?* *Catelin* answered, They might, and that the Queene of *England* might make warre with any Duke in *France*, and in the meane time, obserue a peace with the King of *France*.

But as the night began to approch, the Lord high Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any thing more to speake for himselfe. The Duke answered, *In the equitie of the Lawes, I repose my trust.* Then hee commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower, to retyre with the Duke awhile: after silence was proclaimed, turning to the Peeres, hee thus spake to them:

> *YOu haue heard, how* Thomas, *Duke of* Norfolke, *being accused of* Læsæ Maiestatis, *and not confessing himselfe guiltie, hath committed his cause to GOD, and to you. It is your part then, to consider amongst your selues, whether hee is to be holden guilty or no, and to giue vp your verdicts according to conscience and honour.*

The Peeres consult amongst themselues.

They likewise withdrawing themselues at his command, consulted together: after a while, they returned to their places. Then the Lord High Steward, beginning at the lowest, said, *Lord De la Ware, Is* Thomas, *Duke of* Norfolke,

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folke, *guiltie of the crimes of* Læsæ Maiestatis, *for which he is heere arraigned at the Iudgement-Seate?* *De-la-Ware*, rising vp, and laying his hand on his breſt, hee anſwered, *Guilty*; the like did euery one in order, being demanded. Then was the Duke againe brought before the Tribunall, to whom the Lord High-Steward in this manner ſpake:

THomas, Duke of Norfolke, you are heere arraigned for diuers crimes of Læsæ Maiestatis, *and haue ſubmitted your ſelfe to God and theſe Peeres, by euery one of whom you are pronounced guiltie. Is there now any cauſe why Iudgement ſhould not be pronounced?*

The Duke anſwered:

The will of GOD be done, that will be indge betweene mee and my falſe accuſers.

Then euery man being ſilent, the edge of the Axe was turned towards the Duke, and *Barham* in the Queenes name required the Lord High-Steward to pronounce his Iudgement, which hee, with teares in his eyes, according to the forme, pronounced in theſe words:

The Sentence pronounced againſt the Duke.

FOraſmuch as you Thomas, *Duke of Norfolke, beeing accuſed of the crimes of* Læsæ Maiestatis, *haue pleaded Not guiltie, and ſubmitted your ſelfe to the Iudgement of theſe Peeres, who declared you guiltie: The whole Aſſembly adiudged you to be committed back to the Tower, from thence to be drawne vpon a Sledde thorow the Citie, to the place of execution, there, to be hanged, and cut downe halfe dead, then to haue your Bowels taken out, your Head cut off, and your Body quartered into foure parts: whoſe Head ſhall be at her Maieſties diſpoſing, and at the Queenes pleaſure:*

pleasure: But GOD bee mercifull vnto your Soule.

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The Duke hauing heard this Sentence, with a minde full of courage, he said:

THis Sentence is pronounced against mee as a Traytor: my confidence is in GOD and the Queene, hoping that if I bee deprived of your company, I shall reioyce with them in Heauen, and so will prepare my selfe for my death. I desire no other thing, but that the Queene would shew her selfe propitious to my Children and Seruants, and bee carefull for the payment of my debts.

These were the particulars that passed in these affaires, which I haue here declared, because it is expedient for our posterity, that in great matters the lesse occurrences should be remembred.

A few dayes after, *Barney* and *Marter* were put to death, for hauing conspired against the death of certaine of her Maiesties Councell, and plotted the freedome and libertie of the Duke. One *Herle* was priuy thereunto, and of the same company: but hee soone reuealed the same, and as hee was brought face to face before *Barney*, *Truely* (said *Barney*) *thou hast preuented mee but of an houre: for if thou hadst not so soone discouered it, I purposed to haue done it, and so now should I be in thy place to accuse thee, and thou in mine to be hanged.* This conspiration and other plots which were practised to set the prisoners at liberty, was the cause that a Parliament was forthwith summoned. At which time, the Queene created *Walter d'Eureux*, Earle of *Essex*, for that by his great Grand-mother hee was descended from the *Bourchiers*, sometimes Earles of *Essex*. And *Edward*, *Lord Clinton*, who had large possessions in *Lincolnshire*, Earle of *Lincolne*. Her Maiestie likewise made

Barney and Marter are put to death.

Earles created.

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ons e-d.

ves esta-ed for better rity of Queene l her ngdome.

he Duke Norfolke ebeaded.

Iohn Pawlet of *Basing*, Sonne to the Lord Marquis of *Winchester*, *Henrie Compton*, *Henrie Cheyney*, and *Henrie Norrice*, Peeres of *England*, summoned them into the Vpper-House, there to haue their voyces, and after to beare the Title of Barons. Amongst other Acts, it was made Felony to intercept, ruinate, or burne any of her Maiesties Ships, Fortresses, or Harbours. *Item*, It was enacted, that whosoeuer should attempt to set at liberty any person or persons committed by her Maiesties expresse command, or which had trespassed against her Maiestie, or was held suspected to haue offended; if the partie were not indicted, he was to be punished with onely losse of goods in stead of life, and imprisonment during her Maiesties pleasure; if indicted, with death; if condemned, to be held guilty of treason. But as necessitie brought in Decrees for the time, so the States thought good they should be *temporary*, or during the Queenes life. But as new practices were daily discouered, so they serued to hasten on the Dukes punishment, which notwithstanding was yet deferred some fiue moneths more or lesse; nor before, could either the Lower-House of Parliament, the Lords of the Priuy-Councell, or the importunacy of Preachers, (aggrauating how great and eminent danger there was) ouercome her Maiesties mercifull clemency.

The fourth day of *Iune*, by eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Duke was brought to a Scaffold, built vpon the Tower-Hill; whereupon being mounted, and *Alexander Nowell*, Deane of Saint *Pauls*, (who was appointed his Comforter) had requested the confused People to be silent, he said, among many other words that I heard, these:

> *IT is not strange to see some suffer death in this place, although that since her Royall Maiestie began to reigne, I am the first, and I pray God I may be the last*; with that the People cried all aloud, *Amen*.

Then,

Then, continuing his Speech, he said;

I know well (said hee) *the Peeres of the Realme haue iustly iudged mee worthy to dye, nor haue I purpose to excuse my selfe. I haue treated, I freely confesse, in matters of great importance with the Queene of Scots, without the prinity of my Soueraigne, which I ought not to haue done, and for that I was first committed; and hauing had my liberties vpon my humble submission, I past my faithfull promise that I would neuer more conferre with her, yet I did, I confesse, which torments my Conscience, but I neither promised, nor swore* (as they say) *at the Lords Table. I went, and but once, to* Ridolfe, *but with no intent of conspiracie against her Maiestie: For it is well knowne, that I had great dealings with him vpon my accounts and reckonings. I found he enuied the present peace of the Land, and was very subtill in plotting proiects of mischiefe. Twice there came Letters to my hands from the Bishop of* Rome, *to which I neuer gaue consent, nor to the Rebellion in the North. I renounced Papistrie, after I tasted the sweete of Religion, and reiecting the Popes doctrine, I embraced the true Religion of Iesus Christ, beleeuing wholy and soly in his precious bloud, my Sauiour and Redeemer: yet I cannot deny, but many of my Family and familiars were addicted to the Romish Religion, wherein, if I haue offended GOD, the Church, and Protestants, I beseech him and them to forgiue mee.*

Then, after they had sung a *Psalme* or two, he said with a lowd voyce; *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.* Then, imbracing *Henry Ley*, hee whispered something in his Eare; and after, he spoke to the Deane of *Pauls*, who turning him to the people, said; *The Duke intreateth you all*

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His speech at the hour of his death

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to pray with him, that GOD would be mercifull to him; and that you would be silent, that his spirit be not disturbed. Hee forgaue his Executioner, asking him pardon, refusing to put the Napkin ouer his face, which he offered him, saying, *I feare not death.* Then kneeling downe, his heart lift vp to GOD on high, hee prostrated himselfe on the Scaffold, the Deane praying intentiuely with him; then, laying his necke ouer the Blocke, at one stroke his head was cut off, which the Executioner shewed: a lamentable spectacle to the people, most mournfully then shedding teares and sighing.

Duke of Norfolke's Death.

It is almost incredible how dearely the People loued him, and how by his naturall benignity, and courteous actions, (qualities well becomming so great a Prince) hee had gained the hearts of the Multitude: Diuers of the wiser sort (as they were affected) passed their censures diuersly, some from an apprehension they had of great feare and danger might haue ensued, had hee suruiued; others, commiserating the case of one so nobly borne, so gentle by nature, so comely of personage, of so manly an aspect, so compleat in all parts, to perish so pittyously one, who had not the subtill sleights of his Aduersaries, and the slippery hopes he had conceiued, vnder a colour of benefitting his Countrey and Common-wealth, diuerted from the first-begun course of his life, hee had beene the greatest honour and ornament of his Countrey. They called also to memory the luckless death and destiny of his late Father, who although vniuersally admired for Arts and Armes, had some fiue and twentie yeeres before this, lost his head in the same place, vpon sleight occasions, *to wit*, for hauing his Armes quartered with King *Edward* the Confessour, which we reade, the *Mowbrayes*, the Dukes of *Norfolke*, had borne, being giuen them by King *Richard* the Second, from which *Mowbrayes* he drew his petigree.

Whereupon, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, briefly

briefly to adde from what shop these Conspiracies were first forged, as *Hierome Catene* in his History of the life of *Pius* the fifth relateth. An Author, for his credit, made free Denison of *Rome*, and admitted Secretary to Cardinall *Alexandrine*, Nephew to *Pius* the fifth.

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Catenes relations of the precedent matters.

POpe Pius *the* 5. (saith he) *burning with a zealous desire to re-establish the Romane Religion, and having no other so conuenient a Messenger to bee his* Nuncio Apostolike, *imployed* Robert Ridolph, *Gentleman, of* Florence, *who comming into* England, *(vnder pretext of other businesse) indeuoured himselfe to nothing more, then to stir the hearts of the Queenes Subiects, to her destruction: wherein he dealt with such dexterity, that he brought not onely Papists, but also some Protestants to be of his faction: some, for a priuate malice they bore to those which aymed at the Kingdome; others, out of a desire of innouation. As these matters were working vnder-hand and couertly, there happened a debate betwixt the Spaniard and the Queene, for certaine moneys that had been intercepted, now in her possession. Hereupon the Pope tooke occasion to perswade the King of* Spaine, *to lend his helping hand to those which were combin'd Conspirators in* England, *against Qu.* ELIZA. *that so he might with the more facillity effect his affaires in the* Low-Countries, *and restore the Catholike Religion in* England. *In like maner dealt he with* France, *as if he were bound to assist his Kinswoman, the Queen of* Scotland, *and to pleasure the Scots, who to diuert the* English *from ayding the Protestants in* France, *had made incursions vpon the* English: *nor ought be any lesse to some great persons of the confederacy in* England, *who by their policy had so preuented, as that the Queene should not publikely send any ayde to the* Huguenots *of* France; *by reason whereof,*

Pope Pius the fifth incensed against Qu. Elizabeth.

How he imployed the English.

The King of Spaine.

The King of France.

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the King of France *promised his aide to set free the Qu. of* Scots, *but failed to performe. In the meane time,* Ridolph *so wrought, that he brought Norfolke to bee chiefe of the conspiracie, promising him marriage with the Queene of* Scots, *with her consent. The better also to effect this businesse, the Pope deposed the Queene of her Crowne and Kingdome, and absolued her Subiects of all Oath and Allegeance, by a Bull which hee caused to be published, whereof he sent copies printed, to* Ridolph, *to be dispersed through the Kingdome. Hereupon the Earles of* Northumberland *and* Westmerland *raised Armes in the North of* England *against the Queene; but money failing there, they speedily fled into* Scotland, *and the Duke of* Norfolke, *with others, were committed to prison; amongst which,* Ridolph *was one, who had receiued commandement from his Holinesse, to deliuer to the Confederate League an hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes, which hee could not doe, beeing now prisoner. But her Maiesty not looking so deepely (as concerned her) into the plot of the Conspiracie, set* Ridolph *and some others at liberty, and hauing distributed the foresaid moneys amongst the Confederates, was by them sent home againe to the Pope, to aduertise him, that now all things were in a readinesse for the dispatch of the Queen, and to procure with all speed the best supplies he might from the* Spaniard, *out of the* Low-Countries. *The Pope commended well this purpose, although indeed the Duke of* Norfolke *had formerly misliked the same, as a matter full of much difficulty, in a priuate conference hee had with* Ridolph *once vpon the way; and, vnder a colour of other matter, addrest himselfe to the Kings of* Spaine *&* Portugal, *to informe them thereof. He promiseth the Duke of* Norfolke, *by his Letters, to send him succour, mooueth with the King of* Spaine *to bee assistant, and to further the*

The King of Portugal.

The Duke of Alua opposeth.

Wherefore.

the matter the more, offereth to goe himselfe in person, and if neede were, to spend the goods of his See-Apostolike, Challices, holy Vestiments, and Crucifixes, assuring him, that he could and would easily effect the same, nor was there any difficultie to be doubted, would hee send ouer Chappin Vittel *with an Armie out of* Flanders *into* England, *which thing the Spaniard with all expedition commanded to be done, whilest the Pope prouided money. But the Duke* D'Alua, *enuying that* Vitel *should haue the honour of this seruice, sought to preferre his Sonne thereunto, fearing that the French should fall from them with their Forces, and doubting the Conquest of* England *might yeelde any profit to* Spaine, *or that the Pope was able to comply with them, for money sufficient for so great a designe. Notwithstanding, the King of* Spaine *gaue expresse command that he should inuade* England, *and to that end sent moneys by* Ridolph *into* Flanders. *But it pleased God, the matter was discouered to the Queene of* England *by some beyond seas, and the Duke of Norfolke apprehended, and iudged to death, which brought no lesse griefe to the Pope then to the King of* Spaine, *who said in the presence of Cardinall* Alexandrine, *his Nephew, That neuer was businesse more deliberately attempted, carried with more courage and constancy of the Confederates, nor lasted longer time vndiscouered by any of the couiurate-society, That their military Companies might in foure and twentie houres space, be put ouer out of* Flanders *into* England, *the Queene, and the City of* London *suddenly surprized, Religion restored, and the Queene of* Scotland *settled and crowned in her steade: All which were like to haue the better successe, for that* Thomas Stukeley, *an English Fugitiue, was then in readinesse with three thousand men, to bring* Ireland *in subiection to the King of* Spaine, *and with three Ships that*

A vaine successe,

Wherewith the Pope & the King of Spaine are vext and angry.

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that were Spies, set the English *Fleete on fire.*

Thus *H. Catene*, of which much was vnknowne till the yeere 1588. when he published a booke, printed at Rome, and priuiledged by *Sixtus* the Sixth. Now returne wee to the purpose, if we be digrest.

Scarce ten dayes after the Dukes death, were sent to the Queene of *Scots*, then all mournefull and in sorrow, *Will.* Lord *de-la-Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Tho. Wilson*, Doctor of the Ciuill Lawes, and *T. Bromley*, the Queenes Attourney, who were so to expostulate with her, as to charge her for vsurping the Title and Armes of *England*, nor that she had renounced them, according as it was conditioned at *Edenborrough*, and to assume them more freely, had secretly contriued to marry with the Duke of *Norfolke*; which the rather to bring to passe, shee had left nothing vnassayed by the ministery of her Agents; by force and Armes to set the Duke at liberty, had raised Rebellion in the North Countrey, had succoured the conuicted Rebels of *Scotland* and *Flanders*; had, by *Ridolph* the *Italian* his solliciting, implored the aydes of the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and others, for inuading the Countrey of *England*; they vrged also, that shee had receiued Letters from the Pope, who had promised to keepe her as safe vnder his wing, as the Hen doth her Chickens, calling her and her Complices, [*The true Children of the Church.*] And finally, that shee had procured a Bull from the Pope against the Queene, and and had suffered herselfe by her friends in forraigne parts, to be called

The Queene of Scots accused.

The Queene of *England*.

To all these, with a bold countenance, and constant resolution, (hauing first protested herselfe to be a free Prince, and subiect to none) she answered,

That

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Mary Qu. of Scotland her answere to her accusation.

THat she had not vsurped the Title or Armes of England, but that being yet young, and vnder the power of her Husband; the King of France, necessity imposed them vpon her; but since her Husbands death, shee neuer bore them: wherefore it was not to be imputed to her as any fault of hers, neither would she take them to her, so long as ELIZABETH liued, or any Childe shee should beare. That in the matching with the Duke of Norfolke, shee had no thought of any ill might happen to the Cõmon-wealth, but rather much good, and if she should renounce the marriage, it was contrary to the matrimoniall Vow she had made, and that by dutie thereof, she was bound to aduertise the Duke of his dangers, and to quit himselfe out of prison. That she had neuer raised, nor consented to the raising of any tumults, but was alwaies ready to discouer what plots shee knew of, against the Queene or Countrey, if she had pleased by her to bee admonished of, or to haue admitted her to her sight or hearing; nor at any time had succoured the English Rebels, but only by her Letters had recommended the Countesse of Northumberland to the Duke D'Alua. Of Ridolph she was to haue necessary vse for her pensionary Annuities, and in some money-matters; whom shee knew to be a great Fauourite of the Popes, but neuer had receiued any Letters from him, had neuer dealt with any touching her deliuery, but indeed had not refused to giue eare to such as had offered the seruice in that kind, and for that cause had passed her priuie Seale to Rowlston and Hall. She had sometimes receiued Letters consolatory and full of piety from the Pope, wherein was no mention of any such matter, nor had shee procured any Bull from Rome; onely on a time a copie of one of them was shewed her, which, after she had read, shee cast it into the fire. But if any out of forraigne Countries

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shall write or speake otherwise then they ought, they ought to answere it, and to suffer the penaltie of their faults. She neuer sought or sent either to the Pope or K. of Spaine, *for the procuring any inuasion vpon* England, *but had implored their helpes for her restoring into her owne Realme, but not before her Maiestie had preadmonition thereof. But if shee were to be called in question concerning these Letters, she requested (for that shee was issued from the Bloud Royall of* England) *that she might answere for herselfe in person in open Parliament.*

dition in *tland.*

In the meane time was *Scotland* all vp in Armes, miserably troubled with Ciuill Warres, whilest on the one side, such as fauoured the Queene, relying vpon aide from the *French*, and the other party expecting the like from *England*, had dayly encounters together, notwithstanding both *English* and *French* shewed themselues most desirous to appease and accord their dissentions by the Ambassages which either countrey sent into *Scotland*. Of which *France* proposed, that their most commodious course would bee, to elect amongst them some persons of well-known worth and wisedome, to gouerne the Kingdome for a time, not taking vpon them supreame authority, or the names of King or Queene: they were not willing to acknowledge for King the King of *Scotland*; for that they held hee had no right but by his mother, and that shee was vniustly deposed of her Subiects; and therefore shee was iustly to bee reputed their Queene, and the ancient League of Alliance betwixt her and *France* to continue firme and inuiolable. Those likewise from *England*, on the contrary, maintained by strong argument, that such an Administration or popular gouernment would be an *Anarchy*; and that the Commonwealth was not to admit plurality of Gouernours, and that *Scotland* having alwaies beene commanded by Kings, was not now to haue an election of such Administrators.

e Queene England, the King France *ceiue to* *ord them.*

ey differ *ginions.*

That

That the States of the Realme had deposed the Queene, and lawfully crowned and inthroned the King, and that the ancient recited Alliance, was a contract, not of persons, but of the two Kingdomes of *France* and *Scotland*, alledging also, that by an expresse Law, the most Christian King was bound to defend the King of *Scots* in these termes.

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If there happen at any time controuersie about the Kingdome of Scotland, *the Kings of* France *shall support, aide, and defend him whom the States of* Scotland *shall adiudge the Title of the Kingdome to.*

And as touching the causes of the Queenes deposing, it should bee enquired of of those *Scots* who haue deposed her.

The *French* notwithstanding, openly fauouring the partie of the Queene of *Scotland*, became serious intercessours to her Maiestie, for to set her at liberty, lest that as his Ambassadour did freely, hee might bee thought not to respect her who had been wife to the King his brother, and now the Dowager of *France*; and to neglect the now puissant Family of the *Guizes* in *France*, or to approoue that pernicious example of deposing of Kings. And which was the most capitall point of all, that shee finding her selfe abandoned of the *French* in her aduersity, might seeke Patronage from *Spaine*, and that by her meanes, the three prepotent Realmes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, might colleague them in amity with *Spaine*, to the no small endamagement of the State of *France*.

Causes alleadged, why the French fauour the Queene of Scotland.

To these Qu. ELIZABETH with milde alacrity answered.

THE King of France *will be well aduised, what or how he shall doe with the Queene of* Scotland, *notwithstanding she was their Queene,*

The Queene of England contesteth with the French.

and now is their Dowager, howbeit for the dissoluing of the Duke of Aniou's *mariages she hath held secret cōsultatiōn with the* Spaniard. *He will also consider, whether that ancient Law of Alliance be violable, and whether he be bound therby, or no, to defend the King in his nonage. He will also bethinke him how much* France *is beholden or obliged to the Family of the* Guizes, *by whose practices the Countrey hath beene afflicted with long and bloody wars, the* French *haue beene forced to lose the loue of* Scotland, *and the poore Queene brought into this calamitable case she is in. In very deed, the example of deposing Kings, I hold a thing most pernicious, and well deseruing infernall punishment, but for that the* Scots *are to answere. And for mine owne part, I call to mind the things which grieue my heart to remember. But notwithstanding I know not how the* French *in old times allowed of* Pepin, *when he supplanted* Childeric; *&* Hugo Capet, Charles *of* Lorraine; *depriuing them of their ancient successions descended to them from a long-continued Race of Ancestors, to transferre the Scepter to new-erected Families: As also* Philip (*surnamed, the good*) *Duke of* Burgundie, *exiled* Iaquette *from his countries of* Hainault *&* Holland: *or the* Danes, *when they expulst from his Kingdome,* Christianus *the second, and his Daughters. Or the* Spaniards, *who imprisoned the Queene* Vraca, *after they had put her from the Crowne. It is no nouelty for Sonnes to succeed their deposed Mothers. So Henry the Second was admitted King of England;* Alphonsus, *the yonger Sonne of* Vraca, *King of* Castill; *and of late memory,* Charles *the fifth King of* Spaine *and* Sicily, *their Mothers then suruiuing. The world is full of examples of many Queenes that haue exchanged their Diademes for prisons, which* France *doth testifie at large, hauing imprisoned (not to say further) the*

wiues

wines of three of their Kings, one after another, Lewes Hutin, Philip the long, *and* Charles the faire: *For my part, I detaine the Queene of Scots vnder a reasonable Guard, but I doe it for the preseruation of* England, *and mine owne safety, after the example of the* French, *who for their better security of affaires, put* Chilperic *into a Monasterie,* Charles of Lorraine *into a safe and straite prison, and* Lodowicke Sforza, *Duke of* Mylan, *into a Dungeon with Iron grates.*

Whereunto (as she was very conuersant in the Histories of all Nations) shee annexed other examples of the same nature, drawne out of the Historie of *Spaine*, and finally concluded, that true it was, such Presidents carried euer with them some semblance of Iniustice: but she required, that the King of *France* would vndertake the defence of the Queene of *Scotland*, euen as he was bound by his Allyance; intimating, that it would bee an action of greater glory to the *French*, than all those vnhappy enterprizes they assumed in the cause of that infamous woman, *Iane* of *Naples*.

But when it was discouered, that at the same time the Queene of *Scots* practised secretly to confirme an alliance with the *Spaniard*, by the negotiations of the Lord *Seton*, who arriuing in *Essex*, disguised in the habit of a Mariner, and returning from thence into *Scotland*, through *England*, hee had promised succours in the Duke of *Aluaes* name, to the *Scottish* partakers with the Queene, shee was kept with a straighter Guard, and the affection borne to her by the *French*, by little and little waxed cold. And certainely, as the Duke of *Alua* omitted nothing, wherein he might vent his hatred to Queene ELIZABETH, so was shee no lesse cautelous to preuent it, and frustrate his dissignes. For, in the first moneths of this yeere, hee complained by the *Spanish* Ambassadour in *England*, that the

The loue and affection which the King of France and Queene of England bore once to the Queene Mary of Scotland, growes cold.

Booke 2. 1572.

Flemmish Rebels, bought all their warlike munition there, and were receiued into all her Ports and Hauens: shee presently, by a strict Proclamation, commanded, that all *Flemmings*, any wayes suspected of sedition, should depart out of *England*, and that their ships of warlike equipage, should be seysed vpon in her harbours. All which returned to the dammage of the Duke of *Alua*. For *Humes*, Earle of March, and other *Flemmings*, reduced as it were to a desperate poynt, whether they were terrified by this Proclamation, or that they were vnder-hand admonished to retyre, but they presently surprised the *Breele*, which is seated vpon the mouth of the *Meuse*, caused *Flushing* forthwith to reuolt, and other Townes, which expelled the *Spaniards*, as they were in hand to make cittadels, to captiuate their libertie, in a short time, cut off the Duke of *Alua* by Sea, and through the meanes they had to make it good for themselues, had a power to molest and detaine the *Spaniard* with a long and tedious warre: wherein Souldiers haue obserued, that hee shewed for his part such palpable carelessenesse, and negligence, as was not beseeming so great a Generall, who, for the space of foure whole yeeres, grossely ouer-slipt the maritime affaires and expeditions of *Flanders*.

The rebellious Flemmings commanded to goe out of England. They take the Breele.

The Duke of Aluaes carelessnesse.

At the same time, there was a famous generall muster before the Queene at *Greenwich*, with a pleasant trayning in Armes, by the Citizens of *London*, and after their returne from thence, martiall men, who began to rust and corrupt in their owne houses, began to flow out of *England* into *Flanders*, and, according as they stood affected, betooke themselues, some to the Duke of *Alua*, and others, the farre greater number, to the Prince of *Orange*, who opposed his proiects, for the defence of Religion, and his Countries libertie. Amongst whom, Sir *Thomas Morgan* was the first, that brought three hundred men into *Flushing*, vpon the report whereof, the Duke, who intended

The English repaire into the Low-Countries to the warre.

ded the recouery of it, forbare and retyred. Further, hee vsed such expedition and diligence, as hee caused greater troupes to come: for, after himselfe, there landed nine Companies more of *English*, conducted by *Humfrey Gilbert*, who, being consorted with the *French*, first attempted to surprize *Scluse* and *Bruges*, then hee set vpon *Tergow* in *Suethebenelant*. But their scaling-Ladders being too short, hollow correspondancie betweene the *French* and the *English*, and *Mondragon* comming on with fresh succours for the assieged, they retyred to *Flushing*; of which, both the one and the other, sought to make themselues masters, each to themselues. But the Prince of *Orange* made good vse of this enuy among themselues, so as neither of them obtained their end and purpose.

At that very time, a pleasing serenity seemed to shine vpon the Protestants in *France*, and *Charles* the Ninth pretending onely a warre in *Flanders*, which he affirmed to be the preseruation of *France*, and couering himselfe with this maske, he feigned as though hee meant to contract alliance and amitie with the Queene of *England*, and the Princes of *Germanie*, to giue some testimony herein of his loue to the Protestants, whose absolute ruine notwithstanding he couertly intended. And, as if he leaned to them of the one side, and the *Spaniard* on the other, hee substituted to this end the Duke *de Mont-Morancy*, *Birag de Anbisine*, the Bishop of *Limoges*, and of *Foix*. The Queene of *England*, who truely apprehended the secret plots and stratagems of the Duke of *Alua*, deputed Sir *Thomas Smith*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*: And Articles were drawne betweene them, whereof you shall see an abridgement in the same expresse words and termes.

Dissimulation of the King of France.

The Alliance of Blois. The Articles of the same.

THis alliance shall not tye Princes allyed, to leaue other Treaties past betweene them, so they be not opposite and contrary thereunto. There shall be a Confederation

Booke 2.

1572.

deration, League, and Vnion betweene them, to defend themselues mutually against all, who, vnder some pretext, or any other occasion whatsoeuer, shall inuade, or attempt to inuade their persons or Territories, whereof they are now possest. It shall remaine firme betweene them, not onely while they liue, but also betweene their Successours, so the Heire of the first deceased giue notice to the suruiuant within the space of a yeere, by Ambassadours and Letters, that hee accepts of the same conditions. Otherwise, the suruiuant shall be reputed discharged of the obseruance of the same. It shall bee validious against all, yea, and euen against those that are ioyned in affinitie to the one or other Prince, and against all other Alliances contracted, or to contract. If the Queene of England be required to send succours, by Letters sealed and subscribed with the King of France *his owne hand, shee shall be bound to passe ouer into* France, *within two moneths after, a thousand foot armed, or fiue hundred Horse at her choyce, whom the King must pay, from the first day of their arriuall in* France. *Shee was to send for the warre of* Flanders *eight Ships of equall greatnesse, wherein twelue hundred Souldiers must be imployed, with all things necessary, and there must bee no Marriners nor Souldiers but* English, *but yet they must be commanded by the Admirall of* France, *payed and victualled by the King, from the first day they enter into Seruice. Shee was also to victuall her Ships for two Moneths, which the King was also to pay within two moneths. And if the Queene be moued to any warre, the King hauing receiued Letters subscribed with her owne hand, was to send ouer into* England, *or* Ireland, *within two Moneths, sixe thousand foot, or at her choyce, fiue hundred Conductors, armed at all poynts, who should bring fifteene hundred Horse, and about three thousand foot,*

with

with good Horse and Armes, after the French *manner, whom shee must pray, from the time they set foot in her Countries. And for the warre by Sea, he was to furnish eight Shippes, with twelue hundred Souldiers, in manner and forme aboue mentioned. Order agreed vpon for succours and pay, to be digest in writing, running in this forme, that the one shall bee bound to sell vnto the other Armes, and all necessary things, to the Prince assayled. They shall innouate nothing in* Scotland, *but defend it against Strangers, and permit them to enter, and nourish the* Scottish *partialities. But the Queene of* England *was permitted to pursue with Armes, those amongst them, who maintained or fostered the* English *Rebels, who were at that present in* Scotland. *That this Alliance shall be so taken and vnderstood, as the onely proprietie and meaning of the words imported. Each of the two Princes shall confirme euery one of these Articles by Patents, and faithfully and really to deliuer them into the hands of Ambassadours, for the one and other within three moneths.*

Booke 1572.

For ratification of this Alliance on the behalfe of the King of *France*, the Queene of *England* sent into *France* the Earle of *Lincolne*, Admirall, with a great traine of Gentlemen, among which were these Barons, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Rich*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Sands*, and others: And the King of *France* sent into *England*, *Anne* Duke *de Mont-Morancie*, and Monsieur *de Foix*, with a magnificent traine, that in the presence of them, and *Messieurs de Saligna*, and *de la Mottes*, his Ambassadour ordinary, the Queene might reciprocally confirme the same with oath: which was performed at *Westminster* the seuententh of *Iune*: and the day after, the Queenes Maiestie, with the consent of the *French*, inuested with the Order of Saint

Confirmation thereof

1572.

Mont-Morancy admitted to the Order of the Garter.

He interrides to accord the differences of Scotland.

George, the Duke *de Mont-Morancy*, in gratefull commemoration of the loue which *Anne*, Constable of *France*, manifested vnto her, to whom, HENRY the Eighth vouchsafed the same honour, out of the loue he bare to the House of *Mont-Morancy*, who carries the title of the first Christian of *France*, and is there held for most Noble.

While *Mont-Morancy* remayned in *England*, hee moued certaine propositions in the King of *France* his name, that the Queene of *Scots* might there finde fauour, so farre as it might be performed without danger. That there might be a cessation of Armes in *Scotland*, and that a Concord might be established by Act of Parliament. And if a Parliament could not commodiously be summoned, that some might be elected of the one and other part, among the *Scots*, to repayre to *London*, to settle affaires, with the Deputies of the King of *France*, and Queene of *England*.

Answere made to him.

But answere was made him; That more fauour had been shewed to the Queene of *Scots* than shee deserued, and yet for the King of *France*, more should be shewed her, though the Estates of the Kingdome assembled had iudged, how the Queene of *England* could not liue in security, except some rigor were vsed to her. That the Queene had carefully employed her whole power, to establish Concord, and procure a cessation of Armes, hauing for this end lately sent into *Scotland*, Sir *William Drewry*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, with *de la Croce*, the *French* Ambassadour. But they could by no meanes induce *Grange* to peace, nor the Garrison of the Castle of *Edenborrough*, out of the hope they conceiued, to bee succoured from *France* and *Flanders*: though *Huntley*, and *Hamilton Arbroth* for the Duke their Father had obliged themselues in writing to Queene ELIZABETH, to enter it, and other of the Queenes partakers had plighted their faith and promise thereunto.

After these motiues, hee also propounded many other, touching

touching the marriage of the Duke of *Anion*, but in that they could not agree about some circumstances concerning Religion, the matter grew hopelesse, and he returned into *France*, when there was preparation of the Nuptials, betweene *Henrie* King of *Nauarre*, with *Margarite*, Sister to the King of *France*, whereunto, with notable dissimulation, the King of *Nauarre*, and the most noble Protestants were drawne, by sweet promises, and probable hopes of perpetuating the peace, & bringing themselues into grace: as also, the Earle of *Leicester*, and the Lord *Burleigh*, were inuited out of *England*, vnder an honourable colour, and out of *Germanie*, the Sonnes of the Elector Palatine, to the end, that being intangled in the nets, if those of the Euangelicall Religion, together with themselues, were not all denounced in an instant, yet they should receiue a mortall and irrecouerable wound. For, when the Nuptials were solemnized, this so expected and wished serenitie, was presently ouer-cast with that terrible and bloudie tempest, the Parisian *Butcherie*, and through the cruell Massacres, that with execrable impietie were committed in all the Citie of *France*, against Protestants of all estates and conditions: the which notwithstanding they would faine haue couered, with a pretext of equitie, yea, of pitty, and to practise this impious fraud, vnder the cloake and shelter of the Edicts, imputing to the Protestants, that they had wickedly conspired against the King, the Queene his Mother, his Brethren, the King of *Nauarre*, and the Princes of the Bloud. For, pieces of money were coyned in memorial of this act, which had of the one side the Kings effigies, with this Inscription; *Vertu contre les Rebelles: Vertue against Rebels*: and on the other, *La pieté à esmen la iustice, Pittie hath moued iustice.*

Not long before, the Queene-Mother of *France*, very subtill in counterfeiting good-will to the Protestants, being to vnderstand the future euents, and credulous in Astrologicall

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1572.

Hee also treats of a marriage with the Duke of Anion.

Massacre of Paris.

1572.

Marriage of the Duke of Alenzon, propounded to Queene Elizabeth.

gicall predictions, which by the coniunction of the Royall Planets at the birth of her Sonnes, prognosticated Kingdomes to each of them, commanded *la Mottef*, to breake with Queene ELIZABETH about the marriage of her with *Francis* her youngest Sonne, Duke of *Alenzon*, to purchase him, if shee could, the title of a King, or at least to diuert Queene ELIZABETH from ayding the Protestants in *France*. *La Mottef* propounded this matter at *Kennelworth*, two dayes before the Massacre of *Paris*. But Queene ELIZABETH excused her selfe, by reason of the difference in Religion, and disparity in yeeres. For hee was hardly seuenteene yeeres old, and she aboue eight and thirtie. Neuertheless, shee promised to deliberate of it, and the Duke of *Alenzon* forbare not to sollicite her, by the procurements of *Fleri*.

Earle Northumberland beheaded.

In the same moneth, *Thomas Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland*, who, because of his Rebellion fled into *Scotland*, had his Head cut off at *Yorke*, after hee was deliuered into the hands of the Lord of *Hunsdon*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*, by the treachery of one *Morton*, who stood much bound vnto him for many benefits, when hee was banished into *England*, but was euer found gratefull towards the afflicted. And as this yeere, like a dreadfull Axe, cut off the Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle of *Northumberland*, in the flower of their age, a milde and gentle death, carried likewise out of the World two others, in their decrepit yeeres, who were of the most eminent Nobilitie, and of the Priuy-Councell.

George Pawlet, Lord Treasurer of *England*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Earle of *Wilton*, and Lord Saint *Iohn* of *Basing*, who went through many great honours, attained to the age of ninetie seuen yeeres, and begot to the number of an hundred and three children. Sir *William Cecill*, Baron of *Burleigh*, supplied his place, in the dignity of Lord Treasurer. *Edward*, Earle of *Darbie*, and Baron of *le Strange* of *Knoking*,

Knoking, departed this life, with whom, in some sort, dyed the glory of English hospitality.

Booke 2.

1572.

After his commendable discharge of many honourable Ambassies, there dyed also Sir *George Peters*, an honourable Knight, who was one of the priuy Councell, Secretary to King HENRY the Eighth, King EDVVARD the Sixt, Queene MARY, and Queene ELIZABETH, and Chancellour of the order of the Garter, descended from the worthy Family of *Exceter*: after that by his wisedome and learning, he had collected a great Estate, out of his owne goods, and the permission of Queene MARY, he augmented with annuall reuennues, *Exceter* Colledge, in the Vniuersity of *Oxeford*, where he was a Student, and brought vp.

And of Sir George Peters.

The Queene her selfe, who had alwaies liued in perfect health, (for she neuer ate but when she had a stomacke, neither drunke any Wine) felt some small grudging of infirmitie at *Hampton-Court*: But she recouered her former health, before it was almost known she was sicke, and being vigilant ouer matters worthy of a Princes care & forecast, shee commanded that *Portsmouth* should be rampard with new fortifications, & her Fleet increast with Ships of war, that at certaine constituted times, Soldiers might bee inrold throughout the Shires, and Youth to be trained vp in Armes, though she liued then in most secure peace. Shee willingly and with much thankes, restored the money shee had borrowed of her Subiects; in doing of which, she gained no lesse loue of her people, then in sending foorth two Proclamations, which she caused to be publisht in the beginning of the yeere. In one of which, she ordained, that those Noblemen should be taxed according to the ancient Lawes, that tooke more followers and retainers then was permitted them, because these their retainers & followers were hereby exempted from publike Offices, they maintained Factions, and many waies offended against the

The Queene sicke.

She hath a care of the publike.

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She cut off the superfluous number of followers, which daily augmented.

She curbeth enquirers after concealed Lands of the Crowne.

Rebellion in Ireland.

Lawes, relying on the Protection of the Nobles, to whom they had proffered their seruice: And in the other shee curbed a rauenous kind of people, called *Enquirers after conceald Lands*, by reuoking their warrants, and constraining them to restore many things taken away. For being appointed to seeke out, whether particular men concealed not some land that belonged to the Crowne, with most sacrilegious auarice, they began to seaze on such as had heretofore beene giuen by pious Ancestors, to Parish Churches, and Hospitals; yea, to plucke downe the Bells, and Lead, wherewith the Churches were couered.

In *Ireland*, the burdensome authority of one *Fitton*, Gouernour of *Connath*, produced some troubles: For the sons of *Richard*, Earle of *Clanricard*, brought foorth by diuers women, not beeing able to endure it, in that they were headstrong and giuen to liberty, they raised a Rebellion, and passing ouer *Sene*, made cruell Incursions vpon the inhabitants of the westerne parts of *Mijs*, which with many outrages committed, they pillaged and forraged. Their Father, who was of the ancient Family of *Bourgh* in *England*, venerably bald, and of a staid disposition, went to the Deputy, iustified himselfe of this crime, and required aduice of the Councellours of *Ireland*, how he might depresse his sonnes, that spoiled and wasted the Countrie in this manner. But her Maiesty thought fit, for publike tranquillity, by little and little to draw *Fitton* out of *Connath*, and to make him Treasurer of *Ireland*. A little while after, the Earles sonnes, defeated by the Garrisons, which fell vpon them, submitted themselues to the Deputie.

The Omors.

The *Enlagen Omors*, a kinde of seditious people, stird vp also new troubles; but they likewise being proclaimed Rebels, at the Earle of *Kildares* perswasion, came vnder due obedience: and at the same time, Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned and prudent man, with pitty entring into consideration, what small account was made of *Ireland*, obtained of the

the Queene, that a Colonie might be sent thither, vnder the conduct of his owne onely bastard sonne, into the halfe Iland called *Ardes*, at the East entry into *Vlster*, to instruct and ciuilize the *Demibarbarous* inhabitants, and to make them humane, hoping the place might easily bee defended, if Garrisons were planted in the straight or Istmus, which ioynes it to the rest of the Iland. He gaue to euery Footman 120. acres, & to each Horseman 240. ammounting to fiue hundred acres of *English* ground, paying euery yeere but a penny for an acre. But this businesse sorted not according to his desire: for *Thomas* his sonne hauing conducted thither the Colonie, was surprized and slaine by the treachery of *Neel Brian Artho*. Afterwards, *Malbie*, an *English* Gouernour of *Lecale*, a frontier Prouince, iudging all meanes lawfull to kill a perfidious murderer, slew him likewise not long after, and so left him to the Wolues iawes, to be deuoured and eaten.

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I know not whether it be materiall or no, here to make mention, as all the Historiographers of our time haue done, how in the moneth of *Nauember* was seene a strange Starre, except you had rather haue me tearme it a *Phinomene* in the Chaire of *Cassioperaes* Constellation, which exceeded in relucencie, that of *Iupiter* himselfe, then, when he is in the Perigie of his Eccentrick or Epicicle, as I obserued my selfe, and seated in the same Spheare of the heauens, as also moued by his diurnall motion, remained there 16. moneths. *Tho. Digsay*, and *Ioh. Dee*, rare Mathematicians among vs, learnedly did demonstrate by the maximes of the Paralels, that it remained not onely in the elementall Region, but in the very Celestiall circle; and were of opinion, that daily mounting higher by little and little, at last it vanisht out of our sight. And certainely, their Iudgement was good and sound; for after the eighth moneth, it continually diminished. *Theodore Beza* ingeniously compared this Starre to that which appeared at the birth of Christ, and at the massacre

A strange Starre.

Booke 2. 1572.

sacre of Infants, which was perpetrated vnder *Herod*: and in this short verse,

Thou therefore, cruell Herod, *shake and feare.*

admonished *Charles*, new King of *France*, who confest himselfe to be the author of that which was executed at *Paris*, to tremble and feare: and this was not out of a vaine and credulous beliefe. For fiue moneths after the disappearing of this Starre, he dyed of a bloody fluxe, rackt with long and terrible torments.

THE

Booke 1.573.

THE SIXTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1573.

THE proceedings of *Spaine* in the *Low-Countries*, being wonderfully croſt, by the taking of *Fluſhing*, the reuolt of the Townes of *Holland*, and the loſſe and diſcomfiture of the *Spaniſh* Fleet by the *Hollanders*, with which the Duke *de Medina cœli* had a Commiſſion with *Chapin Vitelli*, to ſuccour the Papiſts in *England*: The Duke of *Alua* was conſtrained in deſpight of himſelfe, to ſhew himſelfe more fauourable to the *Engliſh*; and ſo it happened, that in the moneth of *Ianuary*, the commerce of the *Engliſh* with the *Flemmings*, which in the ſame moneth of the yeere, 1568. was interdicted, at laſt came to be opened for two yeeres, and the Articles were agreed vpon at *Briſtoll*, confirm'd by the *Spaniard*, in the moneth of *Iune*, amongſt which this clauſe was inſerted.

The Spaniſh Fleet diſcomfited.

Commerce betweene the Flemmiſh and Engliſh reſtored.

1573.

That though this mutuall correspondencie and amity had beene obscured, yet was it in no wise to be reputed dissolued and broken: and it was accorded, that if the Deputies, within a certaine prescript time, could not arbitrate the businesse, that then the said Entercourse should be expired, when the two yeeres came to an end.

But when the troubles renewed in *Flanders*, it grew dead by little and little: nay, and before the two yeers were fully accomplished, and a new one was commenst, betweene the vnited States. And as for Queene ELIZABETH, she recompensed all the dammages of the *English* Marchants, with such *Flemmish* goods as she retained in her hands, restored the rest to the Duke of *Alua*, and amply contented the *Genoa* Marchants for the money of theirs she seized vpon and tooke vp at loane, which was the first cause of the warre, although the Duke of *Alua* restored not one shilling to the *Flemmings* of the *English-mens* goods; which did accrue to the wonderfull honour of Queene ELIZABETH. And yet she performed a farre more glorious Action then this, and more pleasing to her Subiects, by discharging *England* of those debts which her Father and Brother had taken vpon credit of Strangers, which were greatly augmented, by reason of the long interests due: and, to the inexplicable ioy of the inhabitants of the Citie of *London*, calling in all the Citie obligations, which had beene so often renewed.

Neuertheless, both the Queene and the whole Clergie were wonderfully vext with certaine Ecclesiasticall persons, who boyling with zeale, and breathing nothing but Euangelicall Purity, reprehended not only the Ecclesiasticall Gouernment, as still defiled with *Romane* corruptions, as well publikely as priuately, both by Sermons & Books, which

which were intituled [*An Aduertisement to the Parliament*] and [*An Appologie of the Aduertisement*:] but refused also to be present at the receiued forme of Common-Prayer, vsurping & framing to themselues other courses of seruing God. So as the Queene condemning them for people impatient of Peace, greedy of nouelties, and apt to subuert things well established; to preuent Schisme, cōmanded, that throughout the Kingdome, they should, by rigour of Law, be vrged to obserue a generall forme and manner of publike Prayers, and that these Libels might be deliuered into the hands of the Bishops, or some one of the Priuie-Councell, vpon paine of imprisonment, although *Iohn Whitegift*, who was afterward Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had with learned soliditie refuted them.

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There was also diuulged, by the *English* Rebels and Fugitiues, a booke full of iniurie and calumniation, whose title was [*A Treatise of Treason*] which, to make Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the great Seale, and the Lord *Burghley*, Treasurer of *England*, odious to their Prince, because they had often by their prudence and vigilancie, cut off their wicked hopes and designes, they preferred an accusation against them, of being Traitors to their Countrie. But the Queene was so farre from giuing credit to such friuolous accusations, that by a publike Proclamation shee declared them idle and frustrate, false, calumnious, and inuented by sworne Enemies to Religion and their Countrie, by their wicked and secret practices to depriue the Queene of her faithfull Councellours. And therefore shee admonished euery one to giue no credit to them, to contemne & throw them into the fire, except themselues would bee punished as seditious persons, in stead of those that were the true Authors. Notwithstanding, through a speciall vice, very incident to the naturall curiosity of men, they were frequently read, till (as it ordinarily fals out) comming at last to be neglected and contemned, the vse of them grew out of request.

The Pap troble the Commonwealth.

Their Libel is suppressed

Booke 2.

1573.

The Ambassage of Gondy, Count of Rez.

From the Month of Nouember, in the precedent yeere, *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, had a Daughter borne. The King, to make sure with Queene ELIZABETH, and aswell to render her fauourable by all offices of humanitie, and to take away from the Protestants of *France*, all hope of succour from *England*, intreated her to receiue her at the sacred Font of Baptisine; and to this end, as also to obtaine some certaine Moneyes from her, hee sent into *England*, *De Gondy*, vulgarly called, the Count of *Rez*, who, by an elaborate discourse indeuoured to perswade her, that they had made the Massacre of *Paris*, (which some could call by no other name than a great and capitall wickednesse; hee, a safe and wholesome remedy) not in hatred of the Protestant Religion, but to dissipate the conspiracy of the Admirall *Coligni*, and others; and that the King most inuiolably kept the Edicts touching Religion: That shee would not giue eare to those fearefull spirits, that did nothing but adde to their owne affrightment, and causelesly complaine; but that Shee would religiously conserue the alliance of the new contract, and exhort them to obey the King, assuring her that they should finde him most mercifull. To which, shee promised to be mindefull of the Alliance, and that shee would not faile the King in any thing, that was fitting and agreeable for a most affectionate Ally; but for the Money, shee excused her selfe. Nor did he demand it, but as a designe to giue impeachment to her ayding of the Protestants, in case they should require it, after shee had made deniall of it to the King of *France*. And surely shee tooke occasion from hence to make refusall of it to them, calling to minde how euilly they had requited her, for that which shee had lent them in their first Ciuill Warre. By this Ambassage, the Count of *Rez* obtained, that from that time, the Protestants found lesse fauour with her, than they had done before.

A

A little after, the Lord *Somerset*, Earle of *Worcester*, was sent into *France*, with a Baptistrey of Gold, for (in Qu. ELIZABETHS name) to promise the duetie of a God-mother at the christening of the *French* Kings Daughter, with the Lady *Mary*, the Emperours Wife, and the Deputies of the Duke of *Sauoy*. This, arriuing to the knowledge of the Protestants of *France* and *Flanders*, who, at the same time were as Pirats vpon the Sea, they suspecting the said Earle of *Worcester* to be a Papist, mist him narrowly, for they robbed two of his Ships, and slew diuers of his people: at which, Queene ELIZABETH being highly offended, sent to Sea Sir *William Holstoc*, Controller of the Royall Nauy, who as much by his taking as chasing of them, recouered some Ships loden with goods, and purged the Sea of such. And forasmuch as the most part of them had vowed their seruice to the Count *de Mont-Gommery*, who then was in *England*, for helpe, to succour those of *Rochell* besieged, it hindered his dispatch, parting from thence late, and with so little an Army, that hee did no good at all to *Rochell*. This occasioned the *French* Protestants, refuged in *England*, being much moued, to vse in iniurious manner some other Aliens, being *French*-Papists, in hatred of contrary Religion; yea, they assaulted them armed, and among others, the seruants of *Monsieur Flery*, secretly sent into *England* from the Duke of *Anion*, to treat of a match with Queene ELIZABETH, whereof *Monsieur le Vidame, de Chartres*, not knowing his comming, accused *Flery* before the Councell of State, as to be come of purpose, and hyred to kill the said Earle of *Mont-Gommery*.

1573. Ambassage of the Earle of Worcester in France.

The Sea is purged of Pirats by Holstoc.

The French Protestants handle shrewdly the French Papists in England.

The French Leger Ambassadour complained to Queene Elizabeth concerning the helpe and assistance sent out of England to the Protestants of Rochell besieged.

The ordinary Ambassadour of *France*, contrariwise complained to the Queene, that, against the Alliance, the Earle of *Mont-Gommery* had, through the helpe of *England*, vndertaken a voyage to *Rochell*, and the *English* Merchants furnished the besieged Towne with victuals and

Booke 2.

1573.

Her Maiesty excused her selfe.

prouisions. To this her Maiesty answered:

That she had alwayes inuiolably kept, and would still, to future times, keepe her promise mentioned in the alliance. That this aide and Succour was compounded of Pyrats and Vagabonds, who could not tarry in their Countries, and that they were parted out of England, *without her command vnder false* * *Ensigne, and that shee desired they should bee punished. Moreouer, that such* English *Merchants, basely dealt withall in* Bourdeaux, *were gone to* Rochell *without leaue, and that men of their calling and kind, vsed to sayle euery where, chiefly where their profit and gaine was greater. Shee likewise required that in stead of* Rochell, *they should appoynt, in* France, *some Hauen-Towne more commodious for Negotiations.*

* *Flages.*

Queene Elizabeth is earnestly solicited to marry with the Duke of Alanzon.

Her Maiestie heares of it willingly.

The *French* were much pleased with this answer, being assured that Qu. ELIZABETH would still keepe promise, and that shee was so farre from sending helpe to the Protestants of *France*, (who expected none from her.) The King of *France*, and his Mother, loued intirely more and more Queene ELIZABETH, seeing her Maiesty bore vnto them a true amitie and sincere affection: they made the Duke of *Alanzon* write many amorous Letters vnto her from the Royall Campe before *Rochell*, endeuouring with much care, and no lesse pain, to bring that marriage to passe, that whole yeere, by their Leger Ambassadour, *Monsieur de Chasteau-Neuf*, extraordinarily sent to that effect. And truely her Maiesty was moued to consider it seriously, by a double apprehension shee had, both for the want of a Husband and Children. The first was, that her Maiesty should perhaps be contemned by her owne Subiects. The second, that forreiners would plot wicked practices a-

By a double apprehension.

gainst

gainst her Scepter: her Maiesty was perswaded, and said often, that a Husband and Progeny are firme Fortresses against it: her Courtiers contrary wise, ayming at their particular ends, maintained:

THat true Religion, and Equitie, were assured Forts, and defensiue Rockes against all sorts of plots and designes: That her Maiestie ought not to apprehend to be despised or contemned by her subiects, for they had settled their fortunes, ankered their hopes, and grounded their solace vpon her Maiestie onely, as much obliged vnto her by a long race of Ancestors, affecting and taking pleasure more and more in the contemplation and admiration of her splendant and lustrous vertues.

With such other discourses familiar to Courtiers. But as her Maiesty had often in her mouth, that the most part contemned the setting Sunne, these Flatterers alledged:

WHat is hee, that will contemne the salutiferous Beames of a Sunne brightly shining, for to aspect the fatall and confounded light of little Starres, which rise all at once? So they often termed her Competitors.

Queene Elizabeth grãts leaue to the Duke of Alanzon to come into England.

Among these things, the Queene-Mother of *France* prayed her Maiestie, to be so fatre pleased, as to permit that the Duke of *Alanzon*, her Sonne, might passe into *England* to see her: which request finally Queene ELIZABETH granted (wearied with the multiplicity of Letters sent to her Maiestie to that end) prouided hee should not repute her leaue fraudulous or iniurious, if hee should returne backe againe as he came. But so soone as her Maiesty heard, how *Henrie*, Duke of *Anion*, his Brother, had beene elected King of *Poland*: Also, the *French* King to be

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And her Maiesty presently sends him word not to come as yet.

be grieuously sicke, shee sent word to the Duke of *Alanzon*, to take not as yet his iourney for *England*, alledging him these reasons:

THe Protestants Massacre, lately most cruelly acted on the Bloudy Theater of all France, *and in hatred of their Religion, during the solemnizations and recreations of a marriage: That hee having already heretofore sought her to Wife, the Protestants of England partly suspected fatall the Nuptials: and the more, sith himselfe, transported of a courage, enemy to the Protestants, had gone in person to besiege* Rochell; *and had written of all parts, that hee would come to see her Maiestie presently after the taking of the said City: insomuch, that hee seemed rather to hate the Protestants Religion, than to beare affection or loue to the Queenes Maiestie; and that this caused the best part of England to suspect, that hee would come into their Countrey, to marry the Queene, with a Sword dyed in the bloud of those poore Christians who professed their owne Religion.*

Therefore, her Maiesty friendly counselled him;

FIrst, to procure and mediate a Peace in France, to yeeld some worthy proofe and noted testimony of his affection to the Protestants of France, to be the better welcome in England, and the more graciously receiued, according to his desire.

Since this, Peace was re-established in *France*, the exercise of Religion granted in certaine places to the Protestants. The King and the Queene desired nothing more than the absence of the Duke of *Alanzon*, because he was of a harsh and seuere nature, inclined to trouble their States affaires:

affaires: they did their best, and vsed their vttmost endeuoures to effect the match, and by like meanes prayed Qu. ELIZABETH, to permit to their other sonne, the Duke of *Anion* (if he should goe by sea to *Poland*) Authority to saile vnder publike assurance vpon *Great-Brittaines* Sea. This their request her Maiestie granted, not only most willingly, but more shee offered him a Fleet of Ships to conuay him; in the meane while the Duke of *Alanzon* fell sicke of the small poxe, and the Queene his mother giuing aduice thereof to Queene ELIZABETH, by the Earle of *Rez*, excuseth him, by reason of his sicknesse, for not comming into *England*. *Gondy* met Queene ELIZABETH at *Canterbury*, where she entertained him with great magnificence: and the same time, *Matthew Parker*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, celebrating the Queenes birth-day, which was the seuenth of *September*, in the Arch-bishops Hall, very spacious, and by him newly repaired, inuited the Queen thither, and *Gondy*, and *la Motto*, and feasted them with like number of Nobility that *Charles* the fifth, and HENRY the Eighth had, being feasted in the same Hall in the yeere 1519.

Gondy returned into England.

In *Scotland*, *James Dowglasse*, Earle of *Morton*, beeing elected Vice-Roy of *Scotland* in *Murray*'s place, by the meanes of Queene ELIZABETH, and his authority made sure by the Assembly of the States, in the name of the King, established these Lawes, for confirming Religion against Papists and Hereticks, and made sure *Alexander Areskin*, Earle of *Marre*, the Kings Gardian by speciall right, (being as yet in his minority) vpon these Conditions:

Earle of Morton Vice-Roy of Scotland.

THat the Papists and Factious persons, should be excluded from hauing accesse to his person; an Earle might be admitted to him with two seruants only, and a Baron with one; all others alone, and without weapons.

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1573. The King of France endeuours to preuy him. Elizabeth to deliuer him.

In the Interim, the *French* hauing sent *Viriack*, who endeuoured what he could to supplant the Vice-Roy, before he should be authorized, set to oppose him, the Earles of *Athole* and *Huntley*, promising them a reward. Queene ELIZABETH, to counter-scarfe these designes, let the *Scots* vnderstand by *H. Killigrewe*, that this cruell Massacre of *Paris* had bin put in execution by the conspiracy of the Pope, and the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, to exterminate the Protestants: And therefore warned them to take heed, lest being corrupted either with Pensions from *France*, or deuided by Factions, they open a way to Stranger Forces, which were thought should be conducted by *Stroßie*: To oppose themselues all vallianty and with equall courage against it, for defence of Religion, which was the only bond of concord betweene the *English* and the *Scots*: And to be very carefull to preserue their King, or to send him into *England*, to preuent his taking away and carrying into *France*.

Neuertheleſſe, some great Ones, partakers with the imprisoned Queene, would in no sort acknowledge the Authority either of the King or his Vice-Roy, vntill Queene ELIZABETH, by interposing her power, had by the Agencie of *Killigrew*, brought the Duke of *Chastelraut*, and the Earle of *Huntley*, who were the principals among them, to these Conditions, which were equall enough:

THat they should acknowledge the Religion established in Scotland, *submit themselues to the King, and to the Gouernement of the Earle of* Morton *and his successours, and renounce the authority of all others. That all those which should enterprize any thing against the Religion, the King, and the Vice-Roy, should be adiudged Traitours by Act of Parliament. The sentences giuen against the* Hamiltons *and the* Gordons, *should be cut off and annihilated, except those which concerned the*

the murdering of the Earles of Murrey *and* Lenox, *Vice-Royes, which should stand according to the pleasure of Queene* ELIZABETH:

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Who neuertheleſſe ſent this buſineſſe backe to the King, and was of opinion that this Clauſe ought to be added to it, [*Vntill that the King being come to age, ſhould take the Gouernement of the Realme, according to the Law of the Kingdome,*] And that of all and euery crime committed ſince the fifteenth of *Iune*, 1567, the Murder of the Earle of *Lenox* excepted, pardon ſhould be granted to all that would aske it. Notwithſtanding, it was thought good, for the ſafety of the King, leſt hee ſhould bee expoſed to murder, that the Queene of *England* ſhould promiſe by a publike Inſtrument, that neither the *Hamiltons* nor any other, ſhould be adiudged for the murdering of the Vice-Royes, or fined without her conſent. And that was ordered in the Aſſembly of States, for the ſettling of a publike peace, in a turbulent ſeaſon. Howbeit *Kirckall*, Lord of *Grange*, who had beene eſtabliſhed Captaine of *Edenborrough* Caſtle, after he had taken oath in the Kings name, and the Baron of *Hume*, *Lidington*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and others, thinking that iniuſtice was done to the Queene of *Scotland*, would by no meanes admit of theſe Conditions: but with vndaunted Courage, contemned the authority both of the King and Vice-Roy, kept and fortified the Caſtle in the Queenes name, by the counſell of *Lidington*, thinking themſelues ſure, in regard of the ſtrength of the place, which is of a moſt difficult acceſſe, and of the Munition which were in it, (for there all Munition Royall is kept) and of the Succours promiſed by the Duke *D'Alua*, and the King of *France*, who had vnder-hand ſent them ſome money, (the greater part whereof had been intercepted at *Blackneſh*) and ſhould haue ſent more, had not the long Siege of *Rochell* hindred it. Not being able then to draw them to

Grange opposeth.

Booke 2.

1573.

any conditions of Peace, neither by money which the Vice-Roy promised them, nor by the persuasions of Queen ELIZABETH, but they defended the Castle against the Vice-Roy, molested the Towne of *Edenborrough*, being the Seate of *Iustice*, with Cannon-shot, by issuing violently out, and assaulting them euery day; and would call for the ayde of *France*: Queene ELIZABETH, who by no meanes could endure the *French* to be in *Scotland*, at length granted the requests of the Vice-Roy, which were for Troupes, Cannon, and other warlike Munitions, for the besieging and battering of the Castle, vpon these conditions:

he English sent to siege it.

ton What ditions.

THe Vice-Roy shall not make any composition with the besieged, without the aduice of the Generall of the English, *nor the* English *Generall without his, and of those of the Kings Councell. If the Castle fall into the hands of the* English, *it shall bee within 6. dayes after deliuered to the King, with all the Munitions of Warre, Vtensils, Memorials, Euidences, and Records belonging to the King or Kingdome, the rest left to the besiegers. The* English *shall not fortifie any place in* Scotland, *but with the consent of the Vice-Roy and the Peeres. The Vice-Roy shall lend the* English *such assistance and safe conduct, as hee could possibly. The Castle being taken, the besieged shall be kept to haue iustice executed vpon them according to the Lawes, the Queene of* England *beeing therevpon consulted with before hand. If any* English *be kild, their wiues and Children shall haue two yeeres pay, If wounded, they shall haue pay till they bee cured: If any* English *Cannons be lost, and the Powder and Shot bee wasted, they shall haue Munition Royall in their stead, which shall bee found in the Castle, or else the Rebels goods. Ten Hostages shall be sent into* England, *for assurance*

surance of the Troupes and Ordnance, which are to bee brought backe, except such as are lost by the hazzard of Warre.

Booke 2. 1573.

Vpon these Conditions, *William Drury*, Gouernour of *Barwicke*, went into *Scotland*, with some Peeces for battery, and fifteene hundred Souldiers, (among which were *G. Carey*, *Henry Carey*, *T. Cecill*, *Hen. Lea*, *W. Knollis*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, and other Gentlemen Voluntaries.) And beeing ioyned with the auxiliary forces of *Scotland*, besieged the Castle, after hauing twice commanded them in the Kings name, that they should render it vp, but in vaine. First they raised vp fiue Mounts, from whence, for the space of foure daies together, they furiously beat against the Tower, but especially vpon *Dauids* Tower, which fell within a few dayes after. After hauing giuen the assault, they tooke the *Bastion* or *Spurre*, till those which at the same made against them out of the Castle were repulsed, with losse of men. The morrow after, the besieged hauing giuen the signe, asked to speake to *Drury*, and after they had receiued for hostages into the Castle, *Henry Lea*, and *Fleck*, a Scottish-man, they let downe by cords, *Kircald* himselfe, and *Meluin*, who demanded life and goods, that it might be permitted that *Hume* and *Lidington* might depart for *England*, because of some particular enmities, and *Kircald* to remaine in *Scotland*, except he might depart with good license.

The Castle besieged by the English Forces.

That not being granted them, but onely the Souldiers permitted to goe out with their simple baggage, and without Armes; wanting men, disagreeing amongst themselues, wounded, toyled, and wearied with watching and labouring, without hope of succour, hauing no water, because one of the wells which were within the Castle, had beene filled vp with the ruines of a dry wall, and the other was exposed to the shot of the Cannon, within three daies after,

The Castle yeelded.

Booke 2. 1573.

after, they yeelded (which was the 33. day after the beginning of the Siege) to the discretion of the Queene of *England* and *Drury*, who, after he had receiued Letters out of *England*, deliuered vp the Castle to the Vice-Roy, for the vse of the King, with all that had yeelded themselues to him; of which, *Kircald*, *Iames* his brother, *Mosman*, and *Cock*, gold-smiths, who had coined false money in the Castle, were hanged, although to buy *Kircalds* life, an hundred of the House of the *Kircalds* had offered to be bound to doe perpetuall homage to the Vice-Roy, and pay him three thousand markes of annuall rent, and the first day twenty thousand pounds *Scottish* money, and to giue sureties, that for the time to come, they should remaine faithfull and obedient to the King.

Kircald and others hanged.

Hume and others being dispersed into diuers Castles, obtained pardon of Queene ELIZABETH, who got great praise by it for her clemency. *Lidington*, hauing beene sent to *Lieth*, dyed of sicknesse, not without suspition of beeing poysoned. He was a person of great experience, and of a neate spirit, if he had bin lesse changeable, as *Buchanan*, who hated him, painted him out in his life time, by a certaine Writing, which he intituled [*The Cameleon*,] by which he represented him to be more changeable then the *Cameleon*, and taxed him very sharpely to bee an enemy of diuers colours to the Kings Grandmother, the Kings mother, to the Earle of *Murray*, to the King himselfe, and to the Countrie. Since that time, *Scotland* hath beene free from Ciuill-Warre, and aswell the Captaines of that side, as the common-Souldiers, carrying their courages to the wars of *Sweden*, *France*, and *Flanders*, brought backe this great commendation of *Vertuous and valorous Warriours*.

Lidington dyes.

Peace made in Scotland.

To assure *England* from inbred enterprises, (in regard of the Queene of *Scots*) *Iohn Lesley*, Bishop of *Rosse* (a faithfull seruant to her, but not without the vndoing of many, and of bringing no few in danger) is commanded out of *England*,

The Bishop of Rosse banished out of England.

land, and went into *France*, but not without feare of the Earle of *Southampton*, whose life he had called in question, and likewise of *Henrie Howard*, brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, whose anger to appease, he writ an Apologie for himselfe. Hee was scarce departed thence, vntill *Henrie Cockin*, his Secretary, was apprehended, and *Morgan*, who was exceeding desirous to serue the Queene of *Scots* in her most secret affaires, was detected, and fled. *Atslow*, an Arch-papist, *Good*, a Doctor of Phisicke, and *Francis Berty*, who priuately intelligenced her by Letters, were imprisoned for certaine moneths, and for the same cause *Henrie Goodyere*, and *Richard Lowder* were had in suspition.

Booke 2. 1573.

Absence innouates Enterprizes.

In the meane time *Rosse* failed not to imploy all such dutifull endeuours for the Queene of *Scots*, as a faithfull Subiect was obliged to doe; towards the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *France*, the Papists Princes of *Germany*; all which gaue him hope, but did nothing. That this should fall out so ill hee complained exceedingly; especially, that the Duke of *Alua*, in whom his greatest trust was planted, was to leaue *Flanders*, hauing obtained leaue; vnder colour to recouer his health. For without doubt, he aduanced his victories so fast, that he had reduced almost all *Holland* into his power; *Spaine* called him away, by the perswasion of Cardinall *Grannellan*, and *Roderico Gomezio de Silua*, that his power grew too strong, and his name aboue his Prince, and that by his violent and sharpe command, he would cause the Flemmings to reuolt, yea, to grow to desperation: although some thought, who were bloody-minded, that none was so fit by Warre to bring *Holland* into subiection. Which kinde of men thought their King too mercifull, if he intended by meekenesse to bring the Prince of *Orange* and his confederates, who had resolued mindes to retaine their freedome, beeing confirmed thereto by their riches, and strength of situation. *Lodowicke Zuniga* of *Requesen* was appointed to take his charge. The great

The Duke of Alua is called out of the Low-Countries.

Lodowicke Zuniga succeedes him.

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great Commander of *Castile*, a milder natured man, who by all offices of loue, desired to oblige Queene ELIZABETH, would by no meanes thrust himselfe into the affaires either of *England* or *Scotland*.

Burches heresie.

I know not whether I should or no call to minde the opinion of *Burchet*, who thought it lawfull to kill those that were aduersaries to the Euangelicall truth, who was so transported therewith, that hee wounded with a poiniard, *Hawkins*, that famous Sea-man, thinking him to be *Hatton*, who was at that time one of the Queenes greatest Fauourites, of her most intimate counsell, and an enemy to Innouators. The Queene was so extraordinarily prouoked herewith, that shee commanded him to be proceeded against according to the Marshall Lawe, vntill shee was aduised by some of her prudent Councellours, that this Law had no place but in Warres and turbulent times, but at home it ought to bee done by ordinary forme of Iustice. Being called to Iustice, he maintained that what he did was consonant to Scripture, and therefore lawfull. Afterwards, seeing himselfe neere condemnation for heresie, promised to renounce this opinion, yet neuertheleſse, when hee had a little more debated the case, he would not. In the end, beeing committed to the Towre of *London*, hee killed one of his Keepers with a piece of wood, which hee tooke out of a Chimney, and threw at his head, and beeing condemned of murder, had his right hand cut off, and being at the Gallowes, obstinately maintained his opinion, and so was hanged.

Marshall Law.

Burch is hanged.

Effingham dies.

In the beginning of this yeere, dyed *George Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Lord Priuie Seale, sonne to *Tho. Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, the famous Warriour, by *Agnes Tilnie*, his second wife, a man of remarkeable fidelity, and of an inuincible courage, who first was Gouernour of *Calais*, afterwards made a Baron by Queene MARY, Admirall of *England*, and Lord Chamberlaine, and likewise by Queene

ELIZABETH,

ELIZABETH, vntill broken with age, he surrendred his Office to *Sussex*, a few daies before he dyed, and (as I haue said before) was made Lord Priuie Seale, the fourth degree of Honour in *England*: he had to succeed him in the honour of his Baronie, *Charles* his son, who was afterwards Chamberlaine to the Queene, and high Admirall of *England*.

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At the same time dyed likewise *R. Gray*, Earle of *Kent*, whom the Queene from a priuate man had called to this honour, when that Title had beene vacant 50. yeeres, after the death of *R. Gray*, Earle of *Kent* (who had consumed his Patrimony) elder brother to this mans great Grandfather, and *Henrie* his Sonne succeeded him.

Gray. Earl of Kent dies.

It is not fit in silence to ouer passe *I. Caius*, a famous Phisician, who dyed at the same time: he was borne at *Norwich*, brought vp at *Cambridge* and *Padua*, who gaue himselfe wholly to the studie of Phisicke, translated, and commented vpon the most part of *Gallens* and *Celsus* workes, and gaue all his meanes to Schollers. Adding a new Colledge to the old of *Gonuell Hall*, and 25. fellow Commoners to be perpetually brought vp, and of both made but one Colledge, called by the names of *Gonuell* and *Caius*, in which he is intombed, with this Epitaph,

Caius the Phisition dyes.

The Colledge of Gonuell & Caius.

Fui Caius.

In *Ireland*, the houses of *O-Conom*, and *O-More*, impatient of peace, hauing gathered some bands of Theeues and Rebels, made outragious incursions, rob'd and burned *Atlone* vpon the Riuer *Siney*, and willing to ioyne their forces with the Rebels of *Mounster*, they were hindred by *I. Perot*, President of Mounster, who so ransackt *Iames Fitz-Moris*, and *Fitz-Edmonds*, Seneschall of *Imoquell*, that rebelled, by continuall ouer-running them, and after hee had killed many of their men, and taken the Castle of *Maine*,

Troubles in Ireland.

Booke 2.

1573.

and the *French* Garrison, he compelled them to craue pardon most submissiuely for their faults, within the Temple of *Kilmalock*, called *The holy Cell of Malachie*. At the same time, the Earle of *Desmond*, and *Iohn* his Brother, authors of this Rebellion, being brought backe out of *England* into *Ireland* by *Fitton*, were imprisoned by the said *Fitton* at *Dublin*, but after a while were let goe.

The Earle of Essex sent to Ireland.

In *Vlster*, *Brian Mach-phelin*, who had vsurped the most part of *Clandeboy*, burned the Towne of *Knoc-fergus*, and some others began to trouble the Countrie. *George Deuereux*, lately created Earle of *Essex* by Queene ELIZABETH, desired to be imployed against them, by the counsell of those who had a designe to haue him farre from the Court, vnder colour of increasing his honour, to precipitate him into dangers, which were not hidden from him. But as he was vigilant, and from his youth addicted to the Warres, continuing constant in his designe, agreed with the Queene, that if hee draue out the Rebels, hee and his partners should haue the halfe of *Clandeboy*, vpon certaine conditions: and to maintaine it, he would entertaine at his owne charge, two hundred Horse, and foure hundred Foote. To this end he borrowed of the Queene a thousand pounds, for which, and for Munition, hee engaged Lands that he had in *Essex*. *G. Fitz-William*, Deputie of *Ireland*, fearing that the splendor of so great an Earle should dimme his in *Ireland*, counselled the Queene not to send him, giuing her to vnderstand, that all the Countrie of *Vlster* would reuolt at his comming. Notwithstanding, he is sent, and to maintaine the honour and authority of the Deputy, was to take Letters from him to be Gouernour of *Vlster*, which he obtained, though slowly, after many importunate sollicitations.

The Deputie permits it.

After, hauing bin beaten with a terrible Tempest, he was driuen to *Knock fergus*, about the end of *August*, with the Lord *Darcy*, and Lord *Rich*, *Henry Knollis*, and his foure bro-

brothers, *M.* and *I. Carey*, & *Iohn Noris*, with a company of Souldiers leuied in haste. *Brian Mac-phelin* vnderstanding of his comming, draue all his cattle (which were all his wealth) into the heart of the Countrey, (for, without counting Sheepe and Hogs, he had thirtie thousand head of Cattell) and seeing him ashore, saluted him, and congratulated his arriuall, and most courteously offered him all dutie and seruice, and likewise *Mac-Gillespike*, *Mac-Gill*, *Hugh*, Baron of *Dungannon*, and all of account neere thereabout. In consideration whereof, he promised him pardon for his rebellion, and studied which way he might oblige him. But he reuolted, and drew his men presently to *Turlough Leinich*, and afterwards made light Skirmishes continually against the *English*. The Lord *Riche's* particular affaires called him into *England*, and returned within a moneth. *Henry Knollis* in like manner, in regard of his indisposition of body, and diuers others, dayly taking some occasion or other to excuse themselues, by little and little, secretly withdrew themselues from that wild Countrie. *Essex* writ of it to the Queene, and to his friends, and complained very much, that the most worthy of his company languished, because the enterprize had bin begunne too late, and victuals came not in time, that they were corrupted, and that troupes inconsiderately leuied were many of them lost. That *Mac-phelin* was reuolted fraudulently, and others by the perfidiousnes of *Percy*, an English Captaine, who heretofore had commanded the *Irish* in that Countrey. That he was not able to furnish the expence of War. That the Deputie had not sent him his Commission, and that for want of it, he could not vse any authority against the Frontier Inhabitants: Therefore beseecheth her to take the busines in her own name and speciall command, though he vnderwent halfe of the charges.

Then he besought *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and *Burghley*, to intercede with the Queene, that she would grant him, at her

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Booke 2. 1573.

charge, a hundred Horse, 130. Foot, and the Iland of *May*. And as the Queene was ready to call him from *Vlster*, *Leicester* and others seeing new troubles growing in *Mounster*, perswaded that he should stay there. And the Deputie commanded him, whiles he was going against *Desmond*, to goe towards the Frontiers of *Vlster*, which, although it troubled him, being fortifying *Claudobie*, obeyeth notwithstanding, and entring into *Mounster* with *Kildare*, perswaded *Desmond* to embrace peace, who shortly after submitted himselfe. Now *Essex* hauing receiued Letters of Authority, tooke a long iourney, and *O-Donell* ioyned with him. But *Cone O-Donell*, *Turloghes* Sonne in Law, would not serue vnder him, therefore hee tooke from him the Castle of *Liffer*, and gaue it to *Hugh O-Donel* : *Turlogh* in the meane space protracted the businesse by parleyes, vntill it was time for *Essex* necessarily to depart. Hee, after hauing wearied his body with labour, and broken his spirit with care all the Summer, Winter being now at hand, began to reuolue more deepely in his mind, by what meanes *Vlster* so long neglected, and growne wilde and fierce, might be reduced to ciuilitie: and hauing maturely deliberated vpon it, thought, that if three Townes were built at the Queens charge, and (by the monies that his associates would contribute) ten Forts, in those places which hee had found to bee conuenient, aboue seuen thousand pounds of current *English* money might be gathered euery yeere, neither should there neede within the space of two yeeres any Royall Garrison. Whilest these and the like things, and for supply of victuals, tooke all their care and studie, they had beene almost surprized by the *Irish*. For *Brian Mac-phelin* (who lately had by treacherie ouerthrowne and slaine *Moore*, a Captaine of the *English*) hauing conspired his ruine with *Turlogh* and the *Scottish* Hilanders, whereof as soone as he had notice, he most wisely iudged, that it were not best to stay and expect them, but to set

set forward to assault them: which did he so couragiously, that he slew two hundred Irish, tooke *Brian* and *Rory Oge*, his brother by the mothers side, and *Brians* wife. With those businesses in *Ireland* this yeere was spent, to the good of none, but with much losse to *Essex*: and also to the notorious detriment of *Chaterton*, an English Gentleman, who vpon certaine conditions betweene the Queene and him, tooke to leade some Colonies of English into *Fues*, a neighbouring Territory to *O-Hanlane*.

Booke 2.

1573. *Mac-Phelim is taken. The vnprofitable attempt and force of Chaterton.*

Booke 2.
1574.

THE SEVENTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1574.

The Duke of Alanzon desires to visit Queene Elizabeth.

IN the first month of this yeere, the Duke of *Alanzon* laboured more then euer, as well by letters full of loue, as by *Mannisser* the French Ambassador, to obtaine leaue to come into *England* vnder safe-conduct, to see and salute Queen ELIZABETH, to whom being absent, hee testified all loue and respect.

Queene Elizabeth vnwilling to it.

Queene ELIZABETH ouercome with his continuall prayers and sollicitations, granted him his request, although she gaue him contrary aduice, and vnder assurance of safety gaue him leaue to come when he pleased, so it were by the twentieth of May, with promise to vse him with all offices of humanity, which he could expect from a Princesse which bore him great affection. And certainly, after shee had

had discouered that he was much irritated and greatly stirred vp against the *Guizes*, her Maiesties sworne enemies, she bare him more loue and good will then before. But before he had receiued this answer, *Valentine Dale*, Doctor of the Law, Ambassador in France in *Walsinghams* place then Secretary, gaue aduice, that hee and the King of *Nauarre* were suspected of innouation: For the mother Queene (a woman of great Spirit) beganne to suspect that he couertly plotted with the King of *Nauarre*, and the Duke of *Mont-Morancy*, to depriue her (the King being dead) of the managing of State-affaires. The *Guizes* increased this opinion, giuing her to vnderstand, that he had not long agoe imployed *Coligni*, Colonell of the Protestants, his intimate friend: vpon which being examined, he voluntarily acknowledged amongst other things, that he had for a certaine time sought the marriage of the Queene of *England*, and iudging the friendship of Admirall *Coligni*, profitable in this designe, had talked with him about it, and of the prosecution of the warres in the Netherlands; neuertheless ouer him and the King of *Nauarre* was a Guard appointed to preuent them. But *Thomas Wilkes*, Secretary to to the Ambassadour *Dale*, went priuatly to see them, and hauing in the Queenes name comforted them, he promised tha. her Maiesty would let slip no occasion to relieue and comfort them. Whereof this subtill and crafty old Queene hauing soone notice, handled *Wilkes* in such manner, that he was constrained to leaue *France*, and returne into *England*, where she so farre vrged her complaints by letters vnto Queene ELIZABETH, that he was sent backe againe to *France* to aske her pardon. *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *Nauarre*, buried not this friendly office: for he afterwards being King of *France*, and meeting with him 25. yeeres after in Normandy, he honoured him with the dignity of Knighthood: After this, Queene ELIZABETH sent *T. Randoll* into *France* to the Queene mother, to restore

He is suspected in France.

He is as it were prisoner being garded.

Queene Elizabeth comforts him.

again

Booke 2.

1574.

Charles the ninth King of France died.

The right Honourable Lord, Roger Lord North Baron of Catelage, is sent Ambassador with a noble train to Henry of Valois the third of that name, King of France & Poland.

The King of France and mother Queene recommend the Duke of Alanzon to Queene Elizabeth. They fauour the Queene of Scots against the Vice-Roy Morton.

againe into her fauour (if it were possible) the Duke of *Alanzon*, and the King of *Nauarre*: but before his arriuall into *France*, King *Charles* died, and his funerall Rites paid with great honour and magnificency in S. *Pauls* Church in *London*.

As soone as *Henry* of *Valois*, the third of that name, King of *France*, his successor, returned out of *Poland*, the right noble and vertuous Lord, *Roger*, Lord North, Baron of *Kirtling*, was sent Ambassador extraordinary into *France*, to congratulate his happy returne and succession to the Crowne of *France*, and to condole with him the distracted and wretched estate of that Realme so miserably rent and ruinated with ciuill war, to counsell him to make peace, and entertaine the Edicts, to take to fauor the D. of *Alanzon*, to lessen the hate he bore to the D. of *Mont-Morancy* & *Delosse*, to incite him to doe good to the religious Princesse, the Lady *Charlotte* of *Bourbon*, daughter to the Duke *Mont-pensier*, who fled for her Religion into *Germany*. But hee obtained nothing, for *France*, as it were pushed by fate, ran headlong into a direfull warre. Neuertheleſſe, the King and his mother the Queene, writ iointly into *England*, and sent *La Garde* to prosecute the marriage of the Duke of *Alanzon*: For seeing this young Prince grow cholericke, to see himselfe so vnworthily handled by his mother on all sides, as if he had beene a prisoner, and vnderstanding that he held secret Councel with the Politicians of *France*, they thought it safest to diuert him from warre, to send him into *England*.

In the *interim*, they imployed all their cunning in *Scotland*, to get *Iames* the young King ouer into *France*, and to displace *Morton* the Vice-roy from his charge, and for this purpose they sent thither the Kings Scottish guard. The Queene of *Scotland* greatly desired this, perswading her selfe, that if her sonne were in *France* out of danger, shee and the Catholikes should be more gently handled in *England*,

land, that the *English* faction which was in *Scotland*, and alwaies relying vpon the Kings name, would quickly be ruinated; as he riper increased in yeres, so the *English* should increase in feares, as well of the *French* partie, as of the *Scots* side. The *French* did no lesse desire it, fearing that the Regent of *Scotland* (who was altogether at the deuotion of the *English*) would breake the ancient Alliance which was betweene them and the *Scots*: and neuertheles then, when he instantly required, that they would contract the Alliance of mutuall defence against strangers, betweene *England* and *Scotland*, it was denied him, lest perhaps he should by the same meanes demand an annuall Pension to bee assigned to him, and certaine *Scottish* men. But eare was giuen to those, who vpon a light suspicion accused the Queen of *Scotland*, the Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and the Earle himselfe, to haue (without the Queenes priuity) made the marriage between *Charles*, the Paternall vncle of the King, (who had a little before confirmed vnto him by Parliament the County of *Lenox*) and the Lady *Elizabeth Cauendish*, the Countesse of *Shrewsburies* Daughter by her first Husband. Wherevpon the mothers of either sides, and others, for this cause being kept prisoners a little time, imputed and laid all the fault vpon the Queene of *Scotland*.

She giueth credit to those who make reports against the Queene of Scotland.

As it was vnknowne whither this marriage tended, and that diuers suspicions had their birth by it, *Henry* Count of *Lidington* was established President of the Assembly of the North, with new instructions and secrets for this affaire. This kind of Magistrate, which at this present is very honourable, hath in a little time, from weake beginnings, growne to this greatnesse; and now what I haue learned of it, by a free and short digresion, I meane to leaue to posterity. When, in the reigne of HENRY the Eighth, the rebellion of the inhabitants of that Countrie had stirred vp, for the destruction of Monasteries, was laid asleepe, many made complaint of the iniuries which he had receiued du

The Earle of Huntington, President of the North.

Booke 2.
1574.

ring that Rebellion, vnto the Duke of *Norfolke*, who remained in those parts; some of which he determined, and left the rest to be finished by persons which to this purpose hee had established, with Commissions sealed with his owne Seale; but the King being aduertised hereof, sent him a particular Seale to serue in such causes, and hauing reuoked him, gaue that Commission to *Tunstall* Bishop of *Duresme*, and appointed Commissioners with power to heare and determine the complaints of the poore. Hee was the first which bare the name of President, and since, the authority of his Successours hath bin of great value.

An Edict against the outrages of Apparell.

In these times, the superfluity of Apparell so preuailed in *England*, (by a Vice peculiar to the Nation, which pleaseth it selfe by imitating others) that the ancient fashion fell in such disgrace, that the men, by a new fashion of habit and too much brauery, made manifest the filthinesse and insolency of their spirits, swaggering euery where, couered with silke, gold, and siluer, pure and mingled. The Queene marking that this superfluity drew euery yeere out of the Kingdome (to the dammage of the publike) great quantity of money, for the buying of silke and other strange Merchandizes, and that many Gentlemen, who might doe good seruice to the Publike, and others, to seeme to be He, did not onely consume their demeanes, to their particular dammage, but also increased their debts, vsed deceits, and by this meanes fell into the nets of the Law, and after they had prodigally lauisht their goods, studied to make a change, she endeuoured to prouide a fit remedy for it. And although by the Lawes of HENRY the Eighth and MARY, she could preuaile against them, and draw from it great summes of money, neuertheless she rather lou'd to preuent it by a simple commandement. She commanded therefore, that within 14. dayes, euery one should forme his apparell to the prescribed fashion, if he would not incurre the seuerity of the Lawe, and shee herselfe began this reformation in

in her Court. But by the malice of time, this Edict, and these Lawes by little and little gaue place to this superfluity, which grew to a greater height of insolency, & was immediately traced by the riotousnesse of Feasts, and splendor of Buildings: for since that time, more magnificent, ample, and faire Countrie houses of Noble-men and priuate men haue beene raised vp in *England*, then in any other Ages whereby (truly) the Kingdome was greatly adorned, but the glory of Hospitality greatly decreased.

Booke 2. 1574.

England imbellished with magnificent structures.

The *English* which were at warre in *Holland*, vnder *Chester* and *Gainsford*, failed this yeere, the one in vertue, the other in successe: For those which lay in Garrison at *Valkenburgh*, gaue ouer the place, and yeelded to the Enemy; neuertheless they were pardoned, for feare lest Queene ELIZABETH should not suffer the *Spanish* Fleet, which was sayling towards *Flanders*, vpon the Sea of *Great-Brittaine*, to enter into her Hauens to victuall themselues. The others which were in the Channell of *Sluce*, after they had sustained a sharpe Combate, and couragiously repulsed the *Spaniards*, being surprized by their enemies, who had trauersed the Riuer, were ouerthrowne and chased from the place, with the losse of three hundred men, and three Ensignes.

The English worke treason in Holland.

They are defeated.

I know not whether it be expedient to record these triuiall things: That this yeere the pious credulity of certaine Preachers of *London* was deceiued by a young wench, who fained herselfe possessed with a Deuill. That there was a great Whale found dry on the Shores of the Ile of *Thanet*, whose length was twentie Elles of our measure, the breadth, from her belly to her backe bone, thirteene foote; the space betweene her eyes, eleuen foote. That the *Thames* did ebbe and flowe twice in one houre. That in the moneth of *Nouember*, from the North to the South, fuming Clouds were gathered together in a round, the night following, the Skie seemed to burne, the Flames run-

Ministers deceiued.

A Whale cast on shore.

An extraordinary flood in the Thames.

The Skie seemed to be on fire.

Booke 2.
1574.

running through all parts of the Horizon, met together in the verticall point of Heauen. Neuertheleſſe, let it not be imputed to me as a crime, to haue made mention of theſe things in a few words, and by a ſhort digreſſion, ſince the graueſt Hiſtorians haue recorded them in many words.

THE

Booke 2. 1575.

THE EIGHTEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1575.

HENRY the third, King of *France*, being returned from *Poland*, and already inaugurated in the City of *Rhemes*, confirmed by his oath and signe of his owne hand, before all things, the Alliance passed in the City of *Bloïs*, in the yeere 1572. betweene *Charles* his brother and Queene ELIZABETH, and hauing giuen it to the Ambassador ordinary of *England*, Queene ELIZABETH also for her part ratified it at Saint *Iames* neere *Westminster*. Notwithstanding a while after, he inquired by letters, if the words, *mutuall defence against all* (mentioned in that alliance) comprehended the cause of Religion? And after that Queene ELIZABETH had discreetly replyed, Yes, and that she was alwaies ready prest, and desirous to effect that mutuall defence, euen in the cause of Religion, if it was required by vertue of the alliance, he tooke armes against the Protestants: & the Duke of *Alanzon* being drawne to the contrary part, the marriage

The league with France renued.

Booke 2.

1575.

Warre kindled in France.

slept in a long and profound silence. Notwithstanding, Queene ELIZABETH in fauour of the Duke of *Alanzon*, furnished the Duke *Casimier* with a great summe of mony, to carry into *France* the Alman Rutters against the disturbers of the publike peace.

As her minde was busied about the affaires of *France*, those of *Flanders* happened: for *De Requesens*, successor to the Duke of *Alua*, was fully bent, and endeuored nothing more then to recouer (if it were possible) the Sea, which the Duke of *Alua* by a remarkable error in so great a thiefe had despised, and by this meanes had caused that long warre of the Low Countries, which indured so many yeeres: but he being not well furnished with necessary things to set forth a nauall Armie, because the tempest had broken and lost the Ships, which for this purpose had a little before beene conducted from Spaine to Flanders, by the aid of the English; hee sent *Boischot* into *England*, to leuy ships and furniture of warre with the Queenes leaue, who being vnwilling to aduenture her ships and Sea-men in anothers cause, denied it, and gaue publike charge to all persons, not to arme any Ships without her licence, and did forbid the English Sea-men to enrole themselues vnder other Princes. Vpon this refusall, *Boischot* prayed her not to take it in ill part, if the fugitiue English in Flanders should serue in a nauall Warre against the Hollanders, vnder the command of the Spaniard; and permit them to touch freely in the ports of *England* to victuall themselues. But she would not approue, that the rebellious English (so she termed those whom he stiled Fugitiues) should fight in the seruice of the Spaniard, not to perswade her that *Requesens* would gratifie them, prayed them not to doe it, and namely, *T. Copely*, whom the Spaniards had loaded with the titles of the great master of the Muze, Lord of *Gaten* and *Rouchtey*, and intended to set to Sea, to rob both English and Dutch. For the ports, she esteemed it exceeding folly to open

The Queene of England hinderth ships of Requesens.

Remembrance of the Ports.

open them to Rebels and sworne enemies. Yet *Boischot*, to obtaine more vniust things, required in the name of the Spaniard, that the rebellious Dutch might bee banished from *England*. But she refused that also, knowing that those whom he called Rebels, were poore miserable people of no note, and had neuer enterprized any thing against him, but being chased from their Country, and spoiled of their goods during the warre, had retired themselues into *England*, thinking she should commit a great inhumanity, and violate the lawes of Hospitality, if shee should deliuer them into the hands of a Cut-throat. She also remembred how far the affaires of *Spaine* were interessed in *Flanders*. Then when at the prayer of the Duke of *Alua* she commanded 1572. the Dutch to leaue *England*, and that hauing commanded the Count of March and other Dutch to be gone, they had taken *Brill*, and suscitated that warre; neuertheless, not to seeme altogether to depart from the ancient Alliance of the *Burguinions*, although the Spaniard had refused to confirme it with him, shee forbad by publike writing the Dutch Ships prepared for warre to goe forth, and those Dutch that had taken vp armes against the Spaniard, to enter into *England*, and expresly the Prince of *Orange* and his house: the Count of *Culenberge*, of *Berg*, of March, and fifty others the most notable of that faction. And she performed with more alacrity, in regard *Requesens*, at the intercession of *Wilson*, the English Ambassador, had caused the Earle of *Westmerland*, and other English to retire themselues out of the Country of Flanders, which was vnder the Spaniard, and had dissipated the English Seminary which was at *Doway*, in whose stead the *Guizes*, at the sollicitation of Pope *Gregory* the 13. established another in the City of *Rhemes*.

The Prince of *Orange*, finding his forces no way equall to those of the Spaniard, and expecting no succour from *England*, consulted with his friends in whom he might put his

Booke 1575.

To banish the Dutch fugitiues.

She denies the confederate Dutch entrance into the English ports.

Requisens chaseth the rebellious English from Flanders.

Dissolues their Seminary.

The Prince of Orange thinkes to run to the protection of the King of France.

Booke 2.

1575.

The Queene of England dissuades him.

his trust. Now when Queene ELIZABETH vnderstood he had fixed his eye and heart vpon the King of *France*, she first sent *Daniel Rogers* to dissuade him: but nothing being effected, in regard he had before created with the Admirall *Coligni* and the King of *France*, she sent *H. Cobham* to the King of *Spaine*, to let him vnderstand how great the danger were, if *Holland* and *Zealand* should reuolt from him, and giue themselues to the King of *France*; and by the most important reasons she could represent, she perswaded him to make change of warre for peace, to which he seemed to accord. She then gaue aduice to *Requesens*, by *R. Corbet*, and ceased not by all meanes to turne the Prince of *Orange* from his designe, by the imployment of *I. Hasting*, but she could not obtaine her purpose, being countermined by *Villiers* a French Church-man, who came poore into *England*, with a scuruy Cloake all torne (I speake this because I knew him) but was inriched by a collection which was giuen him to reade Diuinity Lessons, fearing lest the Prince of *Orange* should cast his eye vpon the English, maintained amongst other things, nay by a publike writing, that Queene ELIZABETH had no man of warre to whom she would trust an Army, but the Earle of *Sussex*, and that he bare no good affection to the Protestants, and according as he had learned of *Coligni*, he gaue forth, that if the English did set foot in the Low-Countries, they would renew their ancient hate against the French.

The confederat Dutch deliberate what Protector they should chuse.

Neuertheless, the intestine warres of *France* hauing taken away all hope of succour from the Prince of *Orange*, and the Dutch, they afresh consult to whom they may runne, and rely vpon for aid. They knew that the Princes of *Almany* were against the Spaniards, & also they hauing no good intelligence, did niggardly depart with their mony, discorded with the Dutch in certaine points of Religion, and that the Emperour, a neere Kinsman of the Spaniards, would giue impeachment to it. They also saw the French

French so engaged in their owne ciuill warres, that they could finde no end; that there was simulated & inueterate hate betweene the inhabitants of the Low-Countries and the French; that the Brabanders, Flemmish, and the neighbouring people of France, would oppose it with all their force; that the Commandement of the French was rude and burthensome, as well as that of the Spanish; and that the hauens of *France* are not much commodious for the nauigation of the Dutch. But for the English that were almost vnder one paralell with the Dutch, who also seemed to be of the same nature and Religion with them, that their language was not much different; their Countrey neere adioyning, furnished with Ports, commodious for Nauigation, and fruitfull in Merchandize. That the Queen both by Sea and Land was very powerfull, a milde and gracious Princesse, temperate in her commands, one that would conserue their Liberties, and in no wise burthen them with exactions.

Booke 1575

They haue recourse to the Queene of England.

They forthwith sent into *England*, *Phil. Marnix*, Lord of Saint *Aldegonde*, *I. Douza* of *Nortwic*, *Paul Busy*, and *D. Melsen*, which with an honourable legacy, and learned oration, offered to the Queene, *Holland* and *Zeland*, eyther to possesse, or protect, as being a Princesse issued from the Princes of *Holland*, of the bloud of *Philip*, Wife to *Edward* the Third, Daughter to *William Bauier*, the third of that name, Earle of *Hainaud*, and of *Holland*, by whose second Sister the *Spaniard* came to the inheritance of the Prouinces. The Queene gaue a willing and an attentiue hearing to these things. But first of all, shee weighed and considered in her minde the cause which they had vndertaken against their Lord and King, the enmities of the *Spaniard*, the enuy of the *French*, the great expences and doubtfull euents of the warre, and also what offence might be taken by this insolent example. Then shee doubted whether by her discent from *Bauier*, she might make claime to *Holland*

She deliberateth thereupon.

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and *Zeland*, and whether shee might lawfully contract a league of protection with the Subiects of another Prince, and whether they themselues could doe this, without the consent of the Emperour, who was Soueraigne Lord of the Fee. Then further, she scarce gaue credit to what some whispered in her eares; that the Prouinces fell not to the *Spaniard* by hereditary right, but by the election of the Subiects. Finally, hauing maturely deliberated vpon these things, (after she had respectiuely rendred thankes to the Prince of *Orange* and the rest, for their great good will) she answered, that she had alwayes had a speciall regard of the honour and faith worthy a Prince, nor could shee yet conceiue, how she could in honour and conscience receiue the Prouinces into her protection, much lesse into her possession; but she would imploy her best labours to mediate for a happy peace betweene them.

She reiecteth their proffer.

The Ambassy of Champigni.

At the same time arriued at the Court, *Iohn Perenot* of *Champigni*, from *Lodwick Zuniga* of *Requesens*, who in his name modestly aduised the Queene to entertaine the league betweene *England* and *Burgundie*, and not to entermeddle in the affaires of the *Netherlands*: To whom, the Queene promised to obserue the league, notwithstanding the *Spaniard* had refused to confirme it. Yet would shee alwayes prouide for her owne honour and safety, if shee perceiued the ancient forme of command amongst the *Burgundians* to be changed; and forreine Souldiers in great numbers daily to be admitted into the adiacent Prouince.

Requesens dyeth.

Before *Champigni* was returned, *Requesens* yeelded to death, and a strange confusion had ouercast the *Netherlands*, the Souldiers deuasting all places with Sword and Fire; And the Estates of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *&c.* assuming their former authority in the administration of the Common-wealth, which the *Spaniard* by necessity was constrained to confirme to them, vntill the comming of *Iohn* of *Austria*, whom hee had instituted Gouernour ouer the Prouinces,

Prouinces, Queene ELIZABETH carefully laboured that the *Spaniard* might receiue no discommoditie, & conserue, as much as she possible could, the *Netherlãds* intyre to him, and sent *Dauison* diligently to exhort them to a peace. But by reason of outragiousnesse of the *Spanish* Souldiers, nothing was effected.

England, for this whole yeere, remained in a peaceable quiet, excepting, in the moneth of *Iuly* there happened vpon the Southerne borders of *England*, towards *Scotland*, a conflict betweene the borderers of eyther part, whereof the occasion was this, *Iohn Foster*, Knight, Gouernour of the Meridionall Frontiers, and at the same time of *Barwicke* also, entred into parley vpon the Mount *Redsquire*, with *I. Carmichell*, Warden of *Liddisdale* in *Scotland*: notwithstanding it was a custome that none but Gouernours should meete with Gouernours, and Wardens with Wardens, as equals in dignitie, they were of either side accompanied, besides certaine Noble-men, with a multitude of Fugitiues, and Malefactours, all armed; of which, the most part quarrelled with one another about inueterate and mortall hatreds betweene them. These sort of fellowes, according to their custome, hauing put their horses out here and there to feed, round incircled the Gouernour & Warden; whom when they heard breake out into eager termes about the sending backe of Fugitiues, they, whose Lawes were onely their weapons, knowing themselues guilty, were afraid lest they should be deliuered into the hands of iustice; vpon a squabble which fell out about the taking away of a spurre, they tumultuously ranne to armes, and euery one, to reuenge their priuate spleene, assayled his particular enemy, or made prey of his Horse. Whether a *Scot* or an *Englishman* was the beginner, it is vncertaine. At the first encounter, the *English* repulsed the *Scots*, and tooke *Carmichell*. But as they, being too confident in their owne forces, ranged about for booty and trifling pillage, a troupe

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The Queene studieth to bring the affaires of the Netherlands to a composition.

A conflict vpon the borders of Scotland.

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Heron is slaine.

The English led as prisoners into Scotland.

of *Scottish* succours sallying out of *Iedbourgh*, *Carmichell* escaped, and the *English* were put to flight, *George Heron*, Knight, Warden of *Tyndale* and *Ridisdale*, with others, was slaine, and the Gouernour *Forster* himselfe; *Fran. Russell*, sonne to the Earle of *Bedford*, and sonne-in-law to *Forster*; *Cuthbert Collinwood*, *Iames Ogle*, *Henry Fenwich*, and many others, were taken and carried to *Dalquith* in *Scotland*, where the Regent was resident, who courteously receiued them: but fearing lest, if hee should so soone permit them to depart, their bloud yet boyling for the murther, should inflame their courages to vengeance, and so rayse a warre betweene the two Kingdomes, hee for a time deteined them, and would not release them, before they had promised by writing, to appeare at a certaine day in *Scotland*.

The Queene of England is much incensed.

When Queene ELIZABETH had certaine notice of these matters, shee was then (if euer anger had preuayled with her) full of vexation and mightily incensed, that the *Scots*, which were (as her selfe spake) indebted to her for their rest and libertie, should, violating the peace, assault and murder the *English* in *England*, should surprize and leade into *Scotland* the Gouernour of the Meridional frontier, and of *Barwick*, and others, and not release them before they had promised in writing to returne. Shee tooke all this as a great iniury and a disgrace done to the name of the *English*, and to her honour; And so much the more, because the Regent had constituted, that inquisition should be made vpon the borders of *Scotland*, whether those which were of the Commission, did come to the place armed. This proposition she iudged to come from a heart pufft vp with enmitie; but that other with ambition, that is to say, that the Regent should prescribe a place of meeting to the Queene of *England*, notwithstanding that shee had not long before appointed a meeting-place in the City of *Yorke* to the Regent *Murrey*. Neither could the affrighted

ted Regent satisfie the Queene, vntill hee vnarmed had met with *Huntington*, Deputy for *England*, at *Bonderod*, a Towne vpon the Borders, and there promised with good offices to salue this hurt; and for the reparation of the *English* name, he sent *Carmichel* his indeered friend into *England*, who for a space was detayned there in free imprisonment at *Yorke*, and soone after was sent backe with honour and rewards. For the fault was found to be sprung from *Forster*, whilest hee aboue measure sustained the Cause of a notorious Malefactor. Thus was the Queene reconciled to the Regent, who remained euer after constant in his friendship; chastising the Fugitiues of either side, to his great praise, and the good of both the Kingdomes.

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The death of the Duke of Castell-Herauld.

In this yeere dyed not any in *England*, of any noble remarke or note: But in *Scotland*, the thrice-Noble *Iames Hamilton*, Duke of *Castell-Herauld*, who being sonne to the Daughter of *Iames* the second, King of *Scotland*, was giuen as a tutor to *Mary* Queene of *Scots*, appointed Gouernour and Heire to the Kingdome, so long shee was vnder age, and when he had deliuered her to the *French*, he was created Duke of *Castell-Herauld*, in *France*; afterwards was constituted the chiefe of the three Gouernours of *Scotland*, during Queene *Maries* imprisonment; whose Cause whilest he constantly defended, being an open man, and of a nature peaceable, he was much afflicted by the iniuries and plots of some troublesome spirits.

Essex reduced into distresse in Ireland.

The Earle of *Essex* perceiuing himselfe much troubled, aswell by the Ambushes of *Turlogh*, and the Lord of *Dungannon*, as also by the obiected Difficulties in *England*: and learning that it was deliberated in *England* concerning his repeale, he silently deplored the misreies whereinto by extreme iniurie he was precipitated; he complained of the losse of his owne and his mens fortunes; hee lamented *Ireland*, which he perswaded himselfe, that with two thousand Souldiers, he could reduce into obedience, he instant-

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ly demanded, that for his honour he might compound the matter with *Turlogh*: and hauing giuen vp to the Vice-Roy his command in *Vlster*, because that with that small Company of men which he had assigned him, he was not of power sufficient to prosecute what he had begunne, hee was presently commanded to resume the same. But hee had scarce resumed it, and began to march against *Turlogh*, but he receiued Letters of Command, wholly to with-drawe himselfe from that warre, and, in as honourable termes as he could, to conclude a Peace. Which beeing presently performed, he charged vpon the *Scots* of *Hebrides*, which had seized vpon *Clandeboy*, and forced them to fly into Caues: and hauing with the ayde of *Norris* surprized the Island *Rachlin*, and slaine 400. of the Islanders, hee forced the Castle to yeeld, and there placed a Garrison. And beeing now in the middle course of victory, hee was againe commanded (beyond his expectation) to resigne his authority, and onely as a priuate Captaine, had command ouer three hundred men. And sure nothing was omitted by the close and subtill dealings of *Leicester*, with continuall troubles to oppresse the milde and peaceable spirit of this Noble Worthy.

Sidney the third time Deputy, maketh his progresse in Ireland.

Henry Sidney was then sent the third time Vice-roy into *Ireland*, when the Plague made large hauock of the Isle: neuertheless, he passed to *Vlster*, where many humbled themselues to him, and requested with Prayers their safe-guard, to wit, *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guir*, *Turlogh Leinich*, and others; as many also in *Lemster*, of the seditious Family of *O-Conor*, and *O-Mor*, who by force of Armes had holden their ancient Possessions in *Leise* and *Ophale*, whereof by an Ordinance they had beene dispossessed. Beeing arriued at *Mounster*, he assisted as a mourner, to honour the Funerals of *Peter Carew*, a true Noble Knight, and of memorable vertues (who, as heire to *Stephanide*, and *Reymond Crasse*, who were the first Conqueters of *Ireland*, and of the

The death of Peter Carew.

Lordship

of *Tdorne*, had conquered, by the Rites of Warre, part of his Patrimony.) Comming to *Corcagh*, the Earle of *Desmond* visited him, and with great respect offered vnto him all willing and ready seruices. From thence being carried to *Connach*, he receiued Homage of the sonnes of *Clan-Richard*, which were Rebels, and pardoned all their offences, after they had humbly implored the same in the Church of *Galloway*: and so hee gouerned the Prouince with great and worthy applause.

THE

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1576.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1576.

The French propound a marriage to Queene Elizabeth.

She, peace to them.

She labours to diuert them from the Netherlands.

A New yeere beginning, the two match-makers for the Duke of *Alanzon*, *la Mottefenelon*, and *la Porte*, began to charme the eares of Queene ELIZABETH, with sweete and amorous discourses. To whom reply was made, *That it was then no time for such talke, the Duke being so farre ingaged in the Ciuill Warres, wherewith* France *was infested, that he could not readily come into* England. Neuertheless, two Ambassadours were sent into *France*, one after another, to renewe a fraternall friendship betweene the King and the Duke, and to dehort them from the affaires of the *Netherlands*, lest the *Spaniard* should kindle a new war in *France*; shewing them how easie a thing it would be to him (hauing then a puissant Army in *Italy*) to surprize *Saluces*, or beeing with his forces possest of *Prouence*, to command

mand the entry of the Mediterranean Sea, especially the treasury of *France* being so neere exhausted: of other semblable matters she admonished them, to deterre them from the Low-Countries.

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For the Prince of *Orange*, for his owne particular profit, and the hope of retaining the Principality of *Orange*, which was situate in *France*, hee ceased not to inuite the *French* into the *Netherlands*; and promised to the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, who as if they were borne to the Sea, did infest the Sea, with their Vessels, purposely built for their Pyracies, the pillaging of the shipping of the *English* Merchants, vnder a pretext framed, that they relieued the *Dunkirkes* their enemies with victuals, and vnder borrowed names, transported into *Spaine* the merchandizes of *Antwerpe*, and other places, which themselues were accustomed to transport thither, and for their owne profit, but now durst not, by reason they knew themselues guiltie of reuolt. *Holstock* was forthwith sent with Ships furnished for the warres to represse them, who tooke aboue two hundred Pyrates, and imprisoned them vpon the sea-coast; And for the goods which were taken away, *William Winter*, Knight, and *Robert Beale*, Counsellor, and Secretary for the Queenes Letters, were deputed into *Zeland*, to accord the differences on eyther side, and vpon equall conditions to cause restitution to be made. But the Auarice of the *English* Merchants, and the insolency of the *Zelanders*, broached new contentions, which were presently brought to conclusion with little dammage to either Nation.

The Zelanders molest the English by Sea;

are repressed.

Then there grew a great confusion throughout the *Netherlands*, the *Spaniards* imprisoning certaine of the Councellours of the Estates, and persecuting with all sorts of outrages and excesse of iniuries the inhabitants of the Prouinces in such manner, that the Estates were forced to take armes, and send forth messengers to all parts to manifest their wrongs. They dispatched towards Queene Eli-

A confusion in the Netherlands.

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ZABETH, *Aubigni*, to demonstrate to her Maiestie the iniuries and causes for which they tooke vp armes. Queene ELIZABETH, by *Wilson*, exhorted as much as was possible, both the *Estates* and the *Spaniards* to lay aside their Armes; studiously inquiring the causes why the Counsellors of the *Estates* were so violently imprisoned. In the meane space, the City of *Antwerpe* being the Illuminary of other Cities, which scarce giueth place to the second of the most flourishing Marts in *Europe*, was miserably sacked by the *Spaniards*, the House of the *English* Merchants there pillaged, and themselues, although innocent, were constrained to pay large ransomes to the Souldiers. *Aubigni* taking hold of this occasion, with much importunity requested Queene ELIZABETH in the name of the *Estates*, to lend some notable summe of money, to be imployed for the repressing of the *Spanish* insolence. But her Maiesty knowing that they had before demanded assistance of the *French*, made refusall, neuertheleſſe she promised incontinently, and with all diligence, to make intercession to the *Spaniard* in their behalfe for a peace and league; and to this end, she sent *Iohn Smith*, Cousin-German to *Edward* the Sixth, a man perfect in the *Spanish* behauiour, and well knowne to the King of *Spaine*, who was graciously receiued of the King; and so wisely retorted vpon *Gasp. Quirague*, Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and the Inquisitors, the contumelious iniuries which they spake against the Queen, out of hate to the Religion, and willing her not to adde to her titles, the *Defendresse of the Faith*, that he receiued many thankes from their King, who was much offended with the Arch-bishop, requesting *Smith* to conceale from the Queene those passages, and commanded seuerely that that attribute should be allowed of. The King knew well that the Queenes Counsel were sufficient and expedient for her affaires, yet would he not consent thereto, the fate of the *Netherlands* (if I may so call it) carrying him another way.

Antwerpe sacked by the Spanish souldiers.

The Queene procureth a peace for the Netherlands.

At

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The arriual of Iohn of Austria in Flanders.

At the same time, *Iohn* of *Austria*, naturall Sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, arriued in *Flanders* with a soueraigne command; to whom, the Queene in like manner sent *Edward Horsey*, Gouernour of the Ile of *Wight*, to congratulate his arriuall, and offer him her assistance, if the *Estates* should call the *French* into *Holland*. Neuertheless, by the importunate sollicitation of *Sweuingham*, pleading for the *Estates*, shee sent them 2000. pounds of *English* money, with this condition, that they should not change their Prince, nor admit the *French* into *Holland*, nor refuse the peace, if *Iohn* of *Austria* should descend to any equall conditions. But if he should accept of a peace, then the moneyes should be imployed for the payment of the *Spanish* Souldiers, which had for want of pay raysed all these troubles. Such was her care and study to detaine these wauering Prouinces vnder the obedience and alleageance of the *Spaniard*, neuer pretermitting any occasion of well-deseruing, and for the conseruation of peace.

The Queene furnisheth the Estates with money;

to continue the Prouinces in the King of Spaines obedience.

In this instant, *England* triumphed in an agreeable tranquillity, and the traffique of the *English* with the *Portugals*, which, by the priuate auarice of some particular persons had beene shut vp, was then opened againe, and the *English* had permission to traffique in *Portugall*, *Algarbia*, the Iles of *Medera*, and the *Azores*, the *Portugals* likewise in *England* and *Ireland*, for the space of three yeeres; during which time, all differences and contentions which had bin about the detaining of goods or merchandise, were made void. And this was publiquely diuulged by the sound of a Trumpet.

The traffique re-established betweene England and Portugall.

Likewise certaine learned Ingenies of the time, inflamed with an honest desire of discouering the more distant Regions of the Earth, and the secrets of the Ocean, incited certaine well-monyed men, who were no lesse inflamed with the desire of getting more, to make discouery, if in the North parts of *America*, there were any way, by which

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With what probabilitie.

men might sayle to the rich Countrey of *Cathay*, and so, by a mutuall commerce, to ioyne the Riches of the East and Occident together.

Those learned men probably disputed, taking it for granted, that the shore lay on that side; that the neerer we approach to the shore, the shallower the waters be: and by experience, those which saile from the shore of the Westerne Ilands, meet with higher Seas, which seeme to be all one with that Sea which Nauigators call *Del-Sur* on the other part of *America*: Furthermore, that when the Sea is carried by the diurnall motion of the *primum mobile*, it is driuen backe by the opposition of *America*, and runnes toward the Northerne Countries of *Cabo Fredo*, that is to say, the *cold Promontory*, there to vnburthen it selfe through some Chanell into the *Del-Sur* Sea, except it be by the like violence repulsed into *Lappia* and *Finmarch*, in which Region of the Southerne world, from the Insulous strait of *Magellan*, being incapable of such a masse of waters by reason of the narrownesse of the Chanels of those Ilands, they are beaten backe to *Cabo Fredo* by the Easterne shores of *America*. And they adde for Witnesses, *Ienkenson*, an Englishman, who better knew then any other the Northerne Climate of the world, (who shewed that those huge and massie heapes of waters of the Sea *Cronio*, doe disimbogue themselues necessarily into the Sea *Del-Sur*,) and *Bernard le Tor*, a Spaniard, who affirmed, that returning from the *Moluccus*, into *America*, aboue the Equinoctiall Line Northward, he was cast backe againe by force of waters, comming from the North, violently rushing against his Ship, into *Moluccus*; and other Witnesses they produce to proue this: Whereupon, monyed-men were perswaded to send *Martin Furbisher* with three Ships to discouer this Strait: who loosing from *Harwich* the 18. of *Iune*, entred the ninth of *August* into the Gulfe or Strait, vnder the latitude of sixtie three degrees, where hee found men

Witnesse, Ienkinson an Englishman.

Bernard le Tor, a Spaniard.

Furbisher sent to discouer the Strait in the North part of America.

men of blacke hayre, broad faces, flat wry noses, of a swart and tawny colour, clothed with Sea-Calues skinnes, and the women were painted about the eyes and the balls of the Cheeke with a deepe azure colour, like the ancient *Britans*: but all things being so bound vp with Ice, in the Moneth of *August*, it was not possible for them to hold on their course, so as he returned for *England*, where he arriued the eighth of the Kalends of *October*, with the losse onely of fiue Mariners, which were taken by the Barbarians. Notwithstanding to performe what he had begun, hee sayled the next two yeeres about the same Shore, but was hindered from entring into the Gulfe by the Ice which was euery-where heaped vp like Mountaines. Being then beaten with Tempests, Snow, and Windes that were euer and anon changing, hauing gathered a great number of Stones (which he tooke to haue beene Minerals) he turnes sailes: from which stones, when neither Gold, Siluer, nor any other metall could be drawne, we saw them throwne away to repayre the high-wayes. But these things are publiquely extant, described at large.

The death of Maximilian the Emperour.

About the same time, *Maximilian* the Emperour dyed, a prudent and iust Prince, profitable to the Empire, & well deseruing both of Queene ELIZABETH, and the *English*: whereof, as soone as shee was certainely informed, being afflicted with an exceeding griefe, shee sent Sir *Philip Sidney*, Ambassadour, to *Rodulphus*, King of the *Romans*, diligently to declare her sorrow for the death of his father, and to congratulate his Succession. And also, in passing by, to condole with the Sonnes of *Frederick* the Third, Elector Palatine, for the death of their Father; and by the way, to put *Casimere* in minde of the Money which shee spent in the *French* warre; for by that warre, peace being restored to *France*, the Prouinces of *Anion*, of *Touraine*, and of *Berie* assigned in Apennage, as they call it, to the Duke of *Alanzon*, eleuen millions of Franc's, promised to *Casimere* to pay the

Queene Elizabeth mournes.

The Elector Palatine dyes.

A Franc is two shillings English.

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the *Germaine* Horse-men, and three hundred thousand Crownes, for which the *French* Queene had engaged her Iewels. But Queene ELIZABETH had none at all paid againe, and yet thought her selfe sufficiently recompenced in hauing it so well spent in so good a cause. *Casimere* ingenuously and with a *Germaine* sincerity made answer, That the *French* had broke promise with him, and that it was not his fault that the Money was not re-payd.

As in *Germany* the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the Prince Elector Palatine, for their Christian vertues, and singular moderation, had left a great affection and much griefe: So no lesse did *Walter Deureux*, Earle of *Essex*, leaue in *England* and *Ireland*, though farre inferiour in place, verily a most excellent man, in whom sweetnesse of manners contended with his Noblenesse of Birth; all which notwithstanding could not preuaile against Enuie: for indeed, he was compelled afterwards to leaue that which he had laudably begun in *Ireland*, with much diminishing his Patrimonie: and being returned into *England*, he openly threatned *Leicester*, whom he suspected had iniured him: by the Court subtletie of *Leicester*, who was afraid of him, and by the peculiar mysteries of the Court, by striking, and ouerthrowing men with Honour, he was sent away againe into *Ireland*, vvith a vaine Title of [*Earle Marshall of Ireland*] vvhere pining away vvith griefe, and being grieuously tormented vvith a Dyssenterie, verie godlily rendred vp his Soule to God, after he had vvilled those that vvere vvith him, to admonish his Sonne, then scarce ten yeeres old, that he should alvvaies set before his Eyes the sixe and thirtieth yeere of his age, as the longest measure of his life, vvhich neither he nor his Father ouer-liued, and truly he attained not vnto it, as in his place vve shall declare. Thus vvas the death of this most Noble person, by the Vulgar (vvho alwaies suspect those they hold deare, to be made avvay by poison) suspected to be poisoned, though *Sydney*, Lord Deputie of

Ireland,

1576.

Ireland, hauing made diligent inquisition about it, writ to the Councell of *England* that the Earle often said at his first falling sicke, that as often as he was troubled in mind, hee was pained with this flux, and that he neuer suspected poyson, that he had the same colour of bodie in his sicknesse as he had in perfect health, no spot, no consumption, no blemish, no losing of nailes, no shedding of haire, nor inward putrifactiō or appearance of poyson when he was dissected. That the Phisicons did not agree in the cause of his sicknes, neither ministred they any thing to him against poyson, but that he that waited of his cup was falsly accused of..... dipt in water and mingled with wine: neuertheless wee haue seene the man pointed at publickly for a poysoner. This suspition increased, because *Leicester* so quickly after abandoned *Douglas Sheffield*, by whom he had had a sonne (whether she was his wife or paramour, I will not say) after hee had giuen her a summe of money and made her great promises; and openly professed loue to the Lady *Lettice*, *Essex* his widdow, and married her twice. For though, it was said, that he had maried her priuately, yet *Henrie Knollis* her father knowing his extrauagant affections, and fearing lest he should deceiue his daughter, would not beleeue it, vnlesse he saw a contract himselfe, expressely in the presence of a publike Notarie and witnesses. But that was performed two yeeres after.

Essex death suspected.

At that time dyed in *England* Sir *Anthony Coke* at seuentie yeeres of age, a Knight that kept the ancient Seuerity, and very learned, Tutor to EDVVARD the Sixth in his Child-hood, happie in his Daughters, who being skilfull in the Greeke and Latine tongues aboue the expectation of their Sexe, he had married to these famous men, *William Cecill*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, to *Thomas Hoby*, who dyed Embassador in *France*, *Raph Roulet*, and *Henry Killigrew*.

The death of Sir Anthony Coke.

That I may goe backe a little: Before *Essex* dyed, the sonnes

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Tumults in Ireland.

Sonnes of the Earle of *Clan-Rickard*, whom the Deputie of *Ireland* had pardoned for rebellion scarce two yeeres before, had gathered together a Companie of Scummes, Rogues, and Rebels, who rob'd and barbarously sack't *Connach*, burnt *Athenrie*, which the Inhabitants were about to re-edifie, and with a barbarous hatred which they bore vnto them, who began to fauour Lawes and Humanity, killed the workmen. The Deputie makes haste thither, dissipates these Troopes of Robbers, and made them flye into their Dennes, according to their custome; and imprisoned the Earle of *Clan-Rickard* their Father (as culpable of his Sons crimes) in the Castle of *Dublin*. But as soone as the Deputie was returned, they came out againe, and besieged the Castle *Balla-reogh*, being their Fathers chiefe Seate (where there was a Garrison commanded by *T. Strange*) but in vaine and with losse of their men. Afterwards being assisted by the Ilander *Scots*, ransack't and spoil'd whatsoeuer was vpon the Lands of *Mac-Williams Eughter* the younger: but the Deputie comming againe, they fled and hid themselues as they did before.

William Drury, President of Mounster.

William Drury, late Gouernour of *Barwicke*, now newly made President of *Mounster*, by his wisedome and valour brought all the Prouince vnder command, and in obedience to the Lawes, except *Kerria* and the Countie Palatine, whither, like to a Sincke, a great number of Malefactors, Theeues, men in debt, and such as were suspected for Treason, by reason of the Immunity & priuiledges belonging to the place, were gathered together, a certaine impunitie imboldening them. For EDVVARD the third had granted to the Earle of *Desmond*, *all Regall Liberties, that the Kings of England had in that Countie; except for Burnings, Rapes, Forestallings, and Treasure found.* Notwithstanding, the President (iudging that these Liberties were granted rather for the exercise of Iustice, then for the protecting of Mischiefe) valiantly defeated the most selected troopes of the forlorne Rebels,

Rebels, which the Earle of *Desmond* had layd in Ambuscado, and made search through all *Kerria*, and punished many of them seuerely. The Earle of *Desmond* vexing at this, and grieuously complaining to the Lord Deputie, of *Drury*, as well of this, as of the Taxe, which they call *Ceass*. This Taxe is an exaction of Victuals at a certaine price (as the Glebe among the Ancients) for Prouision of the Deputies Family, and the Garrison Souldiers. Of this Taxe, he complained not alone, but in *Lemster*, the most ciuill part of the Isle, the Viscount *Bultinglas*, *Deluin*, *Hoth*, and *Trimleston* Barons, and also other of the Nobler sort, complaining, denied to pay it, as not to be exacted, but by authoritie of Parliament; And thereupon sent Deputies into *England*, who, being heard before the Councell, were committed; and in like manner in *Ireland* were those that sent them, vntill they submitted to pay it: It appearing by the Records of the Kingdomes Exchequer to be instituted long agoe, and is a certaine right of Maiestie, called [*Royall Prerogatiue*] which is not subiect to the Lawes, nor yet repugnant as the Lawyers haue iudged it. But the Queene commanded the Lord Deputie to vse a moderation in such like exactions, and vsed the old saying, [*While they may sheare her subiects, doe not shaue them:*] and said moreouer,

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Malefactors pursued and punished.

Ceass, what it is.

The Irish complaine of exactions.

The Queene hath compassion.

> *AH, how greatly I feare lest that which* Bato *in time past to* Tiberius *vpon the reuolting of* Dalmatia, *be obiected against vs by the* Irish. *You, you are in fault, who commit not your flockes to Shepheards but to Wolues.*

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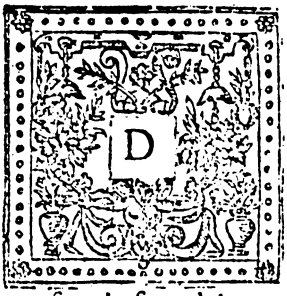
THE TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1577.

Austria inclines to Peace.



On Iohn of Austria perceiuing himselfe too weake for the States of Holland, strengthened by the amitie of neighbour Princes, sent Gastel to Queene ELIZABETH to thanke her for the ayd which she had offered him against the French, & to declare his desire of Peace. She by Edw. Horsey now sent the second time to him, commends his disposition to Peace, and withall treates that the goods of the English detained in Antwerpe, might be restored. Answer was made verie slowly, he being much distracted (as he pretended) with other affaires, wholly intending [The perpetuall Edict for Peace] as they call it, which scarce lasted a yeere. Queene ELIZABETH seriously desiring Peace, sends Sir Thomas Leighton to the Prince of Orange, to perswade him,

Elizabeth perswades it.

him, not to labour, or attempt any thing against Peace, vntill *Iohn Smith*, who was sent into *Spaine* to procure a Peace, should returne. The Prince of *Orange*, who from his heart condemned this perpetuall Edict, hauing opportunely learned, that *Don Iohn* of *Austria* did endeuour to marrie the Queene of *Scots*, which occasion he willingly catch't, and by *Fauier* forthwith aduertiseth Queene ELIZABETH to auert her from Peace. She neuertheless as seeming to know nothing, by *Daniel Rogers* congratulates with *Don Iohn* for the perpetuall Edict of Peace, although she had discouered for certaine, that by the perswasion of the Earle of *Westmerland*, and the *English* Fugitiues, and the inclination of the Pope, and the fauour of the *Guizes*, he had an assured hope to attaine to this mariage, and together with it, to swallow *England* and *Scotland*; and had alreadie resolued to possesse himselfe of the Isle of *Man*, situate in the *Irish* Sea, as a fit place for the inuading of *England* on *Ireland* side, and from the West-side of *Scotland*, where the Queene of *Scots* had many people at her deuotion, and in the opposite part of *England* to make vse of *North-Wales*, and the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Lancaster*, and *Chester*, where the most part of the Inhabitants are most addicted to Poperie.

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Orange diuerts her.

Austria seekes to marrie the Queene of Scots.

And by her to get the Kingdome of England.

And certainly (as we haue learned by *Perez* the King of *Spaines* Secretarie) *Austria*, caried away with ambition, seeing himselfe falne from all hope of the Kingdome of *Tunis*, had dealt secretly with the Pope, to pull downe ELIZABETH from her Throne; to marrie the Queene of *Scotland*; and to subdue *England*: and vnknowne to *Philip*, wrought with the Pope to excite *Philip* for the publike good to the *English* Warre. *Don Iohn* himselfe is readie to goe for *Flanders*; this was prosecuted in *Spaine*; and anon after, *Escouedo* is sent from *Flanders*, to desire that a Port in *Biskye* might be granted him, from whence with a Nauie he might inuade *England*. But *Philip* not likeing these de-

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signes, begun to neglect him as a man too ambitious. Neither did Queene ELIZABETH vnderstand of these things, till (as I haue said) the Prince of *Orange* did informe her.

Copley made a Baron of France.

Notwithstanding, it wanted not suspition, that *Thomas Copley* (a prime man among the *English* Fugitiues, being commended to the *French* King by *Vaulx*, Secretarie to *Don Iohn*) had beene made Knight and Baron. But *Copley* endeuouring to auoide suspition, protested obedience to his Prince, and that he had accepted this Title out of no other reason but for the greater accesse of honour to his wife, his companion in exile, and that his Pension from *Spaine* would be the greater, because a Gentleman of Title is of more esteeme among *Spaniards*; and he thought he was capable of the Title of a Baron, his Grandmother being the eldest Daughter to the Baron of *Hoo*, and his great Grandmother the eldest Daughter of the heires of the Baron of *Welles*.

The dissimulation of Austria.

In the meane time, *Don Iohn* (vnderhand) prosecutes this match, and withall, the better to cloke the matter, sends the Viscount of *Gaunt* Embassadour to ELIZABETH, who shewed her the Articles of Peace, and to demand a longer terme for the paiment of the Money which the States borrowed of her. This she willingly grants; and after treates with him, by *Wilson*, that the dammages which the *English* Merchants receiued at the sacking of *Antwerpe* may be repared. He deludes her, and while he pretended to be busie about this perpetuall Edict of Peace, breakes out into Warre, and, by craft, surprises Castles, and Townes, and writes to the King of *Spaine*, that the wisest course is to take the Islands of *Zeland*, before they lay siege to the interiour Prouinces; and being thus transported with hope, striues to perswade him by *Escouede* his Secretarie, that it were easier for him to take *England* than *Zeland*.

He takes vp armes again.

At length, when all things tended to warres in the Low-Countries,

Countries, the States send to Queene ELIZABETH the Marquis of *Maure* and *Adouise Medkerke*, to borrow of her a hundred thousand pound sterling for eight moneths: Shee made them this answer, That if they could borrow it else-where, Shee, with the Citie of *London*, would willingly giue caution for it; prouided, that such Townes of the Low-Countries as She shall nominate, would be bound by writing to repay it within a yeere, and made alliance with them of mutuall succour both by Land and Sea, vnder these conditions:

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Elizabeth couenanted with the Scots.

THe Queene shall send for succour to the States a thousand Horse, and fiue thousand foote, to whom they shall pay three moneths after their imbarking, their intertainement and expence in the City of London, and the warres ended, shall defray their expence for their returning into England. The Generall of these forces, who shall be an English-man, shall be receiued into the Councell of the States, and nothing shall be ordered concerning warre or peace, without consulting thereupon either with the Queene, or him, nor make league with any whosoeuer, without her approbation; and, if shee please, to be comprehended in the same. If any Prince doe any hostile act against the Queene or Kingdome of England, vnder any pretext whatsoeuer, the States shall resist as much as in them lye, and shall send ayde to the Queene in the same number, and vpon the like conditions. If any discord arise among the States, it shall bee referred to her arbitrement. If the Queene be to prepare a Naue against enemies, the States shall furnish xl. Ships of a competent burthen, with Mariners, and euery thing else necessary, which shall obey and follow the Admirall of England, and shall be defrayed at the Queenes cost. The States shall in no wise admit into the Low-countries, such English as the Queene hath declared Rebels. If they con-

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clude a peace with Spaine, they must take heede that the Articles, whether ioyntly or seuerally, bee confirmed by the Queenes pleasure.

She declares the reason of it to the Spaniard.

Immediately as this Treatie begun, the Queene, lest shee should be calumniated as a nourisher of Rebellion in the Low-Countries, sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the *Spaniard*, to declare vnto him as followeth:

For asmuch as there neuer want malicious spirits, which studie craft and subtiltie, to breake friendship betweene those Princes, and by vniust suggestion, to cast aspersions vpon their honours, by supposall, as if shee had kindled this fire in the Low-Countries: First, shee prayes the King, and the Gouernours of the Low-Countries, that they would call to minde, how often and how earnestly, like a friend, shee long-agoe forewarned of the euils hanging ouer the Low-Countries; And then, when they thought of reuolting, what studious paines she tooke in often Missitations to the Prince of Orange, and the States, that they should continue in dutie and obedience to the King, yea euen when those most opulent Prouinces were offered her in possession, what sinceritie shewed shee, not to take them into protection? Finally, when all things were deplorable, how much money did shee lately furnish to hinder (the States being pressed by vrgent necessitie) not to subiect themselues vnder another Prince, and trouble the treatie of the late propounded peace. But when shee had notice that the Prince of Orange was vnwilling to embrace the peace already begun, shee did not onely admonish him to embrace it, but also (shee most sacredly protested) interposed threatnings, and in some sort commanded him. If these things be vnworthy of a Christian Prince, studious of peace, and most desirous to deserue well of her good

Confe-

Confederate, the King of Spaine; let the King himselfe, and all the Princes of the Christian World iudge. And that wars might sleepe on both sides, and that hee might haue the Hollanders obedient, aduiseth him to receiue them, as an afflicted people, into his ancient fauour, restore their priuiledges, obserue the last couenants of peace, and elect out of his owne Family some other Gouernour. Which could by no meanes be effected, vnlesse Don Iohn *were remoued, whom the States distrusted, with more than a hostile and implacable hatred; and, whom shee certainely knew by his secret practices with the Queene of Scots, to be her vtter enemy. Insomuch, that shee could expect nothing from the Low-Countries, but certaine dangers while He gouerned there. But now when shee doth perceiue what great number of forces Don* Iohn *inrolled, and how many Troupes of French there were in a readinesse, shee protest, that, to keepe the Low-Countries to the King of Spaine, and to repell danger from England, shee had promised ayde to the States. Who reciprocally had promised to persist in their obedience to the King, and to innouate nothing in Religion. From which, if shee shall perceiue the King auerse, but to haue determined breaking the barres of their rights and priuiledges, to draw them into seruitude like miserable Prouinces captiuated by conquest; shee cannot, both for the defence of her Neighbours, and her owne securitie, be failing or negligent: But also, if the States doe breake their faith with the King, or enterprise any thing contrary to what they haue promised, she would speedily turne her Ensignes against them.*

The Spaniard did not willingly heare these things.

The *Spaniard* was not pleased to heare these things, neuertheless knowing that it lay much in Queene ELIZABETHS power, to establish or ruine his affaires in the

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the Low-Countries, and knowing for certaine that *Don Iohn* laide Ambuscadoes for her, dissembled it, and prayed her to prosecute the designe which shee had for establishing peace, and not rashly to believe the false reports that runne, or that be practised vnworthily against a Prince that is his friend.

Don Iohn complaines to Queene Elizabeth of the States.

Whiles *Wilkes* exposeth these things in *Spaine*, *Don Iohn*, who feared Queene ELIZABETH, and withall wished her ruine, sends *Gastell* to her, who blamed the States exceedingly, accuseth them of many foule crimes, and layde open at large the causes that moued *Don Iohn* to take armes againe. Queene ELIZABETH, like an Heroicke Princesse, stood Arbitratresse between the *Spaniard*, the *French*, and the *States*, insomuch as shee had power to apply this saying of her Father, [*He shal carry it away, for whom I am*;] and that which he writ is found true, that *France* and *Spaine* are the scoales of the Ballance, and *England* the beame.

England the ballance of Europe.

At the very same time, the Iudges holding the Assises at *Oxford*, and *R. Ienke*, Stationer, an impudent talker, was accused and brought to triall for speaking iniurious words against the Queene, the most part of the assistants were so infected with his poysonous and pestilent breath, and by reason of the stinke, whether of the prisoners or the prison, that they almost all dyed within forty dayes, besides women and children; and this contagion extended no further. Amongst others, *R. Bel*, chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, a graue man, and learned in the Law, *R. Doyley*, Sir *G. Babington*, Vicount *Doyley* of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Waineman*, and *Fetiplace*, persons of great estimation in that Countrey, and *Barham*, a famous Lawyer, being almost of one Iury, and about three hundreth more died there.

A pestilent sicknesse caused by the stinke of a prison.

Hitherto the Papists in *England* enioyed a cheerefull tranquillitie, who, by a kinde of merciful conniuency, exercised their Religion in priuate houses in some sort vnpunished, although it was prohibited by the Law, vpon paine of

of a pecuniary mulct to be inflicted; neither did the Queen thinke it fit to force the conscience. But after that thundring Bull of Excommunication against the Queene, which came from *Rome*, was cast abroad; that serenitie by little and little turned into clouds and tempests, and brought vp that Law which was made in the yeere 1571. against them which brought into the Kingdome such [*Bulls*, *Agnos Dei*, and *Grana Benedicta*] being tokens of Papall obedience, or, as we haue said, did reconcile any to the Church of *Rome*. Neuertheleſſe, this Law was not put in execution against any one in sixe yeeres after, although it was knowne to haue beene violated by many. The first against whom this Law was put in practice, was *Cuthbert Maine*, Priest, a stubborne defender of the Popes authority against the Queene, hee was executed at Saint *Stephens*, commonly called *Launston* in *Cornewall*, and *Trugion* a Gentleman, that intertained him into his house, had all his lands and goods confiscated, and he condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: Of these, and such like things, concerning the Church, I will but giue a touch, in regard of others that vndertake to write the Ecclesiasticall History of those times, who, I hope (although it be scarcely to be hoped for, by reason of exasperated mindes in this deuision of Religion) will faithfully performe it.

Maine, a Priest, executed.

This yeere, the title of Baron of *Latimer*, after it had flourished in honour and riches from the time of *Henry* the Sixth, is now extinct in *Iohn Neuill*, who hauing no Issue male, left an ample inheritance to foure Daughters, the eldest of which, *Henrie* Earle of *Northumberland* married; the second, *Thomas Cecill*, who was afterwards Earle of *Exceter*; the third, Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *Iohn Dauers*, of which came a plentifull ofspring.

The death of the Lord Latimer.

Sir *Th. Smith*, one of the Secretaries of State, likewise died of a consumption, this being his clymactericall yeere; a man memorable for much learning, and wisdome, approued

Secretary Smith dyes.

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Saffron Walden.

ued in many Ambassies. He was descended of noble Parents at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, brought vp at Queen *Margarets* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and beeing come to riper yeeres, was chosen to bee sent into *Italy* vpon the Kings charge: (vntill our time many of the most hopefull youths were chosen out of both the Vniuersities, and trayned vp in strange Countries, for the better adorning and inabling of their mindes.) From thence, he returned Doctor of the Ciuill Law, he was in fauour with the Duke of *Sommerset*, Protector of EDVVARD the Sixth, and made the other Secretary with *Cecill*, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Deane of *Carlile*, and Prouost of *Eaton*. Queene MARIE comming to the Crowne, tooke all these dignities from him, assigned him a hundred pound a yeere to liue on, with condition not to goe out of the Kingdome. As soone as Queene ELIZABETH inioyed the Scepter, he was called againe to the seruice of the Common-wealth, to be an assistant with the Diuines in correcting the *English* Liturgy; and afterwards, as I haue said before, hauing with great applause performed his Ambassies, hee dyed. In the yeere 1571, being made second Secretary to the Queene, hauing but one onely Sonne, sent him to leade a Colony into the barbarous *Pen-insule Ardes* in *Ireland*, where hee was vnfortunately slaine. Hee tooke speciall care, and was the first that procured an order for the dyets of Students in Colledges; and by that meanes aduanced learning more than he did by his writings, although hee left a worke imperfect, *de Reipublica Anglorum*, a singular booke *de Linguæ Anglicæ Orthographia*; another, *de Græca pronunciatione*; and an exact Commentary, *de re nummaria*, most worthy to come to light. In his stead, to the place of Secretary, came *Thomas Wilson*, Doctor of the Ciuill Law, Master of Saint *Katherines* neere *London*, who dyed within foure yeeres after.

Rebellion in Ireland.

In *Ireland*, the *O-Mores*, *O-Conores*, and others, whose ancestors

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ancestors the Earle of *Sussex*, Lord Deputie (in the reigne of Queene MARY, had, for wrongs and offences done by them) depriued of their inheritance, *Leisa*, and *Ophalia*, neither had hee assigned them any other place to liue in, broke out into Rebellion, vnder the conduct of *Rorio Oge*, that is to say, *Rodorick the Younger*, burnt a little Towne called *Naasse*; they assaulted *Lachliny*, and were repulsed by Sir *George Carew* Gouernour, but they tooke *Henry Harrington*, and *Alexander Cosbie*, in a deceitfull parley which they sought of purpose to surprize them, whō when Captaine *Harpole* went about to recouer, set vpon a little Cottage by night where *Rorio* was, and they two tyed to a post; *Rorio* being awaked with the noyse, gaue *Harrington* and *Cosbie* many wounds in the darke, and with a desperate boldnesse, rusheth into the middest of the Souldiers which compassed him round, and by the benefit of the night escaped. Afterwards, hauing layde an Ambuscado for the Baron of *Osser*, was taken, and being slaine, his neighbours were deliuered from much feare.

Rorio Oge.

Rorio slaine.

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1578.

THE ONE AND TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1578.

Queene Elizabeth is careful of the Low-Countries.

ALthough *Spaine* approued not of the propositions that *Wilkes* had made, and, as I lately saide, had dissembled, Queene ELIZABETH notwithstanding seriously pittying the *Flemmings*, whose Prouinces were so commodiously, and with a mutuall necessity situated to *England*, had for many ages adhered like Husband and Wife; and therefore impatient to see the *French*, vnder colour of taking them into protection, should become Masters of them, sends *Wilkes*, at his returne from *Spaine*, to *Don Iohn*, to aduertize him, that the States had called the Duke of *Anion*, (now so, but before Duke of *Alanzon*,

Alanzon) with an Armie of *French*, and that it would be more safe for him to make a Truce, lest he should expose the Prouinces to the present danger. But he being of a fierie and warlike Spirit, and puffed vp with the Battell against the States at *Gemblacke*, answered in a word, that he neither thought of any Truce, nor feared the *French*. She neuertheless, for her own behoose and the *Flemmings*, sends Sir *Edward Stafford* into *France*, to watch if they should attempt any thing vpon the Frontiers of the Low-Countries, and how many Souldiers they had leuied.

English gone into the Low-Countries.

Out of *England* are past ouer, *1. North*, eldest Sonne of Baron *North*; *Iohn Norris*, second Sonne of Baron *Norris*; *Henry Cauendish*, and *Thomas Morgan*, with many voluntaries, there to plant their first rudiments of Warre. *Casimire* also, Sonne to the Prince Elector Palatine, drew a great Armie of Horse and Foot out of *Germanie*, which cost the Queene verie much. *Don Iohn*, burning to assault the Armie of the States at *Rimenant*, before all the auxiliarie Forces of the *French* and *Germanes* should ioyne with it, flyes vpon them sooner then they were aware of, and forthwith made the Cauallerie which were set to guard, retreate, runnes in vpon the Enemie as if he had been sure of the victorie: but they resuming their spirits, beat backe the *Austrians*, who being turned towards the Hedges and Bushes where the *English* and *Scottish* voluntaries were placed, stroue to breake through them, but by no meanes could: they were valiantly entertained by the *English* and *Scots*, who for the feruent heat had cast off their Cloathes, and with their Shirts tyed betweene their Thighes, so fought. *Norris* the Leader of the *English*, eagerly fighting, had three Horses killed vnder him, and brought away the glorie of a valorous Warriour, and so did *Stuart* a *Scottishman*; *Burham* Lieutenant to *Cauendish*, and *William Marckham*.

That these Prouinces of the Low-Countreys, afflicted and faint with these intestine Warres, might be comforted,

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1578.

The Embassie for the Low-Countries Peace is irritated.

there came into *Flanders* from the Emperour, Count *Swartzenberg*; from *France*, *Pomponio Belieure*; from Queene ELIZABETH, the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, to sollicite a Peace: but the businesse was so poysoned, that they returne without doing any thing; *Don Iohn* refusing to admit of reforming Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* to returne into *Holland*.

Egremond Radcliffe and his associate are put to death.

About that time, *Egremond Radcliffe*, Sonne to *Henrie* Earle of *Sussex* by his second Wife, a man of a turbulent Spirit, and one of the chiefe in the Rebellion of the North, went to serue vnder *Don Iohn*, and is accused by some of the *English* Fugitiues to be sent to kill him, is apprehended in the Campe at *Namurcke*, with *Gray* an *Englishman*, as a partner in the plot, and are both executed. The *Spaniards* giue it out, that *Radcliffe* (which were the last words he spake before his death) of his owne accord, confessed that he was set at libertie out of the Tower of *London*, and excited with great promises by Sir *Francis Walsingham* to performe this. Some *English* that were present, denied that he confessed any such thing, although the Fugitiues wrought by all the meanes they could, to draw the like confession from them; but difference in Religion doth too much darken the light of the mind, both of honestie and truth on both sides: and who knowes not, that the Fugitiues for verie hatred inuent many things to depraue and slander?

Don Iohn dyes.

Within a little time after, *Don Iohn*, in the flowre of his age, whether of the Plague, or as others will haue it, with griefe, being neglected of his Brother, left his fond Ambition and life together, after he had gaped, first, after the kingdome of *Tunis*, which caused the losse of *Guleta* in *Affrica*: And secondly, after *England*: And vnknowne to *France* or *Spaine*, contracted alliance with the *Guizes*, for the defence of both the Crownes.

Anion prosecutes the mariage with the Queene.

In the meane while, the Duke of *Anion*, howsoeuer, bent to the Warres of the Low-Countries, prosecutes the mari-

age

age which he had begun being Duke of *Alanzon*, that he might shew that he was able to giue his minde to the warres and to his Loue together. First of all, *Bucheruile* for this purpose is sent to Queene ELIZABETH: He finds her at the House of one *Cordall* in *Suffolke*, taking her Countrey pleasures. By and by after, comes *Rambouillet* from the *French* King; and a moneth after, *Semier* from the Duke of *Aniou*, a refined Courtier, who was exquisite in the delights of Loue, and skilfull in the wayes of Courtship, accompanied with many *French* Gentlemen, whom Queene ELIZABETH receiued forthwith verie louingly at *Richmond*. Then began *Leicester* to grow discontented, seeing himselfe falne from the hope which he had so long conceiued to marrie her, and that a little before she had beene angry with *Astley*, a Lady of the Queenes Bed-Chamber, for commending him to her, and perswading her to marrie him.

Booke 2

1578.

Leicester mutt murtl

WHat (saith she) thinkest thou me so vnlike my selfe, and vnmindfull of the Maiestie of a Queene; that I will prefer a meane Seruant, whom I haue raised my selfe, before the greatest Princes of the Christian world?

Neere the same time, *Margaret Douglas*, Countesse of *Lenox*, Daughter of the eldest Sister of King HENRY the eighth, Widdow of *Mathew* Earle of *Lenox*, and Grandmother to IAMES, King of *Great Britaine*, after she had outliued all her Children, which were eight in number, dyed in the Clymacteriall yeere of her age, and was buried at *Westminster*, being brought thither with a sumptuous Funerall, at Queene ELIZABETH's charge. A woman of singular pietie, patience, and chastitie, who had beene three times cast into prison, as I haue heard, not for any suspition of crime against the Queene, but for matters of Loue. First, when *Thomas Howard*, Sonne of *Thomas Howard*, first Duke of

The death the Countes of Lenox.

Booke 2. 1578.

of *Norfolke* of that Name, was falne in loue with her, and dyed in the Towre of *London*. Secondly, for the loue of *Henry Darley*, her Sonne, and the Queene of *Scots*. Lastly, for the loue betweene *Charles*, her younger Sonne, and *Elizab. Cauendish*, the Lady *Arbella*'s Mother, to whom the Queene of *Scots* was accused to haue been maried, as I haue said before.

The business of Scotland.

That we may lightly touch the affaires of *Scotland*; At the begining of this yeere, *Thomas Randolph* was sent from Queene ELIZABETH into *Scotland*, that he by diligent search might feele in what estate the affaires stood there, & to congratulate with the King, for his forward proceeding in good Letters (who from his Child-hood, hauing an exquisite and happie memorie, had profited much beyond his age) and to wish him to loue the *English*, in regard of the many benefits she had done to him, and motherly affection that she bare him, and that he should deale with the Earle of *Argathel*, that the *Hebridians* might not assist the Rebels of *Ireland*, and to perswade the Regent, Earle *Morton*, to abandon in time the enmitie betweene him and the Earles of *Argathel*, *Athole*, and others, lest he incurre the hatred of his Peeres, and alienate altogether the Queenes minde from him.

Morton the Regent admonished.

He now was vnder-hand accused to haue stained the honour he had for wisedome and valour, with filthy couetousnesse, and would shortly make himselfe so hated of the common people, that the State with a general consent will translate the administration of the affaires to the King, though for his age (hauing scarce attained to twelue yeeres) he be not capable of it; and that twelue of the principall of the Nobilitie, be nominated; three of them for three moneths together by course, to assist the King in Councell; amongst whom, *Morton* to be one, that he may seeme rather to be brought from one place to another, then to be put out.

The

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The King hauing taken the gouernment of his Kingdome, doth most thankfully, by *Dunfermlin*, acknowledge Queene ELIZABETH's fauours towards him, as proceeding not so much from the neerenesse of Blood, as from the common profession of the true Religion: Prayes her that the Treatie of *Edenborough* contracted betweene the two Kingdomes, begun in the yeere 1559, may be ratified, the more happily to restraine the robbers vpon the Borders, and preuent the enterprizes of the Aduersaries of true Religion; that Iustice might be equally ministred to the Inhabitants of both the Kingdomes; the goods taken by Pirats fully restored; and his Ancestors patrimonie in *England* (*viz.* the possessions granted to *Mathew* his Grandfather, and *Margaret* his Grandmother) he being the next Heire, may be deliuered into his hands; likewise, Moneys being cleane exhausted out of *Scotland*, he wanted to entertaine his Family and a Guard about him as the dignitie of a King required.

The King sends an Embassador into England.

The Summe of the Embassage.

The first Demands the Queene readily promiseth; but to that, concerning the Patrimonie, she caried her selfe more difficultly; neither would she heare those, which would assure the Lady *Arbella* borne in *England*, to be next to King *Charles* her Vnkle to the Inheritance in *England*; nor Embassador which would make it appeare by Historie, that the Kings of *Scotland*, borne in *Scotland*, had in time past, by hereditarie right, succeeded in the Countie of *Huntington*, and he instantly besought her, that she would not denie a Prince her neerest Kinsman, that right of inhabitance, which she vouchsafed to vnknowne Strangers. But she commanded, that the Reuenues should be sequestred in the hands of the Lord *Burghley*, Gardian of the Pupils, and warneth the King to satisfie Creditors out of the Earle of *Lenox* his goods in *Scotland*. She tooke it impatiently, that it should be suggested, that the King would reuoke the infeoffement of the Earledome of *Lenox*, to the preiudice of

The answere of the Queene.

Booke 2.
1578.

the Lady *Arbella*; although by the Regall right of *Scotland*, it alwaies hath beene lawfull to reuoke Donations hurtfull to the Kingdome, and done in minoritie.

The Counsell of *England* doe not hold it conuenient and fit, that the Treatie of *Edenborough* should be confirmed, thinking it yet to stand firme. They require that the Embassadour would propound something that might somwhat recompence the fauors and friendship that the Queen had manifested to the King (who spared not the Blood of the *English* in his defence) and consolidate a friendship. Whereupon he propounds according to his instructions, That a League may be made, not [*Offensiue*] but [*Defensiue, and with mutuall succours*] against the Pope, and his confederates, with certaine Lawes against those which should attempt any thing against either Kingdome and Rebels, vnder pretence of Religion. But besides these, the *English* thinke it Iust, that seeing the Queene had not omitted, nor would omit any thing for the defence of the King, and that for this cause she had incurred the Indignation of many. That the States of the Kingdome of *Scotland* should giue caution, that so long as the King is vnder age, he should not contract, nor renew couenants with any, neither to marrie, nor be sent out of *Scotland* without the Queenes aduice. But these things being of such moment, require to be exactly and circumspectly considered, and are put backe to *Scotland* till another time.

Morton takes vpon him the administration againe.

In the meane time *Morton*, (who indeed was of a most eager and sharpe disposition) trusting in his long experience and multitude of his vassals, thinking nothing wel done but what he did himselfe, not being able to endure to be lesse than he had been, contemning his *Colleagues*, and reiecting the manner of administration prescribed, tooke againe the managing of affaires, and detained the King in his power in the Castle of *Sterlin*, admitting and denying entrance to whom he pleased. The Peeres prouoked therewith,

with, tooke the Earle of *Athole* to be their Generall, and in the Kings name, summoned all that were aboue fourteene yeeres of age, and vnder sixtie, to meete together with Armes and Victuals to deliuer the King: and true, many came, and hauing displaid their Colours, marched towards *Faukirk*, where *Morton* presented himselfe with his men. But Sir *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Embassadour, interceding, hindered them from comming to blowes. *Morton* being vext to see how matters went, presently retires to his House. The Earle dyed as quickly, and left a suspition that he was poysoned. Which thing, those that were moued against *Morton*, tooke that aboue all to increase their hatred, vntill they brought him to his ruine, as we shall say hereafter.

Booke 2. 1578. *The Peeres rise vp against him.*

This yeere nothing of note was done in *Ireland*. But the *Spaniard*, and Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, prouiding for their owne profit, vnder shadow of restoring Religion, held secret counsell how at one time to inuade both *Ireland* and *England*, and dispossesse Queene ELIZABETH, who was the surest defence of the Protestants Religion. The Pope, he was to conquer *Ireland* for his Sonne *Iames Bon-Compagnon*, whom he had created Marquis of *Vignoles*. The *Spaniard*, secretly to succour the *Irish* Rebels, as Queen ELIZABETH had done the *Hollanders*, while he entertained Parlies of friendship with her, to enioy if he could, the Kingdome of *England* by the Popes authoritie, and then the States her confederates, he could easily reduce to a course, which he despaired to doe, vnlesse he were Lord of the Sea, and this hee saw, could not be done, vnlesse hee were first Lord of *England*. And it is not to be doubted, but that as he holds *Naples*, *Sicilie*, and *Nauarre*, of the Popes liberalitie, so most willingly would he hold *England*, as a Beneficiarie ought to doe. Those which know the principall strength of *England* consists in the Natiie Royall, and in Merchants Shippes which are built for Warre,

The inuading of England consulted vpon.

Booke 2. 1578.

thought it were good to fraught the Merchants Shippes for some long voyage by *Italians* and *Flemmish* Merchants, and whilest they are vpon their voyage, this Royall Fleet might be ouer-whelmed by a greater. At the same time, *Thomas Stukeley*, an *English* Fugitiue, of whom I haue spoken in the yeere 1570, ioyned to his Forces, the Rebels of *Ireland*, by this notable subtiltie, and his great ostentation and shew, and the promises which he made of the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Popes base Sonne, he had so wonne the fauour of this ambitious old man, that he honoured him with the Titles of Marquis of *Lemster*, Earle of *Wexford* and *Caterlaughie*, Viscount *Mourough*, and Baron of *Rosse*, all of them remarkeable Places in *Ireland*, and made him Generall of eight thousand *Italians*, payd by the King of *Spaine*, for the Warres of *Ireland*. With which Forces, hauing weighed Anker from the [*Ciuita Vecchia*] in the end he arriued in *Portugal*, at the entry of *Tage*, where a greater power by the Diuine Prouidence, puft downe these that threatned *England* and *Ireland*.

Th. Stukeley takes Armes against his Countrie.

Ciuita Vecchia.

For *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, to whom the whole expedition was committed, because, in the heate of his youth, and ambition, he had promised the Pope to goe against the Turkes and Protestants, and employ all his power, being drawne into *Africa* by *Mahomet*, Sonne of *Abdalla*, King of *Fesse*, by great promises, treates with *Stukeley* to goe before with these *Italians* to *Mauritania*. And *Stukeley* being easily wonne to that (knowing that the *Spaniard* disdaining that the Sonne of a Pope should be designed King of *Ireland*) had consented to it, hoisted saile with *Sabastian*, and by an honest Catastrophe there he ended a dissolute life, in a memorable combate. Wherein dyed three Kings, *Sebastian*, *Mahomet*, and *Abdalemelech*.

He is slaine in the African Warre.

If this fate of *Sebastians* had not altered the King of *Spaines* mind from inuading *England*, in hope of the Kingdome of *Portugal*, *England* had felt a terrible storme of warre,

warre, if credit may be giuen to *English* Fugitiues. For, they report, that the great forces which hee had begun to rayse in *Italy*, to showre vpon *England*, were stayed for the taking of *Portugal*. And being that his minde was wholly bent vpon that, hee could not be made to thinke of *England*, although the *English* Fugitiues earnestly sollicited him, and for that businesse the Pope promised him a *Croysado*, as for a sacred warre. Moreouer, when certaine news came that *Stukeley* and those *Italians* were lost in *Mauritania*, and that *Spaine* thought on nothing else but *Portugal*, they called backe the *English* Fleet which attended for *Stukeley* vpon the *Irish* coast; and *Henrie Sidney* deliuered vp the Countrey to *William Drury*, President of *Mounster*. When he had beene xi. yeeres at seuerall times Lord Deputie, and being ready to imbarke, he gaue this farewell to *Ireland*, with a Verse out of one of the *Psalmes* of *Dauid*,

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William Drury, Lord Deputie of Ireland.

When Israel came out of Egypt, and the House of Iacob from a barbarous people.

Sidney's adieu to Ireland.

This Lord *Sidney*, verily, was a singular good man, and one most laudable among the best that had beene Deputies of *Ireland*: and although Deputies are often complained of, yet *Ireland* cannot but acknowledge to be much indebted to him for his wisdome and valour.

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1579.

THE TWO AND TWENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1579.

Casimire comes into England.

Ohn Casimere, Sonne to *Frederick* the Third, Prince Elector Palatine, who the yeere before had brought a powerfull armie out of *Germanie* into the Low-Countries, with great charge to the States; and to Queene ELIZABETH, and at the latter end of the yeere without performing any thing, being drawne to *Gaunt*, by the tumult of the people who were in diuision, came into *England* in the moneth of Ianuary, in a sharpe Winter full of Snowes, to excuse himselfe, and lay the blame vpon the *French* King, and after hee had beene sumptuously receiued, and brought with a number of torches to the City of *Londons* Senate-house by the prime Nobility of the Court, he was intertayned with Barriers, Combats, Bankets, honoured with the order of Saint *George*,

George, and the Garter, which the Queene tyed about his legge with her owne hands, indued him with an annuall Pension, & being loaden with many honorable gifts, about the middest of February hee passed into the Low-Countries in one of the Queenes Ships, where hee found this mercenary Army dispersed. For the *Germanes* seeing *Alexander Fernesa*, Prince of *Parma*, established Gouernour of *Flanders* by the *Spaniard*, readie to thunder vpon them, and they wanting their pay, and being brought somewhat low, required money from him, that they might depart out of the Low-Countries. But he with an imperious fashion, neuertheless, which carried a grace and grauity, replyed, that he had spoke for them that they might depart, their liues saued: they were contented, so they might haue a sure passe: they make haste home, but not without the losse of reputation, but with greater detriment to the States. Queene ELIZABETH fayles them not for all that, but furnisheth them with great summes, vpon the old gage of the rich ornaments and vessels of the house of *Burgundie*, which by *Matthew*, Duke of *Austria*, and them were deliuered to *Dauison*, who (being sent to appease the commotions in *Gaunt*, which had falne vpon the Church and Church-men) brought them into *England*.

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1579.

The Queene lends the States money.

During which time, *Semier* ceaseth not louingly to call vpon the marriage for the Duke of *Anion*: and although shee excellently put him off for a long time, yet he brought her to this poynt, that *Leicester* being intirely against this Match, and others, had raysed a report, that hee had charmed her, and made her in loue with the Duke with drinkes, and vnlawfull arts: hee, to the contrary, sues that *Leicester* may be degraded, and put out of the Queens fauour, telling that hee was married to the Earle of *Essex* his Widdow; whereat she was so moued, that she commanded him from the Court to *Greene-wich* Tower, and did purpose to haue put him into the Tower of *London*, which all his Enemies much

Semier solicites the marriage for the Duke of Anion.

Booke 2. 1579.

much desired. But *Sussex*, who was his chiefe Emulator, and wholly bent to aduance this marriage, dissuades her from it, being of a right noble minde, and in-bred generositie, was of opinion that it hath alwayes beene accounted honest and honourable, and that none ought to be troubled for lawfull marriage, notwithstanding he was glad, that it had made *Leicester* out of all hope to marry the Queene. Neuertheleſſe, *Leicester* was herewith ſo prouoked, that he thought of nothing but of meanes how to be reuenged: and they were not wanting that would doe what he would haue them doe. *Tewdor*, one of the Queenes guard, is ſubborned to kill *Semier*; which cauſed the Queene by a publique proclamation to forbid all perſons to offend by word or deed, him, his companions or ſeruants. And there happened at the ſame time, ſhee going for her recreation in her Barge vpon the Riuer of *Thames* neere to *Greenewich*, and with her *Semier*, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and Sir *Chr. Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlaine, that a young fellow from a-board a Ship-boat with a piſtolet ſhot a water-man thorow the arme, that rowed in the Queenes Barge, who anon after, was taken and brought to the Gallowes, to terrifie him: but when he had religiouſly affirmed not to haue done it maliciouſly, hee was let goe. Neither would the Queene beleeue, that he had beene ſuborned of purpoſe either againſt her or *Semier*. So farre ſhee was from giuing place to ſuſpition againſt her Subiects, that it was an vſuall ſaying with her;

Thinkes on nothing but reuenge.

One was ſhot with a Piſtolet, being in the Boat with the Queene.

That ſhee could beleeue nothing of her Subiects, that Parents would not beleeue of their Children.

Within a few dayes after, the Duke of *Anion* himſelfe came priuily into *England*, accompanied with two men onely, and went to the Queene to *Greenewich*, who likewiſe knew nothing of it, where they had priuate conferences

The Duke of Anion came into England.

ces together, which is not lawfull to search after, (the secrets of Princes being an inextricable Labyrinth) and afterwards went away vnknowne, except to very few. But a month or two after, shee commanded *Burghley* the Treasurer, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and *Walsingham*, that after they had seriously weighed the dangers and commodities that might arise vpon this marriage, they should conferre with *Semier* vpon the Couenants of the marriage. There appeared some danger, lest the Duke of *Anion* should attempt any thing against the receiued Religion, or take possession of the Kingdome, as the Popes gift, or render it vp into the hands of the Queene of Scots; and, Queene ELIZABETH being dead, should marry her; or, his Brother dying, should returne into *France*, and place a Vice-Roy in *England*, which the *English* would neuer indure. Furthermore, lest hee should inuolue the *English* in forreine warres, lest the *Scots* assuring themselues of their ancient alliance with *France*, should take better courage against the *English*, lest *Spaine* being of so great power, should oppose it. Lastly, lest the people, oppressed with taxations to maintaine his magnificence, should stirre vp sedition. The commodities may be seene; a firme confederation with the *French* might be established, the rebellions of Papists, if any should be, the more easily suppreſt, all the Queene of *Scots* hope, and of all that seeke her in marriage, and fauouring her, are excluded. *Spaine* would be compelled to compound the businesse of the Low-Countries, and confirme the League of *Burgundie*, and *England* at length should enioy a solid and comfortable securitie by the Queenes children so often times wished for. But if these marriages be neglected, it was to be feared that the *French* would be prouoked, the *Scots* alienated, the Duke of *Anion* marry the Daughter of *Spaine*, with whom hee should haue in Dowry the Low-Country Prouinces; draw the King of *Scotland* to be of their party, procure him a Wife to bring him

The danger of the marriage.

The commodities of it.

The incommodities, if it be neglected.

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him riches, abolish the reformed Religion; and the *English*, when they should see no hope of Children by the Queene, would adore the Rising-Sunne. Whereat shee could not chuse but be much tormented in minde, and pine away to death.

Aimé Stuart, Lord of Aubigni, came into Scotland.

Whereof he tooke the name of Aubigni.

As in these dayes very many *English* feared a change of Religion by the Duke of *Aniou*, so were the *Scots* afraid it would be with them by another French-man, *Aimé*, or *Esme Stuart*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who at the same time was come into *Scotland* to see the King his Cousin: for he was Sonne to *Iohn Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew Stuart*, Earle of *Lenox*, who was the Kings Grand-father, and tooke his denomination *Aubigni*, from a House situate in *Berri*, that is so called, which *Charles* the Seuenth, King of *France*, gaue in time past to *Iohn Stuart*, of the Family of *Lenox*, who was Constable of the *Scottish* Army in *France*; defeated the *English* at *Baugency*, afterwards slaine by them at the battel of *Harrans*; and euer since, that house hath descended vpon the younger Sonnes. The King, embracing him with a singular good affection, gaue him rich demains, and admitted him into his most intimate consultations, established him Lord high Chamberlaine of *Scotland*, and Gouernour of *Dunbriton*, first created him Earle, and afterwards Duke of *Lenox*, after hauing directly reuoked the Letters of honour, by which in his non-age he had created *Robert*, Bishop of *Cathanesse*, Earle of the same place, his Grand-fathers third Brother, and had giuen him in recompence, the County of *March*. This flourishing fauour with the King, procured many to enuy him, who murmured because hee was deuoted to the *Guizes*, and the *Romane* Religion, and that hee was sent to subuert the true Religion. This suspicion increased, in regard hee ioyned himselfe to *Mortons* aduersaries, and did intercede for the reuoking of *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurst*, who was most, if any were, addicted to the Queene of *Scots*; *Morton*, whose power was apparently

He is raised to honours.

He is suspected of the Protestants.

apparently falling, stroue in vaine (although it might seeme that he had excellently well deserued in defeating the *Hamiltons*, and taking the Castle of *Hamilton*, and *Daffrane*.) There were at that time, who stirred vp much hatred in the King against the *Hamiltons*, obiecting, and vrging their names as a thing of great terrour, so as out of a necessitie they were for their owne safetie compelled to defend the Castle again the King, but they were constrained to yeeld it vp, and by authoritie of Parliament proscribed for the murdering as well of *Murrey*, as *Lenox*, Regents, as a thing by them performed. Many of those fled together into *England*, for whom Queene ELIZABETH diligently interposeth by *Erington*, as well for honour, as in reason of Iustice, that shee had obliged her faith in the yeere 1573. for the settling of peace, that they should not be called in question for those matters without her consent.

Shee also at the same time was vndertaking in another part of the World, *Amurathes Cham*, or the *Sultaine* of the *Turkes*, granted to *William Harburne*, an English-man, and to *Mustapha Beg*, Bassa to the TVRKE, that the *English* Merchants, euen as the *French*, *Venecians*, *Pollanders*, the King of the *Germanes*, and other neighbouring Nations, should trade freely thorow all his Empire: whereupon they, by the Queenes authority, made a Company, which they call TVRKEY MERCHANTS, and since that time, they haue vsed a most gainefull Trade of Merchandize at *Constantinople*, *Angoria*, *Chio*, *Petrazzo*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and other places in *Asia*, for Drugges, Spices, Cottons, Raw-Silke, Carpets, Indian-Dyes, Corinthian-Grapes, Sope, &c.

As for that execrable impiety of *Hamont*, brought forth at that time in *Norwich*, against GOD and his Christ, and as I hope, is extinct with his ashes, or rather confounded in obliuion, then remembred. Neither am I of opinion of those which thinke, that the publique hath interest, that all

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Hamilton deiected.

Proscribed.

Succoured by Elizabeth.

The Society of the Turkey-Merchants.

Hamonts impietie.

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sorts of vices, poysons, and impieties to be made manifest: seeing that hee differs little from teaching, which shewes such things.

N. Bacon dyes.

This yeere was the last of *Nicholas Bacon*, Keeper of the Great Seale of *England*, who by decree of Parliament enioyed vnder this name the honour and dignitie of Chancellor of *England*; a very fat man, of a quicke subtill spirit, singular wisdome, height of eloquence, stedfast memory, and the other pillar of the sacred Councell: whose place *Thomas Bromley* enioyed, with the title of Chancellor of *England*.

Thomas Bromley succeedes.

Bacon is followed by *Thomas Gresham*, Citizen of *London*, a Merchant-Royall, and of the order of Knight-hood, (Sonne to Sir *Richard Gresham*, Knight,) who built, for the ornament of his Countrey, and vse of the Merchants of *London*, that beautifull and goodly Walking-place, which Queene ELIZABETH named,

Gresham dyes.

The Royall-Exchange.

His Colledge of London.

And the spacious Houses which hee had in the Citie, hee dedicated to the profession of Learning, and constituted in the same, Lectures of sacred Diuinitie, of the Ciuill Law, Physick, Astronomie, Geometrie, and Rhetoricke, with honest pensions.

Rebellion of Iames Fitz-Morris in Ireland,

In *Mounster*, a Prouince in *Ireland*, new rebellion was kindled by *Iames Fitz-Morris*, who hauing before cast himselfe vpon his knees at the feete of *Perot*, President of *Mounster*, and with teares, sighes, and humble supplications, asked pardon, made a holy vow of fidelitie and obedience to the Queene. Hee (I say, who found no rest but in troubles) with-drew himselfe into *France*, promised the King, if hee would lend ayde, to ioyne the whole Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Scepter of *France*, and restore the Romish Religion. But wearied with delayes, and in the end

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end derided, from *France* he goes to *Spaine*, and promiseth the like to the Catholike King, who sent him to the *Pope*, of whom (by the sollicitation of *Sanders*, an English Priest, and *Allan*, an Irish Priest, both Doctors of Diuinitie) with much adoe, hauing got a little money, and *Sanders* the authority of *Legat*, a consecrated Ensigne, and Letters commendatorie to the King of *Spaine*, returnes to *Spaine*; and from thence, with those Diuines, three Ships, and a few Souldiers, they came, and arriued about the Calends of *Iuly*, at the [*Village of Saint Marie*] (which the *Irish* call, [*Smerwi.k*]) in *Kerrie*, *a pen-Insule* in *Ireland*: and, after that the Priests had consecrated the place, raised a Fort, and brought the Ships neere vnto it; those Ships, *Thomas Courtney*, an English Gentleman, made haste with a Ship of warre which lay in a Road neere vnto them, by and by to assault; and taking them, carries them away, and barres the *Spaniards* from all benefit of the Sea. *Iohn*, and *Iames*, brethren to the Earl of *Desmond*, with great speed drew together a few *Irish*, ioyne with their Confederate: *Fitz-Morris*, and the Earle himselfe, who fauoured the cause exceedingly, feinedly calls all his friends together, as though he meant to goe against them; the Earle of *Clanricard*, with a selected troupe of Souldiers going against the Enemies and Rebels, met him, but he deceitfully sends him away.

Stirred vp by the Pope, and the King of Spaine;

Fauoured by the Earle of Desmond.

The Deputie, hauing receiued certaine newes by *Henry Dauile*, a valiant *English* Gentleman, that the Enemy was landed, commanded the Earle of *Desmond*, and his Brethren, ioyntly and forthwith to assayle the Fort: but when they had talked and considered vpon it, and found it full of perill, refused. *Dauile* departing, is followed by *Iohn Desmond*, who ouertooke him in an Inne at *Tralli*, a little Burrough, and hauing corrupted the Oast, in the dead of the night, he, with other Murtherers, brake into the chamber, where *Dauile*, with *Arthur Carter*, (Lieutenant to the Marshall of *Mounster*, a very valiant old Souldier) slept

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Dauile murdered in his bed.

securely, but being awaked with the noyse, and beheld *Iohn Desmond* with his naked Sword in his Chamber, raising himselfe vp: *What is the matter* (sayes he) *my sonne?* (for so in familiarity hee was vsed to call him.) *Now I am no more thy sonne*, (saith he) *nor thou my Father, thou shalt dye.* And, at an instant, ranne him, and *Carter* that lay with him, many times thorow the Body; yea, after that *Dauiles* Foot-boy had throwne himselfe naked vpon his Master, to defend him as much as in him lay, and receiued many wounds. And shortly after, he killed all *Dauiles* seruants, as he found them dispersed here and there; and returning to the *Spaniard*, all rayed with Bloud, boasts of the slaughter, and said thus, [*Let this be a pledge of my faith to you, and to this cause.*] And *Sanders* this, [*That hee extolled it as a sweete sacrifice before God.*] *Fitz-Morris* reproued the manner of it, wishing it rather had beene done vpon the way, than in bed. The Earle, when hee heard of it, condemned it with all his heart, as detestable.

Sanders approues of the slaughter.

The *Spaniards* seeing themselues ioyned with a few *Irish*, and those vnarmed and miserable, contrary to what *Fitz-Morris* had promised, began to distrust, and to cry, they were lost, and to deplore their misfortune, not seeing any meanes to saue themselues either by Land or Sea. *Fitz-Morris* exhorts them to patience, and to wait: assures them, that great forces were comming to their succour: hee feinedly tooke a iourney to [*the holy Crosse of Triporarie*] to pay the vow which hee had made in *Spaine*; but in truth it was, to draw together all the seditious of *Connach* and *Vlster*.

As he trauelled, with a few horse, and twelue foot-men, through the grounds of *William* of *Bourg* his alliance, (who was with him at the League in the precedent Rebellion) his Horses fayling, tooke vp the work-horses that he found in his way: the Labourers crying out, assemble all the dwellers thereabout to recouer them, amongst which, were the sonnes

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sonnes of *William* of *Bourg*, young men, and couragious, who being mounted on horse-backe, pursued him so swiftly, that they ouertooke him. *Fitz-Morris* seeing *Theobald* of *Bourg*, and his Brethren, who were with him in the former Rebellion, speaking friendly, said; [*Kinsmen, let not vs fall out for a Horse or two, for when you shall know the cause why I am come backe into Ireland, I am assured that you will ioyne with mee.*] *Theobald* answers, [*Both I, and my Father, and likewise our friends, doe greatly grieue for the first Rebellion, and haue sworne, and will performe our fidelitie to our most gracious Princesse, who pardoned vs, and gaue vs our liues; therefore, restore the Horses, or I will make thee restore them*; and withall, threw a Dart at him, with a writhen Pike, and they fought a time. *Theobald*, and one of his brothers, were slaine, and some of their men. *Fitz-Morris* was runne thorow the Body with a Pike, and shot thorow the head with a Pistoll; so hee dyed, and many of his men. They cut off his head, and hanged his quarters vpon poles ouer the Gates of *Kilmalocke*, where, (as wee haue said before) in the Church, in the presence of *Perot*, hee bound himselfe with great obtestations to be loyall to his Prince. The Queen writes consolatory Letters to *William* of *Bourg*, (full of loue and sorrow) for the losse of his sonnes, creates him Baron of *Castell-Conell*, and rewards him with an annuall pension. Whereupon, the old man (confounded with so vnexpected ioy) dyed shortly after.

He fights with those of Bourg. Fitz-Morris is slaine.

William of Bourg, made Baron. He dyes for ioy.

Drury, Lord Deputie, was now come almost to *Kilmalock*, and sends for *Desmond*, who came before him, promiseth faith and obedience to the Queene, and bound himselfe by oath, that he and his would warre against the Rebels. Whereupon, he is dismissed, to collect his men, and returne to the Deputie. *Iohn Desmond*, the Earles Brother, who was substituted in *Fitz-Morris* his place, by treachery intercepts and kills *Herbert* and *Prise*, Englishmen, with the Companies which they led, and he was wounded in

Iohn Desmond kils the English.

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in the face. This losse was supplied with sixe hundred Souldiers out of *Deuonshire*: *Perot* is sent out of *England* with sixe Ships of warre, to defend the mouth of the Harbour.

The Lord Deputy sick.

At which time, the Deputie being vehemently sicke, and growing daily worse & worse, must of necessity go to *Waterford* to recouer his health, and left his place to *Nicholas Malbey*, President of *Connach*, and Gouernour of *Mounster*, an old and a renowned Souldier.

N. Malbey Gouernour of Mounster,

Returning, the Wife of *Desmond* offers her onely Sonne and Heire in hostage for the Father. For, after he departed from *Kilmalock*, he appeared not, although *Malbey* often-times, by Letters, admonished him of his duety and promise, and not willing to delay, remoues towards the Rebels in *Conil*, a wooddy and boggy Country: where *Iohn Desmond* put his men in array, and displayes the Popes consecrated Banner; he intertaines it, and signes giuen, they ioyne, where both sides fought furiously; Fortune at length yeelding to the vertue of the English, *Iohn* was the first that fled, and left his men to the slaughter; amongst whom, *Allan* the Diuine is found, who incouraged them to the battle, by promising the victory.

Defeats the Rebels.

The Earle of *Desmond*, who was a spectator from some Hill neere to that place, the same night writ dissemblingly Letters congratulatory to *Malbey*, and, vnder a colour of friendship, warnes him to remoue his Campe from thence. *Malbey* sends backe the Messenger, with Letters, commanding the Earle to come to him, and ioyne his forces, whom when in vaine he had expected foure dayes, hee remoued to *Rekel*, a little Towne of the Earle of *Desmonds*. Now the Earle, who had so long both in countenance and words egregiously maintained his dissimulation, leaues to be the same man, and plainely puts on a Rebels minde, and the same night, it being darke, the Rebels inuaded *Malbey's* Campe, which they found so fortified, that they

The Earle of Desmond manifests himself a Rebell.

they returned backe, as from a thing infected. The Gouernour, thinking this to be a fit place to disioyne the Rebels forces, put a Garrison there, and from thence marched to *Asketon*, a Castle of the Earles, standing vpon a Hill, inuironed with the Riuer *Asketon*, which was garded by Souldiers. But, before he would lay siege to it, he writ againe to the Earle, representing vnto him the Queenes mercy, the ancient dignitie of the House of *Desmond*, the glory of his Ancestors, & the infamy that he should leaue to his posterity, exhorts him, not to be tainted with the name of Rebell, but returne to his duetie. He, to the contrary, armes his minde with obstinacy, and his Castle, on all sides, with *Spanish* and *Irish*. At what time, *Drury*, the Deputy, dyed at *Waterford*; a man of approued worth, who from his youth had beene trayned vp in the exercise of Warre in *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

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The death of Drury, Lord Deputy.

Together with the death of the Deputie, dyed *Malbey's* authoritie in *Mounster*, who, when he had put his men in Garrison, went to *Connach*, the Prouince of his gouernement. The Rebels take heart by the death of the Deputie, and deliberate how they might vtterly draw themselues from vnder the *English* command, and are of opinion to blocke vp the Garrisons on all sides, and starue them by famine. *James Desmond* then besiegeth *Adare*, where *W. Stanley*, and *G. Carew*, were in Garrison. But the besieged, apprehending famine as the extremitie of all euils, so wearied the besiegers with often eruptions, that they raised the siege, and gaue them libertie to forrage the Countrey neere about them: which they did lustily and valiantly; *James* himselfe was wounded there.

The Rebels thereby incouraged.

In the *interim*, the Councell of *England* chose for chiefe Iustice of *Ireland*, *William Pelham*, with the authoritie of Lord Deputie, vntill they had chose one; and the Earle of *Ormond*, President of *Mounster*, who sent the Earle of *Desmonds* sonne to *Dublin*, there to be kept for hostage.

William Pelham is Lord Chiefe Iustice of Ireland.

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Admonisheth the Earle of Desmond of his duety.

Pelham goes towards *Mounster*, sends for *Desmond*; but hee excuseth himselfe by Letters sent by his Wife. For that cause, *Ormond* is sent, who warnes him to send *Sanders* the Diuine, the Souldiers that were strangers, and to deliuer vp into his hands, the Castles of *Carigo-foyle*, and *Asketen*, to submit himselfe absolutely, and turne his forces against his Brethren, and the other Rebels, assuring him grace if hee did it; if not, to be declared a Traitor, and an enemy of the Countrey: but by subterfuges and flyings off, hee dallies and playes with these things.

Proclaimes him Traitor.

In the beginning of Nouember, hee was proclaymed Traytor, and guiltie *Lese Maiestatis*, because hee had dealt with forraine Princes for the subduing and ouerthrowing of the Countrie, and intertained *Sanders* and *Fitz-Morris*, Rebels; cherished the *Spaniards* which were driuen from the Fort, caused faithfull Subiects to be hanged, displayed against the Queene the Ensigne of the Pope, and brought strangers into the Kingdome. This declaration being published, the Lord chiefe Iustice gaue Commission to *Ormond* to goe on with the warres.

The Earle of Ormond pursues the Rebels.

Desmond, turning his designes into another part of the Countrey of *Mounster*, and sacketh *Yeghall*; surprizeth without resistance, a Sea-Towne, and strong enough. *Ormond* wastes all farre and wide about *Conile*, the onely refuge of the Rebels, brings away their Flockes, and giues them in prey to the Souldiers, hanged the Maior of *Yeghall* before his owne doore, for refusing to receiue the *English* Garrison, fortified the Towne, and after, prepares himselfe to besiege the *Spaniards* in *Strangicall*. But they beforehand with-drew themselues from that danger. Neuertheless, the *English* pursued them, and left not one of them aliue, and molested the Rebels in all parts of *Mounster*.

The Earle of Desmond writes to the Lord Chiefe-Iustice.

Desmond, and his Brethren, although they lay hid, writ long Letters to the Lord chiefe Iustice, that they had vndertaken the protection of the Catholique faith in *Ireland*, by

by the Popes authoritie, and the aduice of the King of *Spaine*; therefore they courteously warne him, that in so pious and meritorious a cause, he would ioyne with them, for the saluation of his owne soule.

(***)

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1580.

THE THREE AND TVVENTIETH YEERE OF Her Reigne.

Anno Dom. 1580.

THe Lord chiefe Iustice pleasantly iesting at these things, returnes to *Mounster*, cals thither the Nobilitie, detaines them with him, not suffering any to depart, without giuing Hostages, and promise to imploy all their power and ayde with him and *Ormond*, against the Rebels. Who speedily diuiding their forces, make diligent search for the Rebels, constraine the Baron of *Lixnaw* to yeeld, besiege the Castle of *Carigofoyle*, (kept by *Iules* an *Italian*, with some few *Spaniards*) and with their great Ordnance hauing made a breach in the Wall, which was

was built but of dry stone, entered: killed part of the Garrison, hanged the rest, and *Iules* himselfe. Then the Castles of *Ballilogh* and *Asketen* perceiuing the *English* to approach, sets them on fire, and leaues them. *Peter Carew*, and *George* his brother, are made Gouernours of *Asketen*, with a new Garrison of the *English*, they waste the Lands of *Mac-Aule*; from thence, the chiefe Iustice, by a watery Mountaine, enters *Shlewlougher* in *Kerrie*, brings away great quantities of cattell, and defeats many Rebels. *Iames*, the Earle of *Desmonds* brother, hauing pillaged *Muske-roy*, appertaining to *Cormag-Mac-Teg*, (whom the chiefe Iustice by Law set at libertie, as well deseruing for his seruice against the Rebels) met with *Donel*, brother to *Cormag*, who hauing slaine many, and recouered the spoyle, tooke him, being wounded to death, and deliuered him to *Wararm S. Leger*, Marshall of *Mounster*, and to *Walter Raleigh*, a new Commander: They proceed against him in iustice, and hauing conuinced him, executed him for a Traitor, and set his head for a spectacle vpon the Gate of *Corcage*. The Earle of *Desmond* himselfe being ouer-whelmed with misery, and no where safe, remoues euery houre, sends his Wife to the Lord chiefe Iustice to aske pardon, and imployes his friends to *Winter*, (who with a Nauall Army watcht the *Spaniard* in the mouth of the Hauen) that he might be transported into *England* to begge the Queens pardon.

Iames taken, being wounded to death.

Desmond miserably oppressed.

The Lord chiefe Iustice hearing that *Arthur*, Lord *Gray*, who was appointed Deputy of *Ireland*, was landed, leaues the command of the Army to *George Bourchier*, second sonne to the Earle of *Bath*, and, by easie iourneies, returnes to *Dublin*, to deliuer vp the gouernement of the Kingdome to his Successor. As soone as the Lord *Gray* was arriued, being informed that some Rebels, conducted by *Fitz-Eustat*, and *Pheog-Mac-Hugh*, the most renowned of the famous House of the *Obrins*, who, after their spoyles and robbe-

Arthur, Lord Gray, Deputie of Ireland.

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He pursues the Rebels.

robberies, made their retreat to *Glandilough*, fiue and twenty mile Northward from *Dublin*, to win reputation; and to breed terrour at his beginning, hee commanded the Captaines, who were come from all parts, to salute him, to gather troupes, and to goe with him, to set vpon the Rebels, who were retyred to *Glandilough*, a Vale full of Grasse, the most part of it fertile, and fit to feede Cattell, situated at the foote of a steepe Rocke, full of Springs, and so enuironed with Trees and thicke bushes, that the Inhabitants of the Countrey knew not the wayes in it. When they were come to the place, *Cosby*, the Leader of the light-armed *Irish*, (which they call, *Kearnes*,) who knew the situation well, aduertized the others of the danger in entering into that Valley, being so fit a place for ambuscadoes. Notwithstanding this aduice, they must vndertake it, and hee exhorteth them to behaue themselues couragiously: and himselfe, being threescore and ten yeeres of age, marched in the Front, and the others followed him. But they were no sooner gone downe, but they were showred vpon with musket-shot, like hayle driuen by a tempest, from the bushes where the Rebels were placed, and not a man of them to be discerned. The most part of them were slaine there, the rest retyring, and clyming vp the Rockes and ragged wayes, with much adoe came to the Deputie, who stood vpon a Hill expecting the euent, with the Earle of *Kildare*, and Sir *Iohn Wingfield*, Master of the Ordnance, who knowing the danger, would not suffer *George Carew*, one of his Nephewes, to goe thither, reseruing him for greater honours. *Peter Carew* the younger, *G. More*, *Audeley*, and *Cosby* himselfe, were slaine there.

They kill the English.

Italians and Spaniards land in Ireland.

Shortly after, seuen hundred, or threabout, of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, commanded by *San-Ioseph* an *Italian*, sent by the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, vnder pretext to establish the Romane Religion; but the end of it, was to diuide Queene ELIZABETH's forces, and to call home

those

those which shee had in the Low-Countries, landed at *Swerwick*, without any resistance, in regard that *Winter*, who had waited for them in that place, seeing the Equinox of Autumne past, was returned for *England*; fortified the place with Bulwarkes, and named it the Fort *Del-Or*. But as soone as they had knowledge that the Earle of *Ormond*, Gouernour of *Mounster*, was comming towards them, they, by the aduice of the *Irish*, quitted the Fort, and went to the Valley of *Grauingel*, being of difficult accesse, by reason of the Mountaines and Woods which enuironed it. The Gouernour tooke some of them by the way, who being examined what number they were, and what designe they had, confessed, that they were seuen hundred, that they had brought armes for fiue thousand, and looked daily for greater numbers from *Spaine*: That the Pope and the King of *Spaine* were resolued to driue the *English* out of *Ireland*, and to effect the same, had sent store of treasure to *Sanders*, the Popes Nuncio, to the Earle of *Desmond*, and to *Iohn* his brother. The same night, the *Italians* and *Spaniards* not knowing which way to turne themselues, in regard they could not remaine in Caues and Dennes, which were retreats for Cattell, by the benefit of the darke night returned to the Fort, and *Ormond* was camped before it; but wanting Cannon, & other things requisit for battery, was constrained to attend the Lord Deputies comming, who was speedily there, and with him, *Zouchey*, *Raleigh*, *Deny*, *Mackworth*, *Achin*, and other Captaines. At the same time, *Winter*, being reproued for his comming away, returned from *England* with his Ships of Warre.

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They raise a Fort.

They are besieged.

The Lord Deputie sent a Trumpet to the Fort, to aske those that kept it, Who brought them into *Ireland*? By whom they were sent? and wherefore they had built a Fort in Queene ELIZABETH's Kingdome? and to command them presently to quit it. They answered, that they were sent, some from the most holy Father the Pope of

They answer to the Deputies demand.

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of *Rome*; and the rest, from the most Catholique King of *Spaine*, to whom he had giuen *Ireland*, Queene ELIZABETH being falne from it, by reason of her Heresie: and therefore would keepe what they had gotten, and get more if they could. Whereupon the Deputie, and *Winter*, hauing consulted of the manner how they should besiege it, caused the Sea-Souldiers, by night, and without noyse, to bring Culuerings from the Ships, and, hauing made a Bulwarke vpon the shoare, drawes them easily forward, and places them for battery. The Land-Souldiers bent their greatest Ordnance to the other side, and plaid vpon the Fort foure daies together. The *Spaniards* make many sallies out, but euer to their losse; and the *English* lost but one man, who was Sir *Iohn Cheeke*, a braue and valiant young Gentleman, sonne to Sir *Iohn Cheeke*, a noble Knight, most learned and iudicious.

They disagree.

Their Generall shewed himselfe a Coward.

San-Ioseph, who commanded the Fort, a very Coward, and vnfit for the warres, being affrighted with this continuall battery, thinkes presently of rendring it, and seeing *Hercules Pisan* and the other Captaines striuing to dissuade him from it, (as an vnworthy thing to be done by Souldiers, and insist, that by their faint-heartednesse, they should not diminish the courage of the *Irish*, who were comming to their succour, and prepared to sustaine the assault) with a remarkable cowardlinesse, sounds the intentions of the Souldiers, and seditiously threatning the Captaines, in the end brought them to condiscend to render it vp. So, seeing no succour neither from *Spaine*, nor from the Earle of *Desmond*, the fifth day of the said siege, they put forth a white Flagge, and demanded a Parley. But it was refused them, because they tooke part with Rebels, with whom they were not to parley. After, they desired, that they might goe out with bagge and baggage, which was also denied them. Also, that it might be permitted to the General, and the chiefe Commanders: but that likewise was denied them,

They aske a parley.

them, though it was requested with much importunitie; and the Deputie speaking outragiously against the Pope, commands them to yeeld vpon discretion. Insomuch, as not being able to obtaine any thing else, they put out the white Flagge againe, and all together cry aloud,

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They yeeld vpon discretion.

Misericordia, Misericordia.

And giue themselues vp to the Deputies mercy: who presently tooke counsell what course hee should take with them. But, in regard they equalled the number of the *English*, it was to be feared, seeing the Rebels were aboue fifteene hundred; and that, lest the *English* (who were destitute of Meat, & Apparell, if they should not be comforted and refreshed with the spoyles of the enemy,) might be moued to reuolt; also, there being no shipping to carry them into their owne Countrey; it was resolued (against the Deputies will,) who (full of mercy and compassion) wept for it, that all strangers, the Commanders excepted, should be put to the Sword; and the *Irish* to be hanged, which was presently executed. Neuertheleſſe, the Queen, who from her heart detested to vse cruelty to those that yeelded, wished that the slaughter had not beene, and was with much difficultie appeased and satisfied about it. This is all that which passed in *Ireland*, which I was willing to follow, with a continued declaration; to the end, that the order of the History might not be interrupted, though many things passed amongst them, which I should haue remembred before, if I had followed the order of the time.

Strangers slaine with the Sword, the Subtill hanged.

Vpon the beginning of this yeere, the ornaments of the head, which exceeded in dressings, and Clokes which came downe almost to the heeles, (no lesse seemly than of great expence) were reformed by a Statute, and Swords reduced to three-foot length, Poniards to twelue inches from the hilt,

Excesse in apparell reformed.

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hilt, and Target-Pikes to two. And forasmuch as the City and Suburbs of *London* were so increased in buildings, by reason of the multitude of people which flowed thither from all parts, so as the other Cities and Townes of the Kingdome were decayed; that if it had not beene looked to in time, the ordinary Magistrates would not haue sufficed to haue gouerned such a multitude; nor the Countries neere about, to haue fed them; and if any Epidemicke infection should haue happened, it would haue infected the ioyning-houses that were filled with Lodgers & Inmates. The Queen made an Edict, prohibiting any new dwelling-house to be built within three thousand paces of the Gates of *London*, vpon paine of imprisonment, and losse of the materialls which should be brought to the place to build withall; and euery one forbidden to haue more than one Family in a House.

The taking of Malines in Brabant.

In the Low-Countries, Generall *Norris*, and *Oliuer Temple*, with some companies of *Flemmings*, ioyned to their *English* forces, at the breake of the day, set Ladders against the walls of *Malines*, a rich Towne of *Brabant*, tooke it, killed a great number of the inhabitants, and religious persons, the taking whereof got them some commendations of valour, but they polluted it with a vile pillage, and rauenous sacriledge. For they did not onely with great insolency take away the goods of the Inhabitants, but set vpon the Churches, and the holy things, to the violating euen the dead. And we haue seene (I am ashamed to say it) many of their Tombe-Stones transported into *England*, and exposed to sale; to set out publique witnesses of this impietie.

The sacriledge of the English.

An Earthquake.

It wil not be amisse to remember the great Earth-quake, which is a thing that very rarely happneth in *England*. The third of Aprill, about sixe of the clocke in the euening, the skie being calme and cleare, *England* shooke in a moment from beyond *Yorke*, and the Low-Countries as farre as

Collen;

Collen; insomuch, that in some places, Stones fell downe from Houses, and Bels in Steeples were so shaken, that they were heard to ring, and the Sea it selfe, it being a great calme was exceedingly moued. And the night following, the Country of *Kent* shooke; and likewise the first of May, in the night. Whether this was caused by the Windes which were entred into cliffes and hollow places of the earth, or by waters flowing vnder the earth, or otherwise, I leaue that to the iudgement of the Naturalists. After this, followed a commotion against Papists throughout *England*, but themselues were authors of these beginnings.

Booke

1580

The Pa begin to afflicted

The English Seminaries, who were fled into *Flanders*, at the perswasion and instigation of *William Allan*, borne at *Oxford*, (accounted and esteemed by them a very learned man) assembled themselues together at *Douay*, where they begun to set vp a Schoole, and the Pope appoynted them an annuall pension. Since, *Flanders* beeing moued with troubles, the *English* Fugitiues, banished by the command of *Requesens*, and the *Guizes*, allied to the Queene of *Scotland*, did the like, in establishing such other Schooles for *English* youths in the City of *Reims*: and Pope *Gregory* the Third, in *Rome*, who as fast as time depriued *England* of Priests and Seminaries, he furnished the Land with new supplies of their young ones, who sowed the seedes of the Roman Religion all ouer *England*, for which cause they were called,

The be ning of lists Se vies.

Their D ctrine is thought

Seminaries.

As well as those who were there bred and borne.

As among other things, the Ecclesiasticall and Politicall power, the zeale borne to the Pope the Founder thereof, the hatred of Queene ELIZABETH, and the hope conceiued to reestablish the Roman Religion by the Q. of *Scotlands* means, were debated and disputed of. Diuers so perswaded,

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swaded, verily beleeued, that the Pope had by diuine right, *full power* ouer all the Earth, as well in Ecclesiasticall as Politicall matters, and by this *fulnesse of power*, power to excommunicate Kings, and free-Princes, to depriue them of their Crownes and Scepters: after, the absoluing their subiects from all oath of fidelity and obedience to them. This caused the grant of Pope *Pius* the Fifth's Bull declaratory, published *Anno* 1569. the Bull of Rebellions kindled in the North parts of *England* & *Ireland* (as I haue already spoken of) also that many desisted from Diuine Seruice, who before seemed to frequent the Church with much zeale and integrity, and that *Hans*, *Nelson*, and *Maine*, Priests, and one *Shrood*, durst affirme and maintaine, that Queene ELIZABETH was a Shismatique, and that she therefore ought to be deposed of Regall rule, and so degraded; for which they were soone after iustly put to death.

The euent proceeding thereof.

Such Seminaries were sent in diuers places, both in *England* and *Ireland*; first, some young men prematurely inuested in that order, and instructed in the said Doctrine; then after, as they increased, a greater number, for the administrating the Sacrament of the Roman Church, and preaching, as they seemed to make shew of; but indeed, as Queene ELIZABETH her selfe, and the Lords of her Maiesties most honourable Priuy Councell found out, it was meerely to seduce her subiects, to withdraw them from all obedience and loyalty due to their Soueraigne, to oblige them, by reconciliation, to put in practice and truely execute the Sentence of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, pronounced against her Maiesty; and by this meanes to make way to the Pope and *Spanish* designe for the inuading of *England*.

New Seminaries are sent into England.

To what end.

And, as it was knowne, that to the infringing and contemning of the Lawes authority, diuers Children & young men of sundry Callings, were daily vnder-hand secretly sent beyond the Seas, in those Seminaries, where they (haueing

uing made a vow to returne) were receiued, that from thence new supply of others, vnknowne, came priuatly into *England*, and that still more were expected to come with such Iesuits, who then made here their first entrance and abode; so, an Edict was proclaimed in the moneth of *Iune*, expressly charging and commanding all such who had children, Wards, kindred, or such others in the Regions beyond the Sea, to exhibit and giue vp their names to the *Ordinary* within ten dayes after, to send for them to come ouer within the prefixt time of foure moneths; and presently after the said return, euery one ought to declare and giue notice thereof to the *Ordinary*; prohibiting likewise, to lay out or furnish with money such as should stay or dwell out of *England*, either directly or indirectly; neither to nourish, relieue, or lodge such Priest deriued of those Emissaries, nor Iesuits, vpon paine (for them who should doe otherwise) to be reputed and held for fautors of Rebels, and supporters of seditious persons, to incurre the seuerity and rigour exprest in the Lawes of the said Kingdome.

Iesuites doe steale priuately into England.

A Proclamation against Seminaries and Iesuites.

Before this Proclamation was published, the Papists feined to haue too late taken aduice of the incommodities that this Bull produced; they made a shew to be extreme sorry that euer it was sent ouer; they suppreſt *Sanders* Apology, and prohibited to dispute any more such question concerning the Popes authority to excommunicate and degrade Princes: But all this, most cautelously and cunningly, as the euent made it euident; for this disputation increased daily amongst them, (as naturally men are most addicted to things prohibited) sith *Robert Persons* and *Edmond Campian* (*English* Iesuites) being ready to come into *England*, to set Romish affaires forward, obtained of Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, power to moderate this seuere and sharpe Bull, in these termes:

Robert Persons and Edmond Campian, English Iesuits, came into England.

Power granted to the Papists.

Booke 2. 1580.

If it be asked to our Soueraigne Lord, the explication of Pope Pius *the Fifth's Bull against* ELIZABETH *and her adherents, the which the Catholikes desire to be thus vnderstood; that it may oblige for euer Her and the Heretikes; but no wayes the Catholiques, so long as affaires & matters shal thus stand, as they are at this present, but only whē it is so as it may be publiquely executed and generally effected. These Graces haue beene granted to* Robert Person, *and to* Edmond Campian, *vpon their departure and iourney for England, the* 14. *of Aprill, in presence of Father* Oliuero Manarco.

Who and what haue beene these Iesuits.

This *Robert Person* was a *Somersetshire* man, of a vehement and sauage nature, of most vnciuill manners and ill behauiours.

Edward Campian was a *Londoner*, of a contrary carriage, both were *Oxford* men, and I knew them while I was in the same Vniuersity. *Campian*, being out of Saint *Iohns* Colledge, profest the place of Atturney in the said Vniuersity, in the yeere 1568. and beeing established Arch-Deacon, made a shew to affect the Protestant faith, vntill that day he left *England*. *Person*, being out of Balioll Colledge, in which he openly made profession of the Protestant Religion, vntill his wicked life, and base conuersation, purchasing him a shamefull exile from thence, hee retyred himselfe to the Papists side. Since, both of them returning into *England*, were disguized, sometimes in the habit of Souldiers, sometimes like Gentlemen, and sometimes much like vnto our Ministers; they secretly trauelled through *England*, from house to house, and places of Popish Nobility and Gentry; valiantly executing by words and writings their Commission. *Person*, who was establisheed chiefe and superiour, being of a seditious nature and turbulent spirit, armed with audacity, spoke so boldly to the Papists, to deprue

priue Queene ELIZABETH of her Scepter, that some of them were once determined to accuse, and put him into the hands of iustice. *Campian*, though something more modest, presumed to challenge by a writing the Ministers of the Church of *England*, to dispute with him touching the Romish beleefe, which hee maintained; he put forth a Latine Pamphlet, containing tenne Reasons, indifferently well penned: as did likewise *Person*, another seditious booke in *English*, raging against one *Charcke*, who before had ingeniously and mildely written against *Campians* Chalenge. But *Whitaker* answered home to the said *Campians* pretended Reasons, who being taken and rackt a yeere after, was produced for the Dispute, but he neuer had so much a doe as to maintaine them, neither answered hee to that expectation which himselfe had formerly giuen.

Booke 2. 1580.

The English Fugitiues doe moue and excite strangers to war against their Prince and Countrey.

And the Popes faction (for Religion was then turned into faction) wanted not other men, who vowed and bent their vtmost power and endeuours at *Rome*, and else-where in the Courts of forrein Princes, to moue warre, and excite trouble against their natiue Countrey; nay, rather than faile, they published in Print Pamphlets, shewing, that the Pope, and the King of *Spaine*, had conspired to subdue *England*, and expose it as a prey; to no other purpose, than to increase the affection and courage of their owne people, to affright and terrifie others; and by this meanes, to seduce and with-draw them from that loue and loyaltie which they ought to their Soueraigne Princesse and Countrey. Queene ELIZABETH perceiuing euidently how much shee was offended and threatned by the Armes and subtlety of the Pope and *Spaniard*, after hauing acknowledged the singular goodnesse of God, declared by a Booke printed;

THat shee had not attempted any thing against any other Prince; but in defence and conseruation of her owne Kingdome, neither had shee inuaded

Booke 2.
1580.

Queene Elizabeths declaration against them.

inuaded any others Countrey, although shee had beene both by iniuries sufficiently prouoked, and by fit opportunity inuited thereunto. That if any Princes should enterprize to inuade her Realmes, she doubted not, but to be (by the Diuine assistance) well able to defend them. That shee had to that end taken a survey of her forces, both by Sea and Land, and stood readily prepared against the attempts of her enemies, exhorted her loyall Subiects, to persist with vnremoueable stedfastnesse in faith and duety towards GOD, and her Ministers. Such as had renounced all loue to their Countrey, and obedience to their Prince, shee commanded to carry themselues moderately, and not prouoke the seueritie of iustice. Neither would shee in pardoning her euill Subiects, shew her selfe cruell to her selfe and her good people.

The seuerall Sects of Holland.

And not onely these perfidious Subiects, but Strangers likewise out of *Holland*, (being a fertill Prouince in Heretiques) began at that time not onely to disturbe the peace of the Church, but also of the Common-wealth of *England*; by insinuating themselues, vnder a colour of singular integrity and sincerity, into the opinions of the ignorant vulgar; and with a strange and new manner of preaching, (which men rather wondered at than vnderstood) they possest the mindes of many with certaine damnable Heresies, which were euidently contrary to the Christian faith; they called themselues of the *Family of loue*, or *House of Charity*, and perswaded such as they had drawne to their Sect, that those only were the *Elect*, and to be saued, which were of that *Sect*; all others were Reprobates, and should be damned; and that it was lawfull for them to deny by oath what they pleased before any Magistrate, or any other, which were not of that Family. And of this fantasticke vanity they dispersed bookes abroad, which were intuled,

tituled, *The Gospell of the Kingdome*; *The Sentences of Instruction*; *The Prophesie of the spirit of loue*; *The publication of the peace vpon Earth, by H. N.* They could not be induced to manifest the name of the Author; but it was afterwards found to be one *H. Nicholay* of *Leyden* in *Holland*; who out of his blasphemous mouth preached, That he was partaker of Gods Diuinity, and God of his humanity. The Queene, in good time, to represse these Heretiques (knowing that all Princes ought aboue all to haue an especiall care of Religion) by an Edict enioyned the Ciuill Magistrates to assist the Ecclesiasticall in burning of those Bookes.

Booke 2

1580.

The house of LOVE.

A Proclamation against these Sects.

About this time, *Francis Drake* returned into *England*, abounding with riches, but more illustrious and exceeding in glory, hauing sayled about the terrestriall Globe with happy successe, being (if not the first that had aspired to this glory) yet the first next *Magellan*, who dyed in the middest of his course. This *Drake* (that I may report no more than what I haue heard from himselfe) was borne of meane parentage in the County of *Deuonshire*; at his Baptisme, *Francis Russell*, afterwards Earle of *Bedford*, was his Godfather. Whilest he was but yet an Infant, his Father embracing the Protestant Religion, was by vertue of the Law of *Sixe Articles*, made by King HENRY the Eighth against the Protestants, called in question: whereupon he left his native soyle, and passed into *Kent*. King HENRY the Eighth being deceased, hee obtained a place amongst them of the Fleet-Royall, to reade Prayer; a short time after, he was chosen Deacon, & being made Vicar of *Vpnore*, vpon the Riuer *Medway*, (where the Nauy lay at Road) he was constrained by pouerty to place his sonne with a neighbouring Pylote, who, by daily exercise, hardened him to the Saylors labours in a little Barke, wherewith hee sayled vp and downe the Coast, guided Ships in and out of Harbours, and sometimes transported Merchandize into *France* and *Zeland*. This young man, being diligent and

Francis Drake.

His original extraction.

Francis Drakes education.

Booke 2. 1580.

plyable, gaue such testimony of his care and diligence to the old Pylote, that he dying issueless, in his Will bequeathed, as a Legacy, the Barke to him, wherewith *Drake* hauing gathered a pretty some of money, and receiuing intelligence that *Iohn Hawkins* made preparation of certaine Ships at *Plimouth*, for the voyage of *America*, which was called the New-World, he made sale of his Barke, and, accompanied with certaine braue and able Mariners, he left *Kent*, and ioyned his labours and fortunes with *Hawkins*, in the yeere 1567. but with vnfortunate successe. For the *English* being (as is related) surprized by the *Spaniards*, in the Port of Saint *Iohn de Vllua*, hee, with the losse of all his meanes, hardly escaped. Fiue yeeres after, (that is to say, in the yeere 1572.) hauing gathered together a sufficient summe of money by his traffique and Pyracy, with an intent to recouer his losses which he had receiued by the *Spaniards*, (which a Preacher of the Nauy easily perswaded him to be lawfull) he made a voyage the second time into *America*, with a Ship of Warre called the *Dragon*, with two other small Ships, without the knowledge of any but his Companions, where hee surprized a Towne, called *Nombre de Dies*, in the passage to the Ile *Darienc*, which he presently lost. Then, receiuing intelligence by the fugitiue Negro's, (which are called *Cimarons*) that certaine Mule-driuers were to transport a great quantity of Gold and Siluer to *Panama*) hee set vpon them, and pillaged them vpon the way, carrying the Gold into his Ships, but the Siluer, because he could not commodiously transport it ouer the Mountaines, he left it, and buried part thereof in the ground: after that, hee burned a large Store-house of Merchandize, called the *CROSSE*, vpon the Riuer *Chiragne*: And as he sometimes made excursions vpon the neighbouring places, he discouered from the top of high mountaines, the South Sea; hereupon, he was so inflamed with a desire of glory and wealth, that hee burned with an earnest

Drakes expedition in America.

earnest longing to sayle into those parts; and in the same place, falling vpon his knees, he heartily implored the Diuine assistance to enable him, that he might one day arriue in those Seas, and discouer the secrets of them; and to this, he bound himselfe with a religious vow. From that time forward, was his minde night and day troubled, and as it were excited and pricked forward with goads, to performe and acquite himselfe of this Vow.

Booke 2. 1580.

A Vow.

Now, beeing abundantly rich, silently reuolued these thoughts in his minde; *Iohn Oxenham*, who in the former voyages had beene a Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke vnder him, hauing by his valour obtained the name of Captaine among the Saylors, to tread in the foot-steps of his Masters fortune, in taking the Mules loaden with wealth, and to sayle the *Australe*, or *Meridian*-Sea, he, in the yeere 1563. begun to sayle in those places, with a Ship onely and equipage of seuentie men, where, being arriued, hee communicated his designe to the *Negro's*; and learning out that those Mule-driuers, who vsed to transport riches to *Panama*, were conueyed with armed men, brought his Ship to Land, hiding her vnder thicke bowes in place secure, causing likewise his greatest Cannons to be brought ashoare, with victuals and prouision; afterwards, he and his people, with tenne *Negro's*, who were their Guides in that Countrey, came to a Riuer which ends in the Meridian-Sea, and there cut Trees wherewith they built a small Ship, with which he traded in the Iland called *Margaret*, which abounds in Pearles, situated in the same Sea, and not farre off: in which hauing stayed tenne daies for the Ships comming from *Peru*, he tooke one which carried sixty pound weight of Gold; and another, with an hundred pound weight of Siluer, and in those Ships hee returned into the said Riuer. This Prize being soone diuulged by those *Spaniards* which *Iohn Oxenham* had released, and set on shoare, *Iohan Ortega*, a Spaniard, forthwith pursued him with an

Iohn Oxenham sayleth into America.

Isla de Perlas.

Booke 2.
1580.

hundred men, and finding that there was three waies to enter the Riuer, hee stayed a time, not knowing which to take, but at last he plainely discouered *Oxenhams* trace, by reason of the number of feathers of such Fowles and Hens as the *English* had eaten, which were swimming vpon the water; and following them, he found the Gold among the bushes and thickets, and the *English* in discord and strife about the bootie; who neuertheleſſe prouiding to their common necessity, fell vpon the *Spaniards*, who were in greater number: for the most part of the *English* were killed, and the rest were taken, among which, *Iohn Oxenham*, who was brought to *LIMA*, and there examined whether he were entred into the King of *Spaines* Dominions, with Queene ELIZABETH's leaue and permission, or no? and not able to satisfie them with any answere, hee was most lamentably put to death, and cruelly executed as a Pyrat and common enemy of humane kinde, with the Pylot, and others: and thus his worthy enterprize was preuented, which was both great and memorable.

Iohn Oxenham deprived of life, falls from a great and famous enterprize.

Drakes second voyage.

Drake, not knowing what was become of *Oxenham*, that he might get into the South Sea, which hee still meditated vpon, and try his fortune there, departs from *Plimouth* the thirteenth of December 1577. with fiue ships, and one hundred sixtie three men, of which number there were scarce two who knew his designe, or whither they were bound, and arriued on the fiue and twentieth at *Canten*, a Cape or Promontory in *Barbary*: then, hauing refreshed themselues at *Maio*, a very pleasant Iland, and abounding with sweet Grapes, at *San-Iacobina*, they tooke a Portugal laden with Wine, and hauing set the Mariners a-shoare, carryed the vessell, with *N. la Forest* the Pylote, away with them, to serue them for a watch and skout vpon the Coasts of *Brasil*, which were well knowne vnto him. From thence he passed to the Ile of *Folgo*, which casteth out sulphurous flames: and from thence to *la Braue*, vnder which the Mariners

riners assure vs that the Sea is very high. And as he came vnder the Equinoctiall, prouiding for the health of his people, causeth euery one of them to be let blood, and after hauing bin long becalmed, and endured much Lightening and Thunder, he found he had made very little or no way in three weekes, and been 55. daies without seeing any Land, vntill in the end he discouered the Countrie of *Brasill*.

Booke 1 1580.

The 26. of *Aprill*, being entered the riuer of *Plate*, they saw an infinite number of Sea-calues, and from thence being brought to Saint *Iulians*, they found a Gibbet standing there, which (as it is thought) *Magellan* set vp, when he was forced thereabouts, to punish some sedicious persons. Where Mr. *Iohn Doughtey*, a wise and valiant Gentleman, and of chiefe command vnder *Drake*, was condemned by the verdict of twelue men, according to the English customie, and beheaded, after he had receiued the Communion with *Drake* himselfe. The most impartiall of all the Company, did iudge, that he had indeed carried himselfe a little sediciously, and that *Drake*, hauing an eye not so much vpon such as might surpasse him in Sea-faring renowne, as vpon those which were like to equall him, did rid his hands of him as of a Competitor. Others, presuming to haue more knowledge of his intentions, affirme, that *Leicester* had commanded him to make him away, vnder some pretext or other, in reuenge that he did auerre oftentimes, that he had made away my Lord of *Essex* by his deuices.

Doughtey beheaded.

The 20. of *August*, hauing no more then three Shippes, (for he had cast off the other two at Sea, which were the lesser, after hee had taken in the men, and what else was ought worth) he came to the straight of *Magellan*, which is a Sea full of Ilands, and circled in with high Mountaines, the Element being full of Snow, and the wether very cold, past it, the sixth of *September*, and entred into the South Sea,

Passeth the straightes of Magellan.

Booke 2.
1580.

Sea, which is called *Peacible*, or *Still*, which he found neuertheleſſe much troubled, and his Fleet through the vehemencie of the Tempeſt, carried about an hundred Leagues into the Ocean and ſeparated: At the ſame time they ſaw an Eclipſe of the Moone, the fifteenth of *September*, at ſixe of the Clocke at night. I ſpeake this in fauour of Mathematicians, againſt that which others doe report. They ſaw alſo that part of the heauen next the South Pole, adorned with very few ſtarres, and of farre leſſer magnitude then thoſe in our Hemiſphere, and not aboue the third part of the greatneſſe of ours. And that the two little Cloudes, which are of the colour of the *Milke-way*, which we call the little Cloudes of *Magellan*, are not farre diſtant from the Pole.

Eclipſe of the Moone.

South Stars.

Little clouds of Magellan

Of theſe Ships which the wind had thus hurried away, the one, in which Captaine *Iohn Winter* cõmanded, plying vp the ſtraights of *Magellan* againe, returned ſafely into *England*, and is the firſt that euer paſſed that way. *Drake*, who was then driuen alone by this tempeſt with his Ship, vnto 55. degrees to the Weſt, and hardly could recouer the breadth of the ſtraights, ran along the Coaſt, and, contrary to that which is figured in the Maps, he found that theſe Lands fetch a great compaſſe about, before they trend vp into the Eaſt.

Drake finds booty both by land and ſea.

Being come the laſt of *November* to the Ile of *Mouſcha*, he ſent his Mariners aſhore for freſh water, two of which were taken and detayned by the Inhabitants. Being departed from thence, he meets with an *Indian*, who was fiſhing in his Canoe, who thinking that his men had bin *Spaniards*, told them, that at *Villa Parizo*, in the Roade, there was a great *Spaniſh* Ship laden, and brought them thither. The *Spaniſh* Mariners, which were but eight, and two Negroes, ſeeing the *Engliſh* ariue, and taking them for *Spaniards*, began to beate vp their Drummes, and drawing of their Wines of *Chillie*, to inuite them to drinke. But the *Engliſh* boording them, put them all vnder hatches, riſle the

next

next Towne, called Saint *Iacobin*, and the Chappell also, the spoile whereof was for Mr. *Fletcher*, Minister to the Fleet: Afterwards they put all the men of their Prize on shore, except the Pilot, beiug a *Grecian*, and carrying both the Ship and him away, they found therein foure hundred waight of Gold of *Baldiue*, so called by the name of the place, because it is truely refined.

Booke 2. 1580.

After that, *Francis Drake* landed at *Taurapaze*, where he found a *Spaniard* fast asleepe vpon the Sea side, and neere vnto him two great Barres of massie Siluer, to the value of foure thousand Ducats, which hee caused to bee carried away, without so much as awakening the man. Then being entred into the Hauen of *Arica*, he found there three ships, without Master or Sailors; and within, 57. ingots of siluer, each of them weighing twenty pound waight, besides other marchandise. From thence hee sailed to *Lima*, and meets with twelue ships in the Roade, whose Tackling and Armes had beene brought ashore: There was in them a great deale of Silke, and a little coffer full of coined money, but there was not so much as a Boy left to looke to them, so great they accounted the security of that Coast, for the distance of places, and also because the nauigation was vnknowne, no feare they had of Pirates. And indeed, no man from *Magellan* euer sailed those Seas before *Drake*, but onely the *Spaniards*, who haue built there all such Ships and Nauie as are there. *Drake*, hauing committed those Ships to the Ocean, hee made haste with all sailes spred, after another sumptuous Ship, very rich, called *The Caco Fogue*; whereof he had notice, was departed from *Lima*, & bound for *Panama*; but he first meeting with a small ship, from which he got 80. pound weight of Gold, a Crucifix of pure gold, diuers Emeralds of the length of a finger, and some Munition: The first day of *March* he ouertooke this *Caco Fogue*, and after he had beaten downe with a Cannon shot the fore-Mast, boords her, and takes it, finds therein, besides

Meets by chance with great wealth

Sir Francis Drake takes a Spanish ship called Shite-Fire, which hee made shite Siluer.

Booke 2. 1580.

besides many precious stones, 80. pound waight more of gold, 13. coffers full of coyned money, and his ballast was pure siluer: all which he caused to be brought ashore, and leauing the said Ship, the Pilot, who was within, gaue *Drake* this pleasant farewell: We will exchange names of our Ships:

Call yours, *Cacofogue*; and ours, *Cacoplate*:

which is to say, yours shall bee named *Shite-fire*, and ours *Shite-siluer*. Since that time he met with no rich prize. So omitting the relation of those ships of *China*, of the golden Eagle, of those faire Negroes which the *Spaniard* gaue him for sparing his ship, and the pillage of a little Village called *Aguatulcum*; I will speake of his returne.

He thinkes of his return.

Drake esteemed himselfe abundantly rich, and indifferently well satisfied of the particular wrong which he had receiued of the *Spaniards* in S. *Iohn of Vllua*, thinkes now of his returne, and because it seemed to him full of eminent perils, to repasse through the straights of *Magellan*, aswell by reason of the raging Tempests vsuall there, as of diuers Shelfs and Rockes vnknowne, and likewise fearing lest the *Spaniards* should there watch for his comming backe, as indeed *Francis* of *Toledo*, Vice-Roy of *Peruia*, had to that end sent thither *Peter Sermiente* with two ships of Warre, as also to fortifie the straights of that Sea, if any were; *Drake* then tooke his way toward the North, at the latitude of 42. Degrees, to discouer in that part if there were any straight, by which he might find a neerer way to returne; But discerning nothing but darke and thicke cloudes, extremity of cold and open Cliffes couered thicke with snow, hee landed at the 38. Degree, and hauing found a commodious Rode, remained there a certaine time. The inhabitants of that Countrie were naked, merry, lusty, iumping, leaping, and dancing perpetually, sacrificing, and showing by signe and

1580.

and words, that they would elect *Francis Drake* for their King: neither could it be coniectured that euer the *Spaniard* had bin there, or so farre in that Countrie: *Drake* named that very countrey, being fat and good, full of Deeres and Conies,

Drake discoueres a land, which hee called the Nouam Albion.

The new Albion;

Causing a great Poste to be there erected, vpon which there was ingrauen an Inscription, which shewed the yeere of our Lord, the name of Queene ELIZABETH, and their landing there, and vnderneath a piece of siluer of Queene ELIZABETHS Coine was nailed to the said Poste.

Afterwards hauing weighed Anchor, in the moneth of *Nouember*, he arriued in the Ilands of the *Mollucques*, where the King of the Ile of *Ternata* receiued him graciously, and from thence, sayling vpon that sea full of Rockes and Ilands, his ship was, the ninth day of *Ianuary*, driuen to the top of a Rocke couered with water, where it remained in great danger seuen and twenty houres, and was accounted no better then lost, by all the men of the ship, who fell deuoutly vpon their knees, praying hartily vnto the Lord, expecting hourely to perish, with all the aboundance of riches heaped vp together with so much paine: But after they had hoysted their *Sprit-Sayle*, and cast into the Sea 8. Peeces of Ordnance, and diuers marchandizes, a fauourable wind rose, (as sent of God) which bore the ship aside, and withdrew it from aboue the Rocke.

He arriued at the Mollucques.

Falls into a great danger

After this, he landed at *Iaua major*, greatly afflicted with the Poxe, which the Inhabitants doe cure, sitting in the heate of the sunne, to drie vp the poysonous and malignant humor. Where hauing tryed the humanity of the little King of the Countrey, he tooke his way towards the Cape of *Bona esperance*, which was celebrated as very remarkable, by the Mariners, which had formerly seene it. He landed

He passeth beyong the Cape of Bona Esperance.

Booke 2.

1580.

vpon that coast to take in water, but found no fountaine there: if he had not in time prouided of water, when it rained, they had all beene in great distresse for sweet water. At last, he tooke in some at *Riogrand*, from whence hee finished his iourney into *England*, with a fauourable wind, which brought his Ship the ninth of Nouember, 1580. safe into the Hauen of *Plimouth*, where he tooke shipping, after his being abroad about the space of three yeeres: during which time he worthily sayled round about the Earth, to the admiration and laudable applause of all people, and without purchasing blame for any other things, than for his putting to death *Doughty*, & for leauing at the mercy of the *Spaniards*, that *Portugal* Ship by him taken at the mouth of *Africa*, neere vnto *Aquatulqua*, and for hauing most inhumanely exposed in an Iland, that *Negro* or Black-more-Maide, who had beene gotten with Child in his Ship.

Returnes into England.

Queene ELIZABETH receiued him graciously, with all clemency, caused his riches to be sequestred and in readinesse, whensoeuer the *Spaniard* should re-claime them: Her Maiesty commanded likewise, that for a perpetuall memory to haue so happily circuited round about the whole Earth, his Ship should be drawne from the water, and put aside neere *Deptford* vpon *Thames*, where to this houre the body thereof is seene; and after the Queenes feasting therein, shee consecrated it with great ceremonie, pompe, and magnificence, eternally to be remembred; and her Maiesty forthwith honoured *Drake* with the dignity of Knighthood. As these things were performed, a slight Bridge, made of Boords, by which people went vp into the Ship, was broken downe by the Multitude, and about a hundred persons fell with it; they neuertheless receiued no harme at all: insomuch, that the Ship seemed to haue beene built in a happy coniunction of the Planets. That very day, against the great Mast of the said Ship, many verses, composed to the praise & honour of Sir *Francis Drake*, were

Drakes ship is consecrated to perpetuall memory.

Francis Drake is knighted by Queene Elizabeth.

were fastned, and fixed; among which, these in Latin were written by a Scholler of the Colledge of *Winchester*:

PLVS VLTRA, *Herculeis inscribas, columnis,*
Drace,
Et magno, dicas, Hercule maior ero.

Escri DRACE ces deux mots sur les piliers du Temple
Qui fut sacré iadis à Hercule guerrier,
PLVS OVLTRE, & quelque grand qu'ait esté son laurier
Di que le tien doit estre & plus grand & plus ample.

DRAKE, on the Herculean columnes these words write,
Thou farther wentst then any mortall wight.
Though Hercules for trauell did excell,
From him and others thou didst beare the bell.

DRACE, *pererrati quem nouit terminus orbis,*
Quemq; simul mundi vidit vterq; Polus.
Si taceant homines, faciunt te sydera notum.
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.

DRAC qui as parcouru tous les quartiers du monde,
Et les Poles as veu, Quand les gens manqueront
A chanter tes vertus,
les Astres le feront,
Le Soleil n'oublira celuy qui le seconde.

Braue DRAKE, that round about the world didst saile,
And viewedst all the Poles,
when men shall faile
Thee to commend, the starres will do'it, the Sunne
Will not forget how with him thou didst run.

Digna ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclyta stellis,
Supremo cœli vertice digna ratis.

Booke 2. 1580.

CE NAVIRE qui rend à tous homines notoire La gloire d'vn grand Chef, merite que les Dieux Mettent autour de luy des Astres radieux, Et au plus hault du Ciel estre éclatant de gloire.	THAT SHIP whose good successe did make thy name To be resounded by the trump of Fame: Merits to be beset with Stars diuine, Instead of waues, and the Skie to shine.

Nothing anger'd worse Sir *Francis Drake*, than to see the Nobles and the chiefest of the Court, refuse that Gold and Siluer which he presented them withall, as if hee had not lawfully come by it. The Commons neuertheless applauded him with all praise and admiration, esteeming, he had purchased no lesse glory in aduancing the limits of the *English*, their honour and reputation, than of their Empire.

The King of Spaine by his Ambassadour demandeth Drakes goods which he had piraticated.

He is answered.

Bernard Mendoze, then Ambassadour for *Spaine*, in *England*, murmuring at it, and, as not well pleased, demands vehemently of the Queene the things taken. But he was answered:

THat the Spaniards had procured vnto themselues that euil through their iniustice towards the English, in hindering, against the right of Nations, their Negotiations: That Sir Francis Drake *was abraies ready to answere the Law, if by iust inditements, and certaine testimonies they could conuict him, to haue committed any thing against equity. That to no end but to giue satisfaction to their King, the riches he brought in were sequestred, though her Maiesty had spent (against the Rebels which Spaine had moued and instigated in Ireland and England against her,) more money than* Drake *was worth. Moreouer, that her Maiestie could finde no reason why* Spaine *should hinder her Subiects, and those of other Princes, from sailing to the Indies: That shee could not be perswaded*

perswaded that they were his owne, although the Pope had ne'r so much giuen them to him: that shee acknowledged no such Prerogatiue in the Pope, much lesse the least authority, as to oblige Princes, who owe him no obedience at all, vnder his power iniust & put the Spaniard, as in fee and possession of that New-World; also, that shee could not see how he could deriue the least right, but by those descents and landing here and there of his Subiects, who built there small cottages to inhabit, and named the Promontorie; Things neuertheleſse that can purchase no propriety. So that by vertue of such donation of other mens goods, which in equitie is nothing worth, and of this proprietie that is meerly imaginary, hee cannot iustly hinder other Princes to negotiate in those Regions; but they, without infringing any waies the Lawes of Nations, may lawfully bring in Colonies in those parts that are not yet inhabited by the King of Spaines Subiects, sith Prescription without possession, is of no validity euen as to sayle vpon the mayne Ocean, that the vse of the Sea as of the Ayre is common to all, and that publique necessitie permits not it should be possessed, that there is nor people, no particular, that can challenge or pretend any other right therein.

Neuertheleſse, since this great summes of money were pay'd backe to *Piedro Sibure*, a *Spaniard*, who styled himselfe Attourney, for the recouery of the Gold and Siluer; though hee could shew no such Letter of procuration or receits. And it was discouered (but too late) that he made no retribution at all to particulars, but spent it against Queene ELIZABETH, vpon the *Spaniards*, who maintained the warre of *Flanders*.

While Sir *Francis Drake* circuited so prosperously the World, *Iacman* and *Pet*, renowned Pylots, sent by the Merchants of *London* with two Ships, did seeke with leſse

Booke 1580.

The Spaniard hath part of Drakes money deliuered backe.

Iackman and Pets Nauigation to seeke away to the East-Indies.

Booke 2. 1580.

happy successe, a short way or passage, to sayle into the East Indies, by the Sea of *Cronie*, but hauing past some miles beyond the Iles *Vaigats*, they found ebbing and flowing so vncertaine, so many shelues, and so great store of Ice, that they could not possible goe any further, hauing much adoe to returne.

The death of the Earle of Arundell, who was the first that brought the vse of Coches into England.

At the beginning of this yeere, died *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earle of *Arundell*, and with him the name of that most noble House, which had flourished in honour aboue three hundred yeeres, sonne to *Richard Fitz-Allen*, sprung from the *Albaines* ancient Earles of *Arundel* and *Sussex* (in the reigne of EDVVARD the First,) which title they had without creation, in regard of the possession which they had of the Castle and Lordship of *Arundell*: This man being heaped with honour, had beene a Priuy-Councellor to all the Kings vnder whom he liued, and performed great offices vnto his end. Vnder HENRY the Eighth, he was Gouernour of *Calice*, Marshall of the Army at *Bullen*, and Lord Chamberlaine: At the inauguration of EDWARD the Sixth, hee was Lord Marshall of *England*, in which charge he continued at the Coronation of Queene MARIE; and was after made Lord High-Constable, Lord Steward of her house, and President of her Councell; Vnder Queene ELIZABETH, hee was made the second time Lord Steward. And when he began to grow old, he sought to marry her, for which he lost much of her fauour; afterwards, he intermeddled in the Duke of *Norfolkes* matters, and openly withstood the marriage of the Duke of *Anion*. He professed himselfe an open-hearted man, and made it appeare that he loued not the *French*; and would often say, that his father dwelling in *Sussex*, neighbour vnto *France*, would teach him not to beleeue them. He had three Children by *Katherine* his Wife, daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquis of *Dorset*, which children hee suruiued; *Henry*, being young and of great hope, dyed at *Bruxels*;

Iane,

Iane, who was Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Marie*, who married *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, and bare vnto him *Philip*, Earle of *Arundel*, of whom wee will speake in his owne place.

Booke 2 1580.

Arthur, Lord *Gray*, Deputie of *Ireland*, being gone against the *O-Conores*, who were stirring vp new troubles in *Ophalia*, by Law executes *Hugh O-Moloy*, a seditious man, and pacifies this Countrey, and that of *Magohiganores* and *Ocaroles*, and in the very bud crushed a great conspiracie that was a growing and beginning to spread. For some of the chiefest Families in *Lemster*, and many others that were originally *English*, driuen partly by the affection they bore to the *Romish* Religion, and partly for their hatred to the new-come *English*, (who since their comming had excluded them, contrary to the Law, from all gouernments and Magistracy, as if they had beene naturall *Irish*) had conspired to kill the Lord Deputie and his Family, to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, wherein was all the prouision of war, and to kill all the *English* that were in *Ireland*: and this conspiracy was so closely carried, that it was neuer conferred vpon with more than two in a company. Neuertheless, among so many complices it came to light, and was extinct with the death of a few men: and amongst them of chiefest note, was *I. Nogent*, Baron of *Fiske*, a man singular in fame and life, who was (as the *Irish* report) seduced by the craft of those that enuyed him, and his conscience assuring himselfe of his innocency, chose rather, (though the Deputie promised to giue him his life, if hee would confesse himselfe guiltie) to dye an innocent by an infamous death, than to liue in infamy for betraying his innocency. And verily, howsoeuer the truth of this businesse was in itselfe, the Queene was much offended with the Lord *Gray*, for the death of those men, whom the Earle of *Sussex*, being more offended therewith (for rarely is true loue betweene great Ones) the more stirred vp, by reason of the cruelty

The Lord Gray represseth the Rebels in Ireland.

Innocency is an assured comfort.

Booke 2.
1589.

cruelty which before hee had vsed toward the *Spaniards* which yeelded; and now against Subiects, that he had diminished the glory of his Princesse, and augmented the number of her enemies. Howbeit, hee forbare not to terrifie *Turlough-Leimich*, who began to raise tumults in *Vlster*, and drive him to conditions of peace. Whereby hee likewise brought the *O-Brins*, the *O-Mores*, and the *Cauanaghies*, Rebels in *Lemster*, humbly to desire peace, and to offer Hostages. These matters of *Ireland*, though time doth much disioyne them, for the helpe of memory, I haue thought to put them together.

Rebels suppressed.

In *Scotland*, some Ministers, and some of the great Ones, considering the Earle of *Lenox*, of whom I haue spoken, to be strong in the Kings fauour, stirred vp *Iames Stuart*, of *Ochiltree*, Captaine of the Guard, (who carried the title of Earle of *Arran*, I know not by what grant, from *Iames Hamilton*, Earle of *Arran*, a man of an vnable spirit, for which cause he was ordained his Tutor) to be his Emulator. But the King quickly reconciled them. When this would not succeed, they brought him, as much as in them lay, to be in hatred within the Kingdome, and accused him to Qu. ELIZABETH, to be sent by the *Guizes* to ouerthrow Religion, to procure the liberty of the captiue Queene, and to disunite the amitie which was between the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*. They are easily beleeued, and notwithstanding that he purged himselfe by Letters to the Queene, and made profession of the Protestants Religion, serious deliberation is hereupon taken in *England*.

The Earle of Lenox is enuied of the Scots.

They accuse him in England.

The Councell of *England* was afraid that he would oppresse those *Scots* that stood best affected to the *English*, and fauour the incursions which were made vpon the Borders, and allure the King to marry in *France*, or else-where vnknowne to the *English*; and that the King, now in his youth, would molest the affaires of *England*; and beeing

Consultation holden against him.

come

come to more maturitie of age, would assume the title of King of *England*, as his Mother had done. Which if he did, the danger would fall more heauily from him than from his Mother, in regard his birth gaue him an assured hope of two Kingdomes, and gaine more friends to fauour his cause, and that the *Scots* trayned vp in the ciuill warres, and the wartes of the Low-Countries, were more expert to learne warlike offices. Therefore from hence it is thought good, by some meanes or other to infringe the fauour and authoritie that *Lenox* had with the King, or to driue him out of *Scotland*, and that without delay; because rumours were giuen out, that *Balfour* was sent for out of *France*, (who had found, I know not what Writing of his owne hand, to conuince him of the Murder of the Kings Father) to ruine *Morton*, and that he had for no other end obtained the gouernement of the Castle of *Dunbriton*, but to set in stranger-forces into *Britaine*, or to transport the King into *France*. It was likewise said, that he had perswaded the King, to resigne the Kingdome to his Mother, who had beene vniustly and by a most wicked example deposed by her Subiects; after, hauing taken her faithfull promise to resigne it by and by after vnto him againe by a lawfull resignation, which would be a solid confirmation to him, and a meanes to extinguish all factions, and make him knowne to all, to be lawfull King.

Booke 2. 1580.

They rayse false reports against him.

After this, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Treasurer of *Barwicke*, is sent into *Scotland*, to accuse *Lenox* of these things before the King and his Councell, and to aduertise the King of the eminent dangers thereof. As soone as hee had beene admitted, hee demanded that *Lenox* might for a while be remoued from that place; but the Councell would not agree vnto it, as being a thing new and vnheard of, to cause one of the Kings Councell to be put out from the Councell, without shewing cause. Also, they made a doubt whether or no the Queene had giuen him that in charge

The Scots will not admit Bowes to accuse him.

Booke 2.
1580.

expressly, and therefore willed him to shew his instructions; which he refused to doe, saue to the King, and to one or two others; And seeing that he could not be heard, hee was presently called backe, and tooke leaue of the King, when it was little thought on, complayning that the wholesome admonitions of a well-deseruing Queene were reiected.

Hume executeth is.

Shortly after, *Alexander Hume* is sent from *Scotland*, to excuse these matters, hee had not admittance to the Queene, but was sent to the Lord *Burghley*, Treasurer, who grauely and succinctly gaue him to vnderstand:

Burghley's admonitions to him.

THat it was not any contempt of his person, that was cause why the Queene would not permit him to see her, knowing very well by experience that he was well affected to Religion, to his Prince and Countrie, and most studious for the peace of both the Kingdomes, but out of a iust sence and sorrow for the contempt which was shewed towards her Maiestie, and of the trust of her Ambassadour, who had contained himselfe within the prescribed bounds of his Legation: Layes all the blame vpon the new and ill-aduised Councellors: excuseth the King, as not being of age to haue much experience, and wished him to lend an eare to the holy and wholesome counsils of the Queene, who truely bare him a maternall affection; and not to make lesse account of them, than of those from a French kinsman, the King of France his subiect, who laboured to marry him to a French woman of the Romish Religion, and peraduenture goes about (vow the Hamiltons *exultinz) to be designed the Kings Lieutenant. Let the King* (saith he) *remember that no passion is more feruent than ambition; and let the Scots remember what troubles the French had caused in Scotlād, if the Queen by her wisdome and power had not preuented it.*

So

So *Hume* was sent backe into *Scotland*, and all of purpose to strike terrour into the King, and to make him beleeue that the Earle of *Lenox* had some pernicious designe against him and the Kingdome. Neuertheless, within a while after, *Morton*, who was most addicted to the *English*, was accused by *Arran*, *Lesa Maiestatis*, and cast into prison.

Morton imprisoned.

(**)

The end of the second Booke of the Annals and History of that mightie Empresse,
Queene ELIZABETH,
of most happy and blessed memory.

THE HISTORIE OF THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, AND Euer-glorious *Empresse*, ELIZABETH, *Inuincible Queene of* England, Ireland, &c. *True* Defendresse of the Faith, of immortall Renowne, and *neuer-dying Fame and Memory.*

OR,

ANNALLES OF ALL SVCH REMARKable things as happened during her blest Raigne ouer her Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*; as also, such Acts as past betwixt her MAIESTY *and* Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, *and the* Netherlands.

The third Booke.

Faithfully translated out of the *French*, and publisht in *English*, with the KINGS leaue and Authority, granted by his most Excellent *Maiestie*, to ABRAHAM DARCIE.

These Noble Knights, for their worth and Vertues, were honoured with the dignity of Knighthood by Qu. Elizabeth; most of them in that Honourable & euer-remembred Voyage of C. Howard, *Earle of Nottingham, L. high Admiral, and that renowned Souldier, the late Generous Earle of Essex, &c. in Spaine, before Cadiz, taken & ransacked by the English, Iun 26. Anno 1596.*

To the euery way Noble, and *accomplished with all vertues,*

Sir EDVVARD CONVVAY, the Kings Secretary of State.

Sir ORACE VERE.

Sir ROBERT MAVNCELL.

Sir WILLIAM MOVNSON.

Sir WILLIAM HARVEY, *Lord* HARVEY, *Baron of Rosse.*

Sir ARTHVR THROCKMORTON.

Sir FRANCIS POPHAM.

Sir RICHARD WESTON.

The Right vertuous & generous,

Sir THOMAS *HATTON. AND CHRISTOPHER *HATTON.

Sir CARIR *RAVVLEIGH.

EDVVARD *WRAY, *Esquire.*

*Their Honourable Predecessours were for their deserts, advanced both to Honour & Dignity.

Sir Ch. Hatton was Lord Chancelor of England under Qu. Elizabeth: he dyed in Hatton house, the 20. of November, 1590.

* Wray *Lord Keeper of the priuy Seale.*

Sir Walter Rawleigh *Knighted and employed about diuers worthy affaires of waight and consequence by Queene Elizabeth.*

Here presume to consecrate to your perpetuall Honour, this Booke, which vnder the Honourable Shield of your Noble protections I haue sought to shelter, *knowing the Fame of this Heroicke Empresse to be no lesse deare vnto you, then your Illustrious Persons are carefull to propagate to all Posterities, your cleere and vntainted Names, which by your pious liues, and religious

*And wherefore? It is that these Noble persons haue by their worthy liues, purchased Honour to their noble liues, or else their Predecessors haue by their Vertues, deserued both Honour and Dig-

ity from this
paraleld
impresse; who
she was a
ue aduancer
f Vertue, and
estroyer of
ice, did libe-
ally bestowe
er Royall
ts of Ho-
our vpon
hose and
heir Ance-
ors.

ous conuersations, you haue engrauen in the Temple of Eternity: your vertues cannot but cherish this History, which containes the life of so matchlesse a Queene, whose Diuine perfection the whole world admired, as one who was the perfect Patterne of Princesses, and the true Mirour & Honour of Virgin-kinde. I confesse, many (far better able then I a Stranger) could haue discharged this Enterprise with far more skill, and both in smoother and more elegant termes, if they had beene willing to honour their Labours and Industries with so rare and worthy a Subiect. But howsoeuer, I was willing the best I was able, to pay this my humble Duty to Her blessed Memory, and to your Honorable selues, by my poore endeuours to make knowne the desire I haue to intitle my selfe,

A true denoted to your resplendent vertues,

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

THE HISTORIE OF THAT EVER Most blessed and Glorious Empresse, Queene ELIZABETH of happy renowne and matchlesse Fame.

OR ANNALS

Of all such things of note as hapned during her happy Reigne, as well in *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, as *Scotland*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*.

The third Booke, and the foure and twentieth yeere of her Raigne, Anno *MDLXXXI.*

Ereupon, in the beginning of Ianuarie next, was *Thomas Randolph* Captaine of the Light-horse, sent into *Scotland*, with cõmand that he should attempt nothing that might any way bee preiudiciall to the present religion, or the peace of the two Nations: he was also to sollicite in the behalfe of the Lord *Morton*, that *Lenox* might be sent out of *Scotland*; and such of the Nobility as fauoured the English faction might be

Randolphes intercession for Morton against Lenox.

Booke 3.

bee encouraged. *Randolph* the better to effectuate his message for the good of *Merton*, maketh recitall of his many great merits and good services done to his Maiesty, the inueterate malice of his aduersaries, the high respect and honor they ought to haue of Queene ELIZABETH, who expected nothing lesse then to haue her suit now reiected in so honest a cause. The King answered, that by the duty of his royall charge hee was to execute iudgment and iustice vpon a person so conuicted in matter of Maiesty, that he ingeniously acknowledged the Queenes manifold fauours; not would hee act any thing might any way bee iustly offensiue to her Maiestie.

The King of Scots his answer.

Then after *Randolph* being admitted into the Assembly of the States of the Kingdome, reckoneth vp the well knowne benefits which both the King and Country had earst receiued from the Queene, namely:

Randolph complaineth the Nobles Scotland.

HOW by the blood of the English their Country had beene deliuered from the French; and of their King, his Kingdome and Religion she had euer been a chiefe supporter: but for any way seducing the King (although some but most falsly did intimate so much) or seeking to hold one foot of ground in Scotland, *shee neuer entertained such a thought; yet were they not ignorant that she wanted not opportunity, the King being in his cradle, the Queene-mother in Prison, and the Nobles in combustion. But on the contrary, all her royall care was for the conseruation of their King, her neere and deare kinsman, and allyed to her in a triple bond of neighborhood, religion and consanguinity: nor had shee euer found him or any of his Regents or Vice-Roies defectiue towards her in their loues before this* Aubigny *of* France *came into* Scotland: *but since his ariuall hee wholly vsurped the Regall authority, hee had withdrawne all affection from the*

the English, to bestow it vpon the French, who before his arriuall neuer somuch as acknowledged their King, had remoued from his person his most trusty friends, brought in strangers, had conferred with foraigners by letters (which he shew'd) for inuading England, *that he had brought the Scotish Presbytery into contempt with the King, as a people altogether turbulent & seditious, had peruerted the administration of iustice vpon the borders. Nor could her Maiesty endure a Prince so vertuous, so neerely allyed vnto her, to bee thus abused and caried away by such sinister practices.*

Notwitstanding this, for the present there was nothing done either for *Morton*, or against *Lenox*, whom the Scots for the most part supposed no way guilty of such aspersions or calumnies as had beene obiected.

Endeauoureth to raise Rebellion.

Randolph seeing that, thought hee would try another conclusion, consorts himselfe with the friends of *Morton* and *Lenox* aduersaries, bewaileth the miserable estate of *Scotland*, representeth to them the imminent perills which hang ouer the heads of the King, the Country and them all: complaineth that the Queens message by way of intercessiō hath beene slieghtly respected, suggesteth with them secretly to attempt to gaine that by force of Armes, which they cannot get by faire meanes, promising to further and furnish them out of *England* with men, money and munition. This Oratory of his proued so perswasible with them, that thereupon the Earles of *Argathel*, *Mont-Rosse*, *Angus*, *Mortons* Nephew by the brother side, *Glencarne*, *Reuthen*, *Lindsey* & others became all of his side. But soone after they fell at discord amongst themselues, and seeing the King wholly caried away with the fauour of *Lenox*, nor no whit danted for the English forces which were now vpon the borders, and had already encountred theirs: generally respecting the kings personall presence with them (though a child) were not affraid

Booke 3.

to bend all the powers they could make vpon *Lenox*, and thought it was enough to haue pity on *Morton*, notwithstanding the Earles of *Angus* and *Marre* practised couertly and cunningly with *Randolph* in the behalfe of *Morton*, and against *Lenox*; whereof *Whittingham* hauing aduertised the King, *Angus* was commanded to retire himselfe beyond the riuer *Spea*; & *Marre* to yeeld vp the Castle of *Sterlin* into the Kings hands: *Randolph* hauing an apprehension of feare, got him priuately into *Barwicke*; and seeing matters proue desperate, aduiseth *Angus* & *Marre* to prouide for themselues either in submitting themselues to the King, or to seeke the protection of the Queene of *England*. The English forces were no sooner withdrawne from the borders, but *Morton* conuicted of murthering the King had his head cut off: for he had confessed (as the report went) that *Bothwel*, & *Archebauld Douglas* had imparted their intent of making away the King, but in so tumultuous a time as that was, hee durst not reueale it. Nor could hee deny but that since the Kings death, hee had beene very inwardly conuersant, and more familiar then before with *Douglas* the Kings murtherer, and had promised by his letters if *Bothwel* should at any time be accused, to defend him the best he might. Instantly *Douglas* and others the friends of *Morton* fled into *England*.

Getteth him out of Scotland.

Morton beheaded.

His friends fled for England.

In the Low-Countries against the Graue *Van Reneberg* who had there valiantly serued the King of *Spaine*, and now laid siege to *Stenwicke* in *Friezland*, the States sent the English vnder the conduct of their General *Norris*, who with no lesse courage then good successe after he had twice releeued the besieged with victuals, caused the Enemy to raise his siege. But after that, comming to fight with *Verdugues* the Spaniard, & hauing the victory in his hands, his enemies put to flight, (suddenly fortune changing) he is beaten off the field, dangerously wounded, and many of his men slaine, amongst which (not to nominate the rest) were these men o note,

Norris victorious in Friezland.

A discomfiture.

note, Captain *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams* and *Bishop*. I know not well whether I should here recite a Combate which was betweene *Thomas* Chieftaine of the * Wallons, and Generall *Norris*; but *Norris* by the Law militarie being not permitted to admit of, because he was Generall of the Armie, his Lieutenant *Roger Fitz-Williams* accepted the Challenge, which two after a while trauersing their ground to and fro without one drop of blood-shed, betooke themselues to drinke freely together, and so of enemies became friends and parted. Yet here wee must not omit to obserue, that our Englishmen who of all the Northerne Nations haue beene most commended for sobrietie, haue learned since these Low-Country warres so well to fill their cups, and to wash themselues with Wine, that whilest they at this day drinke others healths, they little regard their owne. And that this vicious practice of drunkennesse hath so ouerflowed the Land, that lawes proscripts of restraint, are vsually made for the drying vp of the same.

But whilest they were all this while contending in the Low-Countries for Dorppes & Villages, the King of *Spaine* getteth into his hands the rich Kingdome of *Portugall*. For *Henry* which was King, hauing paid Natures tribute the yeare before, left the Realm to diuers Competitors, amongst whom *Philip* King of *Spaine*, sonne of his eldest Sister (puissant enough in force, though not in right) by reason of his priority in blood and descent, comming of the elder line, and being Male, thought with his friends himselfe worthiest to bee preferred to the succession of the said Kingdome, before the women, the yonger sort, and such as did lesse participate of the blood. The Duke of *Sauoy* reiected for that he came of the yonger Sister; *Farnese* sonne to the Prince of *Parma*, borne of the eldest Daughter of EDWARD, brother King HENRY, and KATHERINE of *Brabant*, second daughter to the said EDWARD, grounding themselues only vpon the benefit of *Representation* (a simple fiction) could not annihilate

Booke 3

* *Albanois*

A ridiculous combate.

Drunkennes brought out of the Low-Countries into England.

The King of Spaine possesseth Portugall.

By what right.

Booke 3.

nihilate the true Title of Inheritance, nor intercept the King of *Spaines* lawfull succession, and this the Spaniards stood to maintaine.

And as touching *Don Antonio* Prior of *Crates*, sonne to *Lewis* the second brother of King HENRY, he was *ipso facto*, reiected, for that he was illegitimate. The King of *Spaine* neuertheless propounded the matter twice to his Clergy and men of Law to decide the cause, charging them in the name of God, and vpon their faith and saluation, to tell him freely whether hee had rightfull claime or no to that Kingdome. They hauing with vnanimous voice assured him that it was proper to him, he quickly (putting forth first the Duke of *Alua*) put to flight *Antonio* elected of the people, and within 70 dayes brought all *Portugall* vnder his iurisdiction.

The Queene of France her title to Portugall fetcht farre and reached.

But touching the Right of *Katherin de Medicis* the Queen of *France*, who claimed it from *Alphonsus*, and the Earles of Boulogne for 320 yeares agone, that the Spaniards laughed at, as a Title out of date, and fetcht from the old Propheresse the Mother of *Euander*, a thing iniurious to so many of the Kings of *Portugal*, which had lawfully and lineally succeeded one another, and therefore ridiculous to both Spaniards and Portugals. Whereat the Queene incensed with anger, and considering how mightily the Spaniard (now in his ascendant) enriched himselfe farre and neare by the accession or surcrease of this new-got Kingdome, his Ilands, and the East Indies, breeding a feare within her, to her selfe, and the Princes her neighbouring friends, aduised them, and amongst the rest the Queene of England, that it was already high time to stay the Spaniards in his mounting, and to stop him vp within his owne bounds, before his ambition should extend any further.

Incyteth the Q. of England secretly against the Spaniard.

Queene ELIZABETH who was not to learne what shee had to doe in that nature for her selfe and her friends; and foreseeing how dangerous the growing greater of the neighbour Princes would be, lent eare thereto with no light attention.

tion: but with great and Royall kindnesse entertained *Antonio* banished out of *Portugall*, and recommended to her from *France*, thinking that *Spaine* could not take exception thereat, because hee was of her Alliance, issued from the Blood Royall of *England*, and of the House of *Lancaster*, as shee well knew, nor in any Treaties that euer had past betwixt *Spaine* and *England*, was any caueat at all inferred, forbidding *England* to receiue or to haue commerce with the Portugals.

Antonio banisht Portugall, commeth into England.

At the same time, for the more confirmation of assured amitie, the Queene of *France* and the King her sonne, prosecuting the mariage of the Duke *d' Anjou*, addrest an honourable ambassage into England: for the consummation thereof came ouer *François de Bourbon* Prince of Daulphiné, *Arthur de Cosse*, Cont de Secondigny, Marshal of *France*, *Louis de Lusignan*, *M. de S. Gelais*, *Lansac*, *Salignac*, *Mauuisser*, & *Bernarde Brisson*, President of the Parliament of Paris, and one of the learnedest men of *France*: and others, who as they they were of Honorable ranke, were very nobly receiued, and banqueted in a Banquetting-House built on purpose neere Westminster, richly adorned with rare and sumptuous furniture; and Tilts and Tournaments proclaimed, which were presented in a most princely manner by *Philip* Earle of *Arundell*, *Fred:* Lord *Winsor*, *Philip Sidney*, and *Fulk Greuill*, Knights, against all commers, with sundry other courtly sports, and Princely recreations, not necessarily coincident to our History.

Delegates sent into England from France about the Duke of Anjous mariage.

To conferre with them concerning these Nuptials, were appointed the Baron of *Burghley*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*; the Earles of *Sussex*, *Lincolne*, *Bedford* and *Leicester*, together with Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Secretary *Walsingham*: Amongst whom these matrimoniall Contracts following were concluded vpon.

The

Booke 3.

Couenants of mariage concluded vpon.

THe Duke d' Anjou, *and the Queene of* England, *within six weekes after the ratification of these Articles shall personally contract mariage here in* England. *The Duke and his associates, seruants, and friends, being no English subiects, shall haue libertie to vse their owne Religion, in a certain place, in their houses, without molestation or impeachment.*

He shall not alter any part of the Religion now receiued in England. *Hee shall inioy and haue the Title and Dignity of King, after the mariage shall bee consummate; but notwithstanding shall leaue intirely to the Queene the managing of affaires. And whereas his demand was, that immediately after the celebration of the mariage, he should be crowned King instantly to inioy the title and dignity during the gouernment of the Kingdome, in the minority of their children: The Queene answered, she would propound and further it at the next high Court of Parliament, to be holden within fifteen dayes after the ratification. Letters Patents and other things shal be passed in both their names, as in the time of* Philip *and* MARIE. *The Queene by Act of Parliament shall ordaine an Annuall pension for the Duke, but the valuation thereof shall bee left to her pleasure; she will also ordaine the said Pension to continue if he shall survive her. The Duke in Dowry shall bestow on the Queene to the value of forty thousand Crownes* per annum *out of his Duchy of* Berry, *and shall forthwith infeofe her therein. As touching their Issue, it shall likewise be enacted by Parliament in* England, *and registred in the Annals of* France *as followeth; That the Heires of them as well Males as Females by maternall right of Inheritance should succeed to the Crowne of* England. *And if there bee two males, the elder shal succeed to the Crown of* France, *and*

th

the yonger shal haue the hereditary Right of his Mother. And if one sole male, he shal come to both the Crownes, and shall resyde in England *euery two yeares, eight moneths. And if the Duke shall not attaine the Kingdome of* France, *the children shall succeed in* Appanage. *If he suruiue the Queene, he shall haue the tuition of his children till the sonnes shall accomplish the age of eighteene yeares, and the daughters fifteene: But if hee die before, the tuition shall be left to the Authoritie of the Parliament. Hee shall not promote any stranger to any Office in* England, *nor shall hee change any ancient Rite or Custome. He shall at no time carry the Queene or her Children out of the Realme, without consent of the Nobilitie. If shee dye issuelesse, hee shall no longer challenge any right in* England, *nor carie or conuay any of her Iewels out of the Land: he shall suffer euery one, and all places of the Kingdomes to bee guarded & kept by the native English, & shall not take or cause to be taken away any munition of Warre. Hee shall not engage* England *into any foraine warres. Hee shall to his power procure the Land peace with other Nations. The Queene shall onely enioy the Supremacie, nor shall assume any Title which may happen to fall vpon the Duke, as it were* holding by the custome of England. *The Duke by this match intendeth not to preiudice the Right of his succession to the Kingdome of* France. *The present Contract shall bee read, published, and kept vnder Record in all the Courts of* France *and* England, *within six moneths after the Espousals, with the Authoritie of the most Christian King, for the ratification of these Articles.*

There shall bee made a Treatise, Confederation, and League betwixt England *and* France. *These things shal be confirmed* de bona fide, *with an Oath on the part of the King of* France, *as well for him as for his*

Booke 3.

his Heires, who shall deliuer Letters of the confirmation thereof with all possible expedition hee may, carying assurance that the Articles in the present Treaty contained, shall be kept inuiolably also.

A reseruation added.

A reseruation apart was added vnder the hands and seales of all the Commissioners, implying thus much: That ELIZABETH *was not bound to the consummation of the mariage, till the Duke & she should haue communually satisfied and reciprocally setled each other in certaine things betwixt themselues; and concerning these points, they were within six weekes by writing to certifie the King of* France.

Before the six weekes were expired, Secretarie *Somer* was sent into France about this businesse. But the King refuseth to giue him audience, vrging the instant celebration of the mariage already concluded; as if there had been nothing else remaining to bee done. *Somer* shewing vnder signe and seale that there was first a *defensiue* league *& offensiue* to bee performed, maintaineth the contrary. To moderate the matter, there was sent ouer Sir *Fran: Walsingham*, with Sir *Henry Cobham* Leiger Ambassador in *France*, and *Somer*, who deliuered this or the like speech.

The King of France vrgeth the mariage.

ALthough the vulgar sort doth censure hardly of the procrastinating of this contracted mariage, Queene ELIZABETH *intendeth nothing more, then to content her people, who are instant to haue her marry, that they may be secured of a succession in her children. Her Maiestie being sought to by the Duke of* Anjou, *by good right hath his loue preferred before all other Princes, by reason of his vertues and resplendent race, and shee protesting to beare vnto him most soueraigne loue, holding off from the consummation of mariage, onely vntill she could haue know-*

The Queen of England deferreth.

knowledge from her people, how they stand affected thereunto, holding it a point of wisdome in the meane time rather to foresee, then to repent too late, seeming in these respects to demurre the more, by reason of the ciuill warres in France, *the vnfortunate Duke of* Anjous *vndeseruedly falling out of the Kings fauour, and in* England *an auersion of heart in most of the best of her Subiects, since the first motion of the mariage, yet all this breeds nor brings no diminution of true loyall loue in her Maiesty towards the said Duke. Also it was at this time out of season for the French King, to vrge a present consummation, knowing the Duke was newly entred into warre against the King of* Spaine, *the which he might not suddenly abandon, or relinquish, without great dishonour to himselfe, discommoditie to the Kingdome of* France *and* England; *as also the ruine of* Flanders, *the Spaniard there growing dayly greater and greater. Moreouer, in stead of continuing peace at home, (for which the people prayeth) they must of necessitie bee brought to bloody warres, the Queenes husband being so deepely engaged thereinto. For these reasons, from henceforth that Treaty of sudden mariage is to surceasse, vntill the Duke of* Anjou *were dis-intangled out of these warres, and that interchangeable conditions of* Offensiue *and* Defensiue Alliance *bee passed betwixt the two Kingdomes of* France *and* England.

And assuredly the Queene desired it aboue all things. But the French would promise no other thing but to passe to couenants of mutuall defensiue, and as for the offensiue, would heare it no further spoken of, vntill the Nuptials were celebrated.

Within a short space after, the Duke (whom the States had elected Gouernor of *Flanders*) comes into *England*, after

Duke d'Anjou returneth again into England.

Booke 3

Wherefore

Booke 9.

ter he had happily raised the siege of *Cambray*, at the charge and cost of Queene ELIZABETH, who had supplyed him with great summes of money by the hands of *Henry Seimor*, *Palauicine* an Italian, and *Bex* a Frenchman. The hope he relyed vpon was this; that if he should not presently dispatch the mariage, yet should hee so effect, that by the fauour of the Queene (whom the Dutch honoured as an earthly Goddesse) he should bee the better welcome to the Low-Countri-men at his returne.

Queene Elizabeth giueth a Ring vnto the D. of Anjou.

He ariued safe in *England*, and was magnificently entertained, and receiued with all royall courtesies could be expected, euident testimonies of honour and loue, which her Maiestie shewed apparantly, insomuch that on a time on the day of the solemnization of her Coronation (he being entred into amorous Discourse with her Maiestie) the great loue which shee bore him, drew a Ring from her finger, which shee gaue him vpon certain conditions meant and agreed vpon betwixt them. The assistants tooke that for an argument and assurance that a mariage was by reciprocall promise contracted betweene them. Amongst others, *Aldegendy* Gouernor of the City of *Antwerpe*, dispatched messengers suddenly ouer, into the Low-Countries; where for great ioy at the hearing thereof, both in *Antwerpe*, and all ouer *Flanders* were made bonefires, and their great Artillerie shot off. But this bred sundry opinions among the Courtiers: For as some reioyced exceedingly, others were astonisht at it, & some quite strucke downe with sadnesse.

A motion of sundry conceits in Court.

The Earle of *Leicester* who had laid a secret plot to preuent the mariage, the Vice-Chamberlaine *Hatton*, and *Walsingham*, were most of all malecontented, as if the Queene, Religion and Kingdome had been vndone. Her women which were about her fell all in sorrow and sadnesse, and the terror they put her into, so troubled her minde, that she passed all that night without sleepe amongst her houshold seruants, who made a consort of weeping, and sighing. The next

The Queen greatly disquieted.

mor-

morning finding the Duke, and taking him aside, had serious discourse with him. The Duke returing himselfe, after hee left her, into his Chamber, plucketh off the Ring, casteth it on the ground, taketh it vp againe, rayleth on the lightnesse of women, and inconstancie of Flanders.

Booke 3.

As she was perplexed with these passions, shee called to minde what once the Lord *Burley*, and the Earle of *Sussex* had told her, that there was no *Alliance offensiue* to bee hoped for, without marying with the Duke; nor being alone and without assistancy, was able to withstand the greatnesse of the Spaniard. That the Spaniard offering his daughter in mariage to the King of Scots, hee would easily draw the Papists in *England* to be his adherents; and all the Fugitiues, Rebels, discontented persons, and such as were *sine spe, & sine re* (whereof the number was great) to be on his side. that al good people were now out of hope euer to haue issue of her body of the Blood Royall by this mariage; and now hauing their hearts alienated from her, hereby would cast their eyes and affections vpon some other of her *Competitors*. That also shee could not but highly displease the King of *France*, and the Duke his Brother, who after the imploiment of so much time, the holding of so many Counsels, the sending of such honorable Ambassadors, and the expences of so much money, could hardly endure to finde himselfe in fine derided, what colour so euer should be cast ouer the matter: And to raise mony for the Duke of *Anjou*, to imploy him in the warres of *Flanders*, assigning him an annuall Pension for the time to come. There remained also a scruple vpon her conscience, that he so deluded of her, might match himselfe in *Spaine*, and then shee should bee in danger on both sides, as well from *France*, as from *Flanders*, as euery one could breathe into her eares, and her selfe presage.

Her Maiesty thinks what inconueniencies might ensue in contemning and despising the Match with the Duke of Anjou.

Some thought, that amidst this anxiety of doubtfull thoughts which troubled her minde about this mariage, the necessitie of the time and matter, made her put on a resolu-

Booke 3.

Reasons dissuading her from marying.

tion that it would stand more with her honour, and the good of her Common-weale to liue single, then to be married; foreseeing that if she should marry with a subiect, from such disparitie would grow disgrace to her selfe, and kindle heart-burnings, secret displeasures, and domestique troubles and hatred. If with a stranger, she should bring her selfe and subiects vnder a foraine yoake, and Religion in hazard; remembring withall how vnfortunate that match of her Sister MARIES with King *Philip* was, and that of her great grandfather EDWARD the fourth, who was the first English King, since the *Norman* conquest, which tooke a subiect to wife. She feared also to transfer vpon a husband that glory, which whilst she liued vnmarried remained with her entire: withall, she was diuerted in minde from mariage, by reason of the great perils she should be subiect to, by conception, and child-bearing, as diuers women and Physicians bore her in hand.

A booke published in print against the mariage.

Her Maiestie likewise burned with choller that there was a booke published in print, inueighing sharply against the mariage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled, *A gaping gulfe to swallow vp* England *by a* French *mariage*. In this Pamphlet the Priuy Councellors which fauoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene as not vnderstanding well her selfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke *d'Anjou* and his country of *France* in contumelious tearmes shamefully reuiled: the mariage condemned, for the diuersitie of Religions, by poisonous words and passages of Scripture, miserably wrested, would seeme to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the sonne of *Antichrist*, it must needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene ELIZABETH bee perswaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpose, but to bring her into hatred with her subiects, and to open a gap to some prodigious inno-

innouation: it being so that shee neuer had respected so much the power shee had ouer her people as the loue they bore to her, and (as Princes are accustomed) was neuer more carefull then of her royall reputation: notwithstanding the writer of that booke never once made mention of meanes to establish in future securitie her selfe or Realme, or for auoiding danger, or how the States of the Land had in former times most importunately perswaded her Maiestie to mariage, to giue an assured remedy against imminent euils. And this she published in writing, condemning the Author of the Libell, made knowne the Dukes propensitie of minde towards her selfe, and to the Protestants Religion, grieuing to offer iniury to so worthy a Prince, who neuer had once motioned to haue any change in State, Commonwealth, or Religion. Shee also commended Sir *H. Simier*, the Duke's Agent for his modesty, and wisedome, whom some had before in malignant speeches calumniated: intimating to the people also that this Libell was a deuice of Traitors to stir vp hatred abroad, & seditions at home, commanding it should be burnt in the presence of Magistrates.

Booke 3.

The Queens Declaration against this pernicious Libell.

Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans, then she had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their priuitie: and within a few dayes after, *Iohn Stubbes* of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatine Pamphlet (whose Sister *Thomas Cartwright* the Arch-Puritan had maried) *William Page* the disperser of the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer were apprehended: against whom sentence was giuen that their right hands should be cut off by a law in the time of *Philip* and MARIE, against the Authors of *Seditious Writings*, and those that disperse them: Some Lawyers storming hereat, said the iudgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false obseruation of the time, wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene MARIE dying) it dyed with

The Author discouered and he that had dispersed the bookes.

Booke 3.

with her. Of the which Lawyers, one *Dalton* for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and *Monson* a Iudge of the *Common-pleas*, was sharply rebuked, and his place taken from him, after that Sir *Chr. Wray* chiefe Iustice of *England* had made it manifest by Law, that in that Statute there was no errour of time, but the Act was made against such as should put forth, or divulge any seditious writing against the King; and that the King of *England* neuer dyed; yea, that Statute likewise in the first yeare of Queene ELIZABETH was reuiued againe to the Queene and her Heires for euer. Not long after vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at *Westminster*, *Stubbes* and *Page* had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that standing by *Iohn Stubbes*, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with the left, and cryed aloud, *God saue the Queene*. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kinde of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this mariage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion. These things passed within a little after the Dukes ariuall in *England*: and whilest hee stayed here, the Queene to take away the feare conceiued by many, that Religion should change, and Papists should be tolerated by the importunity of *Campian* the Iesuite (of whom I haue spoken) *Ralph Sherwing*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alexander Brian*, who were indicted by an Act made in the 25 of *Edward* the third, for attempting the ruine of the Queene and Kingdome: for adhering to the Bishop of *Rome* the Queenes Aduersarie; for raising sedition in her Realme, and gathering forces together, to the vtter subuersion of her Dominions, of which they were found guilty and so condemned: for that they obstinately defended the Papall Authoritie against the Queene, they were put to death.

Right hands cut off.

For

For *Campian* then condemned, being demanded whether Queene ELIZABETH were right or lawfull heire? answered nothing; and againe, If the *Pope* should inuade the Land whether he would take his part or the Queenes? hee openly said, the Popes, which hee testified vnder his hand-writing. After these, some others were executed for the like matters, and for ten whole yeares space together since the Rebellion but fiue Papists. But I leaue the handling hereof to the Ecclesiasticall History; neuertheless with permission, I will briefely here obserue and note some such occurrences, as are adioyning with those of States. These times were such, as that the Queene (who was neuer of opinion that mens consciences should bee constrained) often complained to haue beene of necessitie forced to these punishments, lest vnder a pretext of conscience, and Catholike Religion, she should endanger her selfe, and her louing subiects: neuertheless her Maiesty beleeued not that the most part of these poore and miserable Priests had plotted the destruction of her country; but that their Superiors made vse of them as instruments of their mischiefe: for as much as they which were sent, were wholly subiect to the power and authoritie of them which had sent them. For when as such as were now and afterwards apprehended, were demanded, *whether by the Authority of the Bull of* Pius *the fift, the Queene of Englands subiects were so freed of their Oath of Allegeance that they might take Armes against her? whether they esteemed her a lawfull Queene? whether they approued the opinions of* Sanders *and* Bristow, *touching the Authoritie of this Bul? to which partie they would incline, if the Pope should warre against the Queene?* Some of them answered so doubtfully; others with such pertinacy; and some with such preuarication, or keeping silence, so mocked the questions propounded to them, that diuers Papists begunne to suspect that they nourished some falshood: and *Bishop* although ingenious, most zealous for the Roman Religion writ against them,

Booke 1

The Iesu Edm. Campian with ther Priest are put to death.

The punishing of Catholikes needfull.

Suspition of them increased.

By their tergiuersation.

Booke 3.

shewing that this Cannon which had passed vnder the name of the *Lateran* Councell, vpon which was absolutely grounded the oath of absoluing subiects from their Obedience and fealty to their Princes, and for the deposing of them, was nothing else, but a Decree of *Pope Innocent* the 3, which neuer was receiued in *England*, as also that that Counsell was repeal'd and annihilated, wherein nothing was done by the Fathers of the same at that time.

The more the number of the Priests comming by stealth into *England* increased, the more increased suspitions of them, who secretly practised to grope the hearts of men, preached that it was lawfull to depose Princes excommunicated, muttered and murmured, that such as were not of the Roman religion, were to be depriued of all regall power and Dignity, and that such as had taken religious Orders were exempt from all obedience to Princes, nor were any such held to be subiect either to them, or their lawes. That the Pope had supreme power ouer the whole world, yea euen in politick affaires. That the Magistrates of *England* had no lawfull institution, and therefore were not to bee obeyed as Magistrates. And that whatsoeuer Queene ELIZABETH had done since the publication of the Bull *Declaratory* of *Pius* the 5, was by the Lawes of God and Man disanull'd and to be held for naught. And some of them denyed not in publike hearing, that they were sent for no other causes into *England*, then to absolue euery one seuerally and apart, of all oath of fidelitie and obedience towards the Queene, as the Bull had absolued all in generall, which they did in taking confessions of their reconciliation. And this they seemed to doe with more ease, in promising Absolution from all mortall sinne; and with more securitie, because it was done priuately, and *vnder the Seale of Confession.*

alse positi-
as spread
read.

THE

THE FIVE AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXII.

THese and the like things brought vpon Papists new and sharper lawes, made by Act of Parliament at Westminster in the moneth of *Ianuary*, where all such were declared guilty of high Treason, which dissuaded any of her Maiesties subiects frō their obedience to their Prince, or from the Religion now profest in *England*, or that should reconcile any to the Church of *Rome*; or which should haue beene so persuaded, turned, or reconciled. Two hundred markes fine, and a yeares imprisonment inflicted vpon those which should celebrate Masse so long till they had paid. And such as had willingly beene at any of their Masses, one hundred markes, and one yeares imprisonment: and such as were not found to resort to their owne Parish Churches to diuine seruice, for

New Lawes against Papists.

Booke 3.

euery moneths omission ten pounds. Which was maliciously vnderstood, and interpreted by the Papists of Lunarie months, who before had paid but one shilling to the poore for euery Sunday or Holidayes absence. But I referre it to the Ecclesiasticall Historie, to intreat of these things more at large.

The Duke *d' Anjou* after some three moneths abode in *England*, tooke his way towards *Flanders* in the moneth of February. Queene ELIZABETH in person accompanied him to *Canterbury*: and commanded the Earle of *Leicester*, the Lord *Charles Howard*, the Barons of *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Winsor*, and *Sheffeild*; Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Russel*, Sir *George Bourchier* Knights, and diuers other noble Gentlemen, to accompany him to *Antwerpe*; where he was created Duke of *Brabant*, of *Lymbourg*, *Lotharing*, &c. For the confederated States of *Flanders* had from thence proclaimed the King of *Spaine* false from his Principality for infringing their Lawes; broken his Seales, cast downe his Armes, and so absolued the people from all oath of Fealtie, so that it was lawfull and free for them to elect another Prince. The Duke permitted all those the vse of the Romish Religion, which would sweare Allegeance to him, and abiure the Spaniard. After this hee betooke himselfe to the field, where he lost *Aldenard*, and tooke in *Alost*. But six hundred English souldiers exclaiming of General *Norris* his imperious seueritie ouer them, forsaking him, fled to the Spaniard, vnder the leading of Captaine *T. Norris*, *Barney*, *Cornish*, and *Gypson*, who exposing themselues to all perils, and being basely respected, were paid with slow and late repentance and infinite miseries, the paine of their perfidiousnesse.

But notwithstanding, General *Norris* with three hundred horse, and the rest of his foot-companies, got the renowne of a valorous and most iudicious Warriour, for his courageous encountering the Duke of *Parma*, who fell vpon him with

with a farre greater power, the whilest he warily and wisely made his retreat into the City of *Gand*, in sight of the two Dukes of *Anjou* and *Orleans*, admiring his martiall valour from off the Ramparts, where they stood to behold him. But why insist I vpon these matters? The Duke *d'Anjou* hauing now without successe spent huge summes of money sent him out of *England*, weighing with himselfe that only apparant Titles were bestowed vpon him; and considering that all the managing of these matters were in the power of the States, assayed by a precipitate counsell, with his Armie to enter by force *Antwerpe*, and some other townes; but all in vaine, and with the losse of many of his men; and shortly after was constrained shamefully to quit & leaue *Flanders*.

Booke 3

The Duke d'Anjou departed from Flanders with shame

It shall suffice to note in a word, in passing, that nere vnto CHAPELLE in the month of May, in the 12 degree of *Gemini* appeared a Comet or blazing starre, with bright shining beames, streaming ouer the right sholder of the Dragon. About that time happened a horrible tempest in *Norfolke*, with fearefull flashes of lightning and thunder of long continuance, with violent furious winds, and hailstones of three inches about.

A Comet.

Queene ELIZABETH, for better security, and to fortifie her selfe the more abroad against the *Spaniard*, whom shee knew to be infest against her, for that she had furnished the Duke *d'Anjou* with moneyes, admitted into the fraternity of the order of Saint *George*, *Frederick* the second, King of *Denmarke*, who had alwaies shewed himselfe most affectionate towards her Maiesty; and to inuest him therewith, sent ouer Sir *Peregrin Bertie*, whom shee (as her Maiesty was euer nice in conferring honors) had with some difficulty, honoured with the title of Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, before he had giuen any proofe of his martiall vertue; howsoeuer the Duchesse of *Suffolke* his mother was daughter, and sole inheritrix to the ancient Baronry of *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.

Queene Elizabeth bestoweth the Order of the Garter vpon the King of Denmarke.

Booke 3.

*Or, the Collier of Essex.

The King of *Denmark* with ioyfulnesse put the * chaine of Roses about his necke, and the Garter about his legge, the other Robes he locked vp in his Chest, but refused to put them on, because they were exotick, or to take the oath; for that he had taken one afore, when by the French King hee was installed Knight of the Order of Saint *Michael*. The whilest the Lord *Willoughby* was in *Denmarke*, he propounded to the King a complaint from the English Merchants, concerning the raising of Imposts and customes, for that in times past for passing the *Oresunde*, or strairs of *Denmarke*, they vsed to giue for euery ship but a Rose-Noble, which made the fourth part of an ounce of gold, & as much for the fraught, with some smal peeces of siluer for the fire-beacons giuing light by night, vvhich vvere to direct them by their Sea-markes ouer the Shallowes, and by the Shelues, bankes, & Rocks. He treated also for the Merchants, that the tribute vvhich they call their LAST GELT might be remitted, by the vvhich they begunne (vvhen the Warres were so hot betwixt the Kings of *Denmarke* and *Sueden*) to exact, by vvay of borrowing, the thirtieth part of all manner of Merchandizes, vvith promise to repay them, or the value of them againe, the warre once ended. But these as matters of importance vvere referred till another time. For Princes doe seldome or neuer abate of their Custome, Taxes, or Imposts, esteeming that such things as these (vvhich they call Royalties) belonging to the rightfull liberty of euery Kingdome, are not things subiect to be moderated, or abrogated by any strangers.

The Merchants complaint not regarded.

Queene ELIZABETH the better to secure her state at home, imployed Sir *Walter Mildmay* to comprimise businesse with the Queene of Scots. But finding that the *Guises* had consulted with certaine English Fugitiues, about the setting her at liberty, and gathering forces together, vnder the pretext of sending supplyes to the Duke of *Anjou* in *Flanders*, vvhich in very deed vvere to haue beene past ouer from

The Treaty with the Queene of Scots is deferred.

from the Hauens of *Aux*, or *Ew*, (obscure harbours of *Normandy*) into *England*, which the French King hauing notice of, out of his loue to Queene ELIZABETH certifieth her thereof, and stayed them: hereupon the matter was intermitted, and the Queene of Scots affaires deferred.

Gowry and others begin tumults in Scotland.

But by the vway to meet with the *Guises* attempts in *Scotland*, whither it is supposed he employed the Earle of *Lennox*, to dissolue the League betweene the King of *Scots*, and the English, whilest *Will: Ruthen* (lately created by the K. Earle of *Gowry*) begunne to be mutinous. He (for that hee vvould not degenerate frõ his Father) bearing a mortall malice to the Kings Mother, together with others of his confederacie were to put in practice the best wits they had for the vvorking of the Duke of *Lennox* and the Earle *Arran* both out of the Kings fauour and company, vnder a colour of Religion, the Kings securitie, and the league of amity vvith *England*. Now behold their subtilty and crafty proiects. They begin to persuade *Lennox* vvho had been established L. High *Chamberlain* of *Scotland*, to exercise the rigor of his iurisdiction, though then out of vse, for no other purpose but to purchase his owne disgrace with the people, vvhilest the Presbytery out of their Pulpits should declaime against him as a Papist of the faction of the *Guizes*, and a rude and seuere Executioner of the Law; & should publikely foretell and denounce his ruine and destruction. When as therefore *Lennox* was departed from *Perth* where the King remained, to execute his office at *Edenburgh*, and the Earle *Arran* absent from the Court, *Gowrey*, *Marre*, *Lindsey*, and others, taking their opportunity, inuited the King to the Castle of *Ruthen*, being there, they held him in such feare that hee durst not walke abroad: such of his seruants as he thought best of, they sent away: the E. of *Arran* they arrested and cast into prison, and compelled the King by the intercession of Queen ELIZABETH, to recal the Earl of *Angus* out of exile, and to sends the Duke of *Lenox* into *France*, who as he was a Noble man

Gowries conspiracie. They intercept the King.

The Duke of Lennox driuen out of Scotland

Booke 3.

man of milde disposition, and altogether inclin'd to the publike peace and good of the Land, by the Kings perswasion, but their impulsion, although he might easily haue stood vpon his guard, and withstood them, departed quietly from *Dunbriton*, where he tooke shipping for *France*. Not content with this, they forced the King by his Letters to signifie to Queene ELIZABETH this his interception, and that it was a meeting made by his willing consent with some of his Lords, concerning speciall businesses. But *Buchanan* they could not possibly perswade to approue this Act, or by composing any booke of this subiect, nor by perswasions of a messenger; but he wept bitterly and sorrowed grieuously, that he had to-fore taken the Rebels part against the Prince, and soone after dyed. A man (as himselfe sings in his Poems) through borne in a countrey barren for learning, yet hee attained to the soueraigne degree of Poesie; so as by right hee ought to bee accounted the Prince of Poets of our age.

An Embassie from the French King, sent to deliuer the King of Scots.

The French King hauing had certaine intelligence of the passages in *Scotland*, sendeth both with one message *Monsi: de la Moteff* through *England*, and *Monsi: de Manninguille* by Sea into *Scotland*, by all possible means to haue the King set at liberty, to confirme the French faction, to draw the King into loue & amity with *France*, and to let him vnderstand, that his mother to make him be knowne true and legitimate King by Christian Princes, and all *Scotland*, setting aside all partialitie, out of her motherly piety and indulgence yeelded him freely the title of the Kingdome; and admitted him into the society freely to Raigne. Shee (distressed Queene) in the meane time, afflicted with many miseries, the calamities of a prison, & in indurance, without hope of deliuery, bewayled the dismall fortunes of the King her sonne with her owne, in a large Letter written in French to Queene ELIZABETH, which the tender loue of a mother, and the disquietnesse of her Spirit, extorted from her, the

the which out of the originall Copy of her owne hand-writing, I haue more briefely recollected, as followed.

Booke

Mary Q. Scotland, her Letter Queene E zabeth.

AFter I was certainly informed, that my sonne was intercepted and detained in captiuitie (as my selfe haue beene for some yeares) a sudden feare suggested into my minde, that hee, and I were to drinke of one cup of sorrow: I cannot therefore in opening my sad afflicted heart, but vtter my anguish, to imprint them if it may be vpon yours, offer the same to your conscionable commiseration, that the ages to come may know my innocency, and their tyrannie, by whose meanes I endure these intolerable indignities. But for that, their subtil plots and mischieuous practices haue all this while been preferd with you before my iust complaint, it being in your gracious power to doe equity and iustice, where violence treadeth downe vertue, and might suppresseth right: I doe appeale vnto God immortall, whom alone I know to haue power ouer vs; Princes coequall in right and honour, and him (in whom there is no place for fraud, or falshood) I will inuoke, that at the last day hee will recompence vs according to our demerits, howsoeuer my Aduersaries the whilest haue cautelously cloaked their treacheries from men (and perhaps from you.) I beseech you now then in the name of God, and by his all-powerfull Maiestie I adiure you, to call to minde, how cunningly some sent forth in your name to me, could stirre vp the Scots my subiects, whilest I liued with them, into open rebellion against me, and haue been the first mouers of all the mischiefe, which euer since hath hapned in that countrey, as euidently appeareth by sundry plain testi-

The Q. of Scots deplo reth her ion intercept ing, and ho owne dese lation.

Booke 3.

monies thereof, and Mortons *confession from his own mouth, who for such matters grew vp to great honors, whom if I could haue prosecuted, according to his desert; and if your assisting the Rebels had not been, they could neuer haue stood vp so long against mee, and my friends, as they did.*

When I was detained Prisoner in Lake-Leuin, Sir Nich. Throckmorton, *was the first that came to me in your name, who perswaded me to quit the Kingdome vnd r Letters Patents, signed with my hand (which he assured me should be of no effect, as all the world knoweth them so to be) vntill that you had assisted the Authors of these Letters, with your fauour and Armes. But say in good sooth, would you acknowledge that your subiects should haue such power ouer you? The regall power I had in the meane time, by your aide & aduice, was taken from me, to be conferred on my sonne, a yong child, by reason of his Infant-age vnfit to manage the administration of a Kingdome. And when as of late, I determined to make him a lawfull resignation, for the certaine establishing of him in the Kingdome, hee was by force of Armes caried violently away by Traitors; who, doubtlesse had no other intent, then to depriue him (as they did me) of the Crowne, and perhaps of his life. After I got out of* Lake-Leuin, *and was to raise Armes for the suppressing of the Rebels, I sent you then the Diamond, which formerly you had giuen me, as a pledge of mutuall loue betwixt vs, when you made me many large promises, and faithfull protestations to succour and support me against the Rebels, when also you promised, that if I should come towards you, you would meet me in person vpon the frontiers, and would assist me. I relying vpon these promises so often and so seriously iterated (although your messengers had many times before deluded me) resolued to resort to you, as to*

a Sanctuary.

a Sanctuary. And assuredly, I had come, had I but found the way as open to me, and as easie to passe, as it was for those who reuolted against me. But before I could come at you, I was arrested vpon the way, guarded with troops of men, shut vp in strong places, and since that time haue endured things worse then death.

I know you will obiect some intercourses of businesse haue past betwixt the Duke of Norfolke *and me; but I assure you there hath neuer any thing past, preiudiciall to you or your Kingdome, as also your chiefe Counsellors haue giuen approbation thereto, as I can proue, who likewise promised mee by the way of attestation to procure your consent. And how I pray you should these so great persons promise your consent to a thing which might despoile you of honour, life, and Diadem? And notwithstanding, you would that euery one should be so persuaded.*

Besides, as diuers of the Rebels, by a tardy repentance re-aduising themselues, and by a Commission held betwixt our Deputies at Yorke, *vnderstood how wickedly they had dealt with me, they being besieged with your Souldiers in* Edenburgh-*Castle, two of the principall dyed miserably; the one by poison, the other in a halter. And that came to passe, for that twice I had dismist the Armies at your request, in hope of peace, which God knowes, whether euer my Aduersaries once haue thought on.*

Since that, I had resolued to try whether patience can haue power to conquer cruelty, in suffering all extremities that can be imposed on a poore Prisoner. All conference with my sonne by Letters or Messengers, for this yeare, hath been denyed me, renting if it were possible the sonne from the mother by a sad separation of spirits.

I haue often propounded Articles of peace and con-

Booke 3

Lidington and de Grange.

cord to bee confirmed betwixt vs at Chatesworth *by the most Christian Kings Ambassadors eleuen yeares agone, both to your Deputies, and to your selfe, and by my owne the last yeare, I dealt sincerely with* Beal. *But these profers were still reiected, delayes interpos'd, my best meaning euer suspected, and the affection of my true-intending heart continually condemned. Nor haue I reaped any other fruit by my long suffering, but that by a Prescription, I am dayly handled worse and worse, not indeed as a Prisoner, but as some abiect seruant of base condition. But truely I cannot longer endure these indignities, howsoeuer the matter shall fall out, if I die, I will manifest the Authors of my death; if I liue, I shall so effect (I hope) that the malicious practices of my Aduersaries shall dye, and passe the remainder of my dayes in more tranquilitie.*

Wherefore, to take away all occasions of scandall betwixt vs, let the testimonies of the Spaniards, which were lately taken in Ireland, *and all the examinations of the Iesuites be produced against mee. Let mee be arraigned openly, come in who can to accuse me, prouided withall I may haue the liberty to defend my selfe, and not be condemned before I be heard. The malefactors and vilest Prisoners are permitted to defend themselues and to confront their accusers. Why then am I denyed this lawfull libertie, being an anointed Queene, your nearest Kinswoman, and the next lawfull heire to your Kingdome? But this last is that excruciates my Aduersaries, whose chiefest studies are bent to breed debate betwixt vs. Alas, alas! and why should this vex or afflict my enemies, when as I protest before God, and on my honour, I haue not thought this long time of any Kingdome but that of heauen. Neuertheleſſe, you are bound by oath, royall duty, and Iustice, not to disturbe or impeach, after my death, my sonnes most certaine*

Right,

Right, nor to abett, or aide those which seriously and secretly labour his ruine, both in England *and* Scotland, *as is too-too well knowne by the dealings of your Ambassadors in* Scotland, *who haue dealt (no doubt without your priuity) most treacherously with me, and all by the Earle of* Huntingdons *setting on.*

Is there any iust dealing in this, that a Mother should not be suffered to succour her sonne in distresse? nay, not so much as to be let vnderstand how he doth? If such as you sent for my sonnes good, had taken my aduice by the way, they would haue beene the welcomer to him, and I the more obliged to you; nor was there any reason you should so long conceale their goings thither, nor then keepe mee so straightly shut vp: but to speake freely, I beseech you let no more such be imployed for Scotland. *Thus much I dare promise my selfe, that* Hunsdon *will doe nothing but that standeth with his honour, nor* Huntingdon *any thing may tend to my good, for that which he hath already practised against me.*

I entreat you therefore by the bond of that consanguinitie which is betwixt vs, to bee circumspect for the safety of my sonne, not to intermeddle your selfe with the businesses of Scotland, *before you haue consulted with mee and the King of* France, *and hold all those for Traitors which keepe my sonne in hold, not suffering him to goe any where, but at their pleasure. In fine, I coniure you by the Crosse and Passion of Christ our Redeemer, that after so many yeares of desolation, I hauing libertie, may vpon iust tearmes, be suffered to retire my poore weake body into some quiet place out of* England, *there to refresh mee before my death, after the long and loathsome time of my imprisonment. This doing, you shall eternally oblige vnto you me and mine, but aboue all my sonne. Nor wil I euer*

Booke 3.

cease to craue this, till you haue granted it me, my indisposition enforcing this importunity. Let mee be vsed hereafter a little more gently, otherwise I shall not be able to endure; nor put mee off, to the disposing of any, but of your selfe. What good or euill hereafter shall betyde me, I will impute all to you, vouchsafe mee this fauour, to let me know your pleasure, either by your letter, or by the French Ambassador. I can repose no confidence in those things, which the Earle of Shrewsbury *hath imparted vnto me, they are so mutable. I writ of late to your Councell, but you sent me word, to acquaint none but your selfe with my businesse: for there was noequity in it, in giving them so much power to afflict me. And I cannot apprehend it otherwise, but that some ill-willers of mine, were the occasioners of it, for feare that others, duly considering my iust complaints, in regard of your honor, & their duties, should haue opposed themselues. And now the last thing I am to desire, is, that I may haue some reuerend Catholicke Priest to instruct me in Religion, for the saluation of my soule. This is a last duty not to be denyed to wretches of meanest ranck. You suffer the Ambassadors of foraigne Princes to vse their Religion, and my selfe sometimes haue granted toleration of seuerall professions to my subiects: If this be denyed mee, I hope to bee excused before God, and I feare mine Aduersaries shall not passe vnpunished. Assuredly it will be a president to other Christian Princes to exercise the like seuerity amongst their subiects of different Religions, if this bee offered me, an absolute Princesse, & of your nearest alliance. As I am, I will euer be affected to you, in despight of my Aduersaries; and stomacke they me neuer so much. I desire not to haue my family increased, but I vpon necessity intreat to retain two of my maid-seruants to attend me in my sicknesse: let not mine enemies assiwage their cruelty*

vpon

upon me, in causing me to bee denied so small an office of humanity. Whereas I am taxed by the Earle of Shrewsbury, *to haue dealt otherwise (then I promised* Beal) *in surrendring my title in* Scotland *to my son, without your priuity: Beleeue not* Beals *suggestions, for I past no promise, but upon certaine conditions, which I am not bound to performe on my part, vnlesse they be performed on yours: I haue yet receiued no answer thereof, and they haue beene long time silent; but for all that, in* Scotland *they haue not ceased their trecherous practizes to the ruine both of me, and my son; I cannot take this long silence, but for a deniall, and so I haue certified your Councell by Letters. That which the King of* France, *and the Queene his mother haue communicated to me, haue I sincerely communicated to you, and required your advice, but you haue not vouchsafed me one word in writing, or by word of mouth: I cannot before I shall know what it is, submit my selfe to your Councell, concerning my affaires and Country; for that were extreame indiscretion. You know how my Aduersaries triumph in* Scotland *both ouer mee, and my imprisoned son: I haue attempted nothing in* Scotland *to your preiudice, but to establish a solide peace in the Realme, having by so much the more a greater care then your Councellors, by how much my interest there, is more then theirs. I haue desired to gratifie my son with the title of King, to confirme him, and to burie all discords. Is that to take the Diadem from him? But the enemies of me, and my family, will not haue it confirmed: It is that that they dread, whilst they carie in their heart a witnesse against themselues, & finding themselues culpable of euills apprehend they should bee dealt with accordingly.*

Let not these, and others my aduersaries so blind your eyes, that during your life, and in your sight, they shall beare

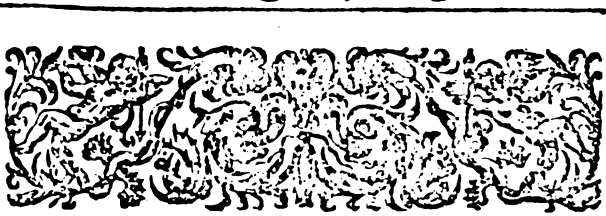
beare downe your nearest kindred, and ruinate both the Crownes: as to that end they are plotting villanies against me, against my son, and perhaps against you also. Can it be any pleasure, or honor to you, that I and my son, that you and we are by their meanes so long secluded, and kept asunder? Resume your naturall goodnesse and meeknesse, oblige your selfe to your selfe, and seeing you are a Princesse, be tender hearted to me a Princesse, the nearest of your consanguinity, that all things being set in quiet betwixt vs, I may passe the more peacefully out of this life, and that the sighes and sobbes of my afflicted soule ascend not to God on high. To whose diuine power I present my daily prayers, that these my iust complaints, and sorrowfull laments my take place with you.

From *Sheffield*, 8. Nouemb. 1582.

Vostre tres-desolée plus proche parente, & affectionnée sœur

MARIE R:

THE



THE SIXE AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D. LXXXIII.

LIZABETH Queen of *England* being sundry wayes moued with these Letters (after she had giuen permission to the French Ambassador *La Mottef*, together with *Danison* her owne Ambassador, to goe into *Scotland*; and had chosen out a time, wherin he might opportunely meet with the Duke of *Lenox* vnawares, then returning out of *Scotland*) she her selfe kindely receiued *Lenox*, yet gently blaming him for being somwhat slack in the Scottish affaires; and forthwith sent *Beale* Clerke of her Priuie Councell, for the dispatch of her Letters, (being indeed a man very austere and sharpe) to the Queene of Scots, to manifest the discontent

The Duke of Lenox's returne through England.

Booke 3.

of Queene ELIZABETH at the sight of her complaining Letters, and by the same meanes to treat with the Earle of *Shrewsbury* concerning her enlargement, because she oftentimes before, with sundry Letters had sollicited for it, and intreated that shee might yet at last (her security being established to her) inioy her libertie, and be an associate with her sonne, in the administration of Scotland.

Vpon these things was the Priuy Councell of *England* assembled: where after serious debating, and deliberate consultations, it was at length agreed that the Queene of *Scots* should be set at libertie vnder these following conditions:

It is consulted about the deliuery of the Q. of Scots.

THat if she and her sonne would promise, not to enterprise any thing to the preiudice of Queene ELIZABETH, *or the Realme of* England. *That shee would confesse, that whatsoeuer* Francis *the second, King of* France *her husband, had vndertaken and performed, was altogether against her will and liking; and that shee would disprone and disanull it as vnlawfull. That shee would confirme the Treaty holden at* Edenbourgh. *That shee would freely and ingenuously confesse and discouer all other complots & intendments which were since that time forged; and would vtterly condemne the same. That if shee would enter into obligation not to plot or doe any thing, directly or indirectly, to the impeachment of the gouernment, or administration of the Kingdome of* England, *either in things Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill; but to resist and hinder all those that should vndertake (in what manner so euer) any thing to the contrary, and to withstand them as enemies. That she would not during the life of Queene* ELIZABETH *claime any Right or Title to the Kingdome of* England, *and after her death to submit and referre the right of succession to the iudgement of the Estates. If she also, to cut off all equiuocations, and mentall*

tall reseruations, and to forestall all pretended excuses, (that shee as a Prisoner accorded and condiscended to these conditions, or being in a manner constrained) would confirme all these by her aoth, and the publique authoritie of the States of Scotland. If the King likewise would ratifie the self-same conditions both by oath and writing, and for the more assurance would deliuer hostages for the performance.

Booke

As concerning the association which the Queene of *Scots* demanded to haue with her sonne in the gouernment of the Kingdome, it was holden expedient by the Councell, that the Queene of *England* should not intermeddle therewith. But if they could agree vpon the association between themselues, then should the League be ioyntly treated of with them both; but if otherwise, then apart with either seuerally.

The Scots of the English faction are against it.

Thus these things were debated on; yet without any successe. For the Scots which were of the English faction, altogether reiected them, crying out aloud, that certaine Scots sworne enemies to *England*, by the Councell of the Queene of Scots, were recalled out of *France*, and that *Holt* an English Iesuite was secretly sent into *Scotland*, there to attend a fit opportunitie to inuade *England*. Then there arose strife betweene *Monsieur de La Mottef*, and *Monsieur de Maninguill* Ambassadors of *France* of the one part, and *Bowes* and *Danison* Ambassadors for *England* on the other side, which of them by insinuating should induce the King to the greater affectation of their Nation, or purchase the greater number to their party, vntill at length that with oblique designes they ingenuously became Counsellors either to other. The King himselfe became as it were Mediator, and knowing how to temper things honest with things profitable, without prouing any way deficient either to the Church or the Common-wealth, hee wisely endeuoured rather to calme the raging stormes of these factions then intermeddle with

The English and French in emulation, striue to obtaine the fauor of the King of Scotland.

them. But the Ministers of *Scotland*, being by a certaine zeale prouoked against the French; vpon the same day that *La Mottef* was by the Citizens of *Edenborough* inuited to a Feast, appointed a Fast; and the whole day with taunts and mocks, derided and scoffed the King of *France*, the Duke of *Guise* and the Ambassadors. And as the Ministers did this openly; so certain of the Scotch Nobilitie, (parties with the English) ceased not to persecute the French Ambassadors secretly in such sort, that first *La Mottef* retired himselfe, and after him *Maninguil*; leauing notwithstanding some certaine seeds of discord amongst those who had seaz'd and kept the Kings Person.

As soone as they were departed, the King presented by Colonell *Stuart*, and *I. Coluil*, all affection and seruice to the Queene of *England*, requesting her counsell for the allaying of troubles, and also for the contracting of a mariage. But then those that were keepers or detainers of the Kings person, seeing that the French Ambassadors were departed out of *Scotland*, began to take courage, which after was increased by the death of the Duke of *Lenox*: who finding small comfort from the French King, that then was intangled with diuers intestine troubles, and striuing likewise to please Queene ELIZABETH, departed this life at *Paris*: and by the testimonies which he gaue on his death-bed, being at the point of death, in the presence of all the assistants, hee declared himselfe to be truely of the Protestants Religion, confuting and conuicting the malice of those that had falsely accused him to be a Papist.

This the death of *Lenox*, much secured those that detained the King, who reioyced for the still retaining of him in their power: whereupon they began to exult. But see, they little suspecting any such matter, the King, although he had scarce yet attained to the age of eighteene yeares, disdaining to submit himselfe any longer to the rule and gouernment of three Earles, being an absolute King of himselfe: as he before-

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fore-times had giuen way to the time; so now finding a time opportune to his purpose, he set himself at liberty, and with a few selected men retired himselfe to the Castle of Saint *Andrewes*, taking occasion by a rumour that was spread, that the Nobilitie disagreeing amongst themselues, had brought with them seuerall troopes of Souldiers into that part of the Country, there to hold an assembly which hee appointed, fearing lest he amongst these tumultuous iarres should be exposed to some vnexpected danger. And to that effect he dispatcht Letters to Queene ELIZABETH, wherein hee promised to entertaine a constant league of amitie with her, and to embrace her counsell in the establishment of his affaires; excusing himselfe that these things fell out so suddenly, and vnawares to him, that it was not possible for him to giue her notice thereof sooner. Afterwards, vsing gentler speeches, and milde perswasions, shewing an affable countenance to those that were his guardians, he admonished them, for the better shunning of turmoyles, to retire from the Court, promising to them his gracious fauour and pardon, if so be they would intreat it. Of these *Gowry* onely asked pardon, and submitted himselfe, vsing this small distinction, *That he had offended not in matter, but in forme.* After this, he call'd backe the Earle of *Arran* to the Court, accepting him for one of his fauourites, much labouring to establish the hearts of his Nobilitie in a mutuall peace and amitie, and to purge both the kingdome and the Court from intestine iarres and discord.

Whilst he was thus busied continually in these matters, there ariued at his Court Sir *Francis Walsingham*, sent from the Queene of *England*, out of her earnest loue & great care that shee alwaies had of him, lest by ill counsels, being of a flexible age, he should bee diuerted from the amity of *England*, which would bee to the preiudice of both the Kingdomes. *Walsingham* at his ariuall found the King accompanied with the chiefe and flower of his Nobility, and the

Booke 3.

The King of Scotland sets himselfe at libertie.

His Maiesty vseth kindly those who formerly had seaz'd themselues of his Royal person.

Cals to the Court all such Nobles as stood and were of his side.

Walsingham is sent into Scotland from Q. Elizabeth

oke 3.

affaires of *Scotland* better setled then hee expected. Being receiued & admitted, after much discourse he rehearst those admonitiōs takē out of *Isocrates* which the Queen before in her letters had instructed him with: *That he which commands ought so to cherish truth, as to giue more credit to its simple affirmation then to the oaths of others: That he should take heed of euill counsellours, remaining still constant & alway like himselfe.* The King made this free and hearty reply: *That what he writ more then his thoughts meaning, was against his will, much refusing, yet inforced by the compulsion of others, that he being a free Prince, ought not to bee reduced to such streights that others should force counsellors vpon him, whom hee altogether misliked: That he had done nothing but for his owne honour and safeguard: That the pleage of his loue, which he before had vowed to his indeared Sister the Queene of* England, *hee now freely and deseruedly offered; and that now hee could produce more fairer fruits of amitie, being obeyed of all his Nobilitie then before when he himselfe was made obedient to one and to another, and rul'd as it were rather by intreating, then by power or commandement.*

King of land ers him y.

After this, *Walsingham* requested the King not to impute to Queene ELIZABETH any thing that had happened in *Scotland*, shewing him how good & profitable their friendship had hitherto been, and how expedient both for himselfe as also for either Kingdome, if so bee shee suffered no neglect, but were firmely assured; and if the differences and contentions which happened amongst the Nobility of *Scotland* were but for a certaine *Amnestia* abolished by the authority of the Parliament: that those that were remoued from the Court should bee taken into grace: that Religion should be conserued entire in it selfe; and a firme league established betwixt the two Kingdomes. Neither was *Walsingham* any way defectiue in the distribution of his money amongst the Kings Officers and Attendants, that by their meanes hee might effect these things. The King thus mo-

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destly replyed: *That he willingly embraced the friendship of* England, *and would not be wanting in any obseruance towards the Queene; but most constantly defend the Religion receiued.*

The King answered them.

With this answer he graciously discharged *Walsingham*, notwithstanding he suspected him to be transported both against himselfe, and his mother, and with an intentiue prouidence, beyond the expectation of his yeares, hee managed his affaires, and proposed to the great praise of his clemencie, letters of grace to all those that had seized his person, if they within a time prefixt would come and intreat pardon. But so farre they were from asking it, that they priuatly tooke counsell together, and complotted how they might haue him againe vnder their power; which was the cause that he presently commanded them within a certaine time to leaue the Kingdome: whereupon some retired them to one part, and some to another; that is to say, *Marre*, *Glan*, *Boide*, *Zester-wemi*, and *Loch-leuin* into *Flanders*; *Dunfermelin* into *France*, and *Angus* was confined to *Angus* within certaine prescribed limits. Onely *Gowry* hatching in his braines new stratagems, remained in the Realme beyond the prefixed day; but to his owne confusion, as hereafter shall be recited.

The King propounds a Pardon, to those who had seaz'd themselues of his person.

Hee commands such as refus'd it to void the Kingdome.

Thus those that before had driuen the Duke of *Lenox* out of *Scotland*, were within the reuolution of the same yeare themselues expulst the Land. And the King to whom *Lenox* in his life time was much indeared, and beloued, after his death cherishing the memory of his goodnesse, he reestablished, and vncloudeed his reputation, by suppressing certaine defamatory bookes, which some malignant persons had dispersed to eclipse his worth and vertues; he likewise recalled his children out of *France*; confirmes his sonne *Lodowicke* in his fathers honors; and his daughters after they were growne to ripe yeares, he preferred them in mariage; one with the Lord Marquesse of *Huntley*; the other, with the Earle of *Marre*. And that he might shew himselfe a King by exer

His Maiesty re-established the Reputation and Honor of the Duke of Lenox, causinglikewise his children to returne into Scotland.

exercising in due time his authoritie, whereas those of the conspiracie had declared in a publike assembly, instituted by their authoritie, that the arrest & detaining of his person was iustly & lawfully performed, and therupon enrolled the said Declaration amongst the publike Registers: the King on the contrary, in a generall assembly of the Nobilitie and States, declared that it was traiterously done. Notwithstanding, the Ministers, as the supreme Iudges of the Realme, pronounced in a Synode conuocated by their authoritie, that it was most iust, and did hold it fit that those which would not approue thereof, should vndergoe the censure of Excommunication.

In those dayes the warres betwixt the Emperor of *Muscouia*, and the King of *Swethland* vnder the Artique Circle, must not be left to obliuion. *Iohn King* of *Swethland* perceiuing his powers farre too weake to resist so great an Emperor, sent in Noble Embassie towards Queen ELIZABETH, *H.* of *Wissembourg* his neere kinsman, and *A. Rich* his Secretarie, by Letters to request her Maiesty to intercede by Ambassage to the Emperour for the conclusion of a peace betweene them. Which she presently vndertooke, and without delay performed so well, that with reasonable conditions she induc'd the *Muscouit* to a composition of peace: who forthwith treated with her concerning the allianee, of which I haue often made mention, and that hee might bee allow'd refuge and a retreat into *England*, if any disastrous aduersity should fall vpon him: likewise he desired a Wife should be giuen him out of *England*. But Sir *Hierome Bowes*, Knight, being sent Embassadour, found it a difficult matter to content the *Emperour*. For the Musconite most importunately laboured for an absolute league in such tearmes as hee himselfe should set downe; neither would hee giue any hearing to any remonstrances which hee propos'd, that it was not the duty of a Christian, neither would the Law of Nations permit, that hostile enmities should bee denounced, and practised,

practised; or open warres begunne, before the party from whom the wrong proceeded, were admonished to repaire the iniury, and desist from it. Booke 3.

The Queene appointed the Sister of the Earle of *Huntington* to be giuen as a Wife to him. But when shee was certified, that the Lawes of his Countrey would permit him at his own pleasure to repudiate and put away his wiues; Shee excused the matter by the sicklinesse of the maid, and by the loue of her father, that was not able to beare the absence of his Daughter in a Country so farre distant. And also that it was not in her power to dispose of in mariage, the daughters of any of her subiects, without their parents consents. Neuertheless, the Ambassador so farre preuailed, that the establishing of the Merchants priuiledge, was granted. But death taking away the Emperour, the yeare following, the affaires of the English beganne by little and little to returne towards *Russia*, and the Ambassador returning, not without much danger of his life, was with much commendation kindly receiued of the Queene. Hee was the first that brought into *England*, where the like was neuer seene (if an Historian may with good leaue make mention of so small a thing) a beast called *Maclis*, which is a creature likest to an Alçe, very swift, and without ioynts And moreouer, certain Deere of wonderfull swiftnesse, which being yoake and driuen, will with much speed draw men vp and downe in Chariots like horses.

The Emperor died.

A certaine kind of Deere called Maclis.

But to returne againe to the affaires of *Muscouia*, *Theodore Iohannide*, sonne to *Iohn Basil*, succeeded in this great Empire; a Prince by nature of a slow capacity, yet he knew well how to follow the aduice of his best Counsellors. Hee gaue free passage to all Merchants of all Countries into *Russia*; and being oftentimes sollicited by the Queene of *England* to confirm the priuiledges granted by his father to the *Muscouian* Company of English Merchants, importing thus,

Theodore the New Emperor of Muscouia disallow'd the company or Monopolie of Englands Merchants.

Booke 3.

that it might not be lawfull but to the English of the said society, to land vpon the North coasts of *Russia*, and there to exercise their traffique, without paying of any tribute or custome, because they were the first by sea that found a way to those parts. Hee againe requested that all the English in generall, might be suffered to traffique in *Russia*, esteeming it iniustice to giue leaue to some, and forbid others, saying, that Princes should beare an equall hand amongst their subiects, & not conuert into a Monopoly, or the particular profit of some few men that commerce by which the right of Nations ought to be common to all. And as for the custom hee promised to take by the halfe lesse of them of that societie, then of others. Other priuiledges hee added in fauour of the Queene, and not for the desert (as hee said) of that society, of which, some he hath obserued that haue euilly dealt with his subiects. Other answer could the Queene by no meanes procure, or obtaine; albeit shee afterwards sent about the same affaires *Egide Fletcher* Doctor of the Law, who set forth a booke called, *The policy or tyrannie of the Russian*, wherein were contained many things worthy observation, but it was presently suppreſt, lest it should breed offence to a princely friend.

The same Summer came from *Poland*, neighbouring vpon *Russia*, into *England*, to visit the Queene, one *Albret Alasco*, *Count Palatine* of *Sirad*, a man most learn'd, of comly stature and lineaments, wearing his Beard long, richly cloathed, and of gracefull behauiour: the Queene with much bounty and loue receiued him; the Nobles with great honour and magnificence entertained him; and the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* with learned recreations, and diuers pastimes delighted him; but after a while finding himselfe ouercharged vvith debt, he priuily stole away.

In this yeare also was seene in Dorset-shire a thing no lesse prodigious, then that which was seene in the yeare 1571 in *Herefordshire*. A field of three Acres situated in

Black-

Hitherto Alasco a Polonian Gentleman came then to England to the Queen Elizabeth.

A wonderfull and fearfull Earthquake in Dorsetshire.

Blackmore, both with trees and hedges was remoued out of its owne place into another, leauing in its stead a huge vaste gappe, but the high-way leading to Cerne shut vp; whether this was by some subterranean earthquake, such wherewith (as *Seneca* reporteth) the heads of the gods in the bed of *Iupiter* were turned into the contrary parts: or out of too much moistnesse, caused by the springs abundantly flowing in those parts, the field being situate in the side of a Hill, let others make enquirie.

The death of Thomas Ratcliffe, Earle of Sussex.

This was the last yeare to *Thomas Ratcliffe*, being of that Family the third Earle of *Sussex*, a man of haughty courage, exquisit counsell, of a singular faith towards his Countrie, and of an illustrious Progeny. He had to his Mother the Daughter of the Duke of *Norfolke*; for his Grandmother, the daughter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Constable of *England*. Himselfe also had past through many great honorable imploiments. As being sent Ambassador by Queene MARIE into *Germany* to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, to contract a mariage betweene her and *Philip*. Then againe into *Spaine* to the said *Philip*, there to cause him to ratifie the conuented Articles. Also for Queene ELIZABETH he went Ambassador to the Emperour *Maximilian*, there likewise to contract a match betweene her and *Charles* Duke of *Austria*. Hee was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, Gouernor of the Northerne Prouinces of *England*; also the Queenes Chamberlaine, chiefe Iustice in Eire of all her Maiesties Forests, Parkes and Chases beyond the Riuer Trent; famous for the victories hee had obtained against the *Hebrides* and *Scots* that made spoile of the frontiers. Dyed at *London*, after he had been afflicted with a long disease, leauing no issue behinde him; albeit hee had had two wiues, the Lady *Elizabeth Wriothesly*, and the Lady *Francis Sidney*; and his brother *Henry* succeeded him in the Earledome.

Henry Wriothesly likewise, Earle of *Southampton*, paid

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like tribute vnto death, a man much deuoted to the Roman Religion, and to the Queene of Scots, which hee bought with the anger of his Queene, and restraint of libertie. He was sonne to *Tho: Wriothesly* (who for his tryed vertues by *Henry* the 8, from the dignitie of Baron of *Wriothesly* of *Tichfield*, and Knight of the Order of the Garter, was aduanced to that soueraigne greatnesse of being *Chancelor* of *England*, and appointed him one of the supervisors of his last Will. And by *Edward* the 6, he was graced with the style of Earle of *Southampton*.) Hee left by his Wife, Daughter of *Anthony Browne*, Viscount *Mountague*, *Henry* his sonne that succeeded him, and a Daughter maried to *Thomas* Lord *Arundel*, Baron of *Wardour*.

Likewise the decease of Henry Wriothesly Earle of Southampton.

About the same time Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* Knight, a man acute and deliberate, esteemed industrious both in Peace and Warre, was by the raging Ocean depriued of life, returning from the North parts of *America*, which we call *New-found-Land*: whither he a little before, hauing sold his patrimonie, made a voyage in hope to build there a Colonie. And there by the sound of a Trumpet proclaimed the Countrey to be vnder the English regency. (For *Sebastian Cabet* in the yeare 1497, vnder the Reigne of *Henry* the 7, made the first discouery therof.) And then diuided the Land seuerally to his companions. But he was taught (too late) by the deuouring seas, and default of meanes, which forc'd him to breake off his designes, teaching others also by his example, that it is a matter of greater difficulty, by the expences of a priuate man to plant a Colony in farre distant Countries; then he and others, blind in their owne errors, haue to their vtter ouerthrow perswaded themselues.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, drowned vpon the Seas by shipracke.

Vpon the same instant, *Edmund Grindal* Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of *England*, being blind, and aged aboue sixty yeares breathed his last. Who at his returne from exile, which hee endured vnder the Reigne of Queene MARY, was first inuested Bishop of *London*, then Arch-

He dieth Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury

Archbishop of Yorke, and finally of *Canterbury*, liuing much honoured with the fauour of Queene ELIZABETH, vntill by the foule deceits and treacheries of his enemies hee was suspected to be a fauourer of the Conuenticles of those turbulent Ministers, and such as were called Prophets. But the reason was indeed, because hee condemned as vnlawfull the mariage of *Iulius* an *Italian* Physician, with another mans wife, which much distasted the Earle of *Leicester*. Such small meanes as he had gathered, he bestowed in the founding of a Schoole at Saint *Bee* in *Cumberland*, where hee was borne, and to the aduancement of Learning on both the Vniuersities.

Booke 3.

A wood called Tamarin first brought into England.

The English besides is bound to him for the bringing in of *Tamariske*, or *Tamarin* into *England*: for hauing found by experience that it was a soueraigne remedie against the great and indurate passion of the Spleene, hee was the first that caused it to be planted there.

Iohn Whitgift was his successor, being aduanced from the Sea of *Worcester*, to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, a man of singular goodnesse and learning. He obtained much commendation for his Iustice in the precedencie of *Wales*, and likewise for his great doctrine in the defence of the Ecclesiasticall policy, which by his worth, wisedome and patience, he dayly increased. The Queene, (who held for a maxime, that she ought not to be more remisse in Ecclesiasticall affaires then in politick) aboue all cõmanded him to re-establish the discipline of the Church of *England*, that as then lay dismembred by the conniuency of Prelates, the obstinacie of innouators, and by the power of some great ones, whilst some Ministers couerly impugned the authoritie of the Queene in things Ecclesiasticall, separating the administration of the Sacrament from the preaching of the Word; vsing to their owne fantasie new rites of seruices in their priuate houses, vtterly condemning the Lethargie, and the appointed manner of administring the Sacrament, as being in

Iohn Whitgift is preferred to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury.

Booke 3.

in many things contrarie to the holy Scripture; and therefore many refused to goe to Church, but openly became Schismaticks: the Papists all this while applauding them, and drawing many to their party, as though there had been no vnity in the Church of *England*. To abolish which things, and to reduce them to an vnitie: Hee propounded these Articles to the Ministers, by them to bee subscribed.

He endeuored to vnite the English Church.

First, That the Queene had Soueraigne power ouer all those that were borne within her Dominions, of what conditions so euer they were; and that no other Stranger, Prince, or Prelate, ought to haue any power, either Ciuill, or Ecclesiasticall, within her Maiesties Realmes. Secondly, that the Booke of Common Prayers, and that of the ordination of Bishops and Priests, contained not any thing contrarie to the Word of God, but might be lawfully vsed; and that they should vse that and no other forme of Prayer or administring of the Sacraments. Thirdly, That they should approue and allow of the Articles of the Synode holden at London, *the yeare* 1562, *published by royall Authoritie, and should hold them as conformable to the Word of God.*

But it is incredible what Controuersies and Disputations arose vpon this: what hatred and reproach hee endured of the factious Ministers: what troubles and iniuries hee suffered of certaine Noblemen; who by placing men vnfit in the Church increased their estate, or else had hopes vpon the goods of the Church. But by his constancie, and patience, he ouercame all difficulties, vsing for his Motto this, which he chose not rashly:

Vincit qui patitur.

Neither

Neither was the Church onely tossed and turmoiled by those people within the Realme: but by others, who had left the Kingdome; as by *R. Browne*, a Cambridge Diuine, of whom the new Sectaries were called *Brownists*: and by *R. Harison*, Master of an inferiour Schoole. For these men presuming to iudge of Religion, according to their owne imaginations; by certaine books which they set forth at that time in the Countrey of *Zealand*, and dispersed through many places in *England*, vtterly condemned the Church of *England* as no Church. Which bookes, notwithstanding, were prohibited by Royall Authoritie, and strongly confuted by many learned men, and two of the same sect also put to death at Saint *Edmundsbury*; yet many were intangled in the snares of this new Schisme.

Booke 3.

Brownist Schismatiques.

On the other side, there were certaine bookes, dispersed by certaine Papists against the Queene and other Princes, as excommunicate, which caused diuers admirers of the Papall power to reuolt from her Maiestie. Amongst others *Somerville* was so farre incensed by it, that without acquainting any, he took his way one day towards the Court, breathing forth threats against the blood of Protestants, furiously set vpon two with his naked sword. And being apprehended, he protested he would kill the Queene with his own hands: Whereupon being brought to iudgement, and condemned, he accused *E. Ardern* his father-in-law, a man of ancient nobilitie of *Warwicke*, with his wife and their daughter *Somerville*, with *Halle* a Priest, as complices in the fact. Three dayes after, *Somerville* was found strangled in the prison; *Ardern* being condemned was the day following hanged and quartered: as for the women and the Priest, they were pardoned. Euery one imputed the bad euent of this Gentleman (who indeed was allured by the deceits of the Priest, and condemned by his owne confession) to the malice of *Leicester*, which he had incurred by rashly opposing him in all things he could, misterming him as an adulterate; and contemning

One Somerville strangled himselfe in prison, and Ardern is hanged.

Booke 3.

The English betray Aloft, and doe deliuer it into the hands of the cruell Spaniard.

A miserable end of Traitors.

temning him, as a man newly sprung vp of nothing.

These things were thus caried at home. But it hapned abroad about the last moneth of this yeare, that the English which were in Garison in (*Aloft*) a towne in the Netherlands, perceiuing they were neglected, wanting of their pay; and being vnfurnished of victuals, they were brought into such streights, that *Piget* their chiefe Commander with the rest of the Captaines betrayed the town, and induced by the promise of certaine summes, they deliuered it ouer into the hands of the Spaniard; and therefore fearing to bee disgrac'd by their own party, they ioyned themselues vvith the Duke of *Parma*; from whom likewise by little and little they fell off, after they found his faith failing in euery point. But an vnfortunate end betyded to euery one of those that were authors of this treachery. For *Pigot* retiring into *Spaine* in hope of a recompence, was there by them both mocked and derided: so returning into the Low-Countries, was by his Country-men apprehended, and sent into *England*, where he miserably dyed in prison. *Datton* from a Traitor turned Pyrat, and was hanged in *England*: *Vincent* likewise in *Brabant*. *Taylor* was strooke through the body by the Earle of *Westmerland*. And *Walsh* after hee had beene oppressed and beaten with infinite miseries, was murdered in *France*. Thus God the reuenger of all Traitors, followeth Treason at the heeles. As *Ireland* the same yeere by many notable examples could witnesse:

The Earle of Desmond is killed.

For that famous Rebell, and Traitor to his Country, *Gerard Fitz-Gerard*, or *Geraldide*, the eleuenth of that Family, Earle of *Desmond*; after that his men (who had miserably vowed sooner to renounce God then forsake him) were consumed by sword and famine; hee fled into certaine vnfrequented Caues where he liued, frustrating (almost by the space of two whole yeares) the hope of the English that sought to apprehend him: at length hee was discouered by a common souldier, who not knowing him, had almost cut off

of one of his armes: whereupon he disclosed himselfe, and was, after hee had receiued many wounds vpon his bodie, slaine; his head was sent into *England*, and there placed on a pole vpon London Bridge.

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The like vnfortunate end hapned to a man of great power in *Ireland*, extracted of the line of *Maurice* sonne to *Gerald* of *Windsor*, an Englishman, a warrior most famous amongst the chiefe that brought *Ireland* into subiection, in the yeare 1570, possessing great Lordships, euen whole Prouinces, with *Kerria* which is a County *Palatine*, and diuers Castles, hauing vnder his command many land-holders; besides 500 Gentlemen at the least of his owne kindred and name. Of all that, & more, of his life also, he was depriued, leauing only some few of his family behinde him: this his owne and his friends ruine, he himselfe procured, by violating his faith, which he ought to his Queene by the persuasion of certain Priests. Amongst which one *Sanders* an Englishman was the principall, who dyed for hunger almost in the same instant, being left of all friends, and distracted from his senses by reason of the crosse successe of the Rebels, contrarie to his expectation, wandring through Woods, Groues and Mountaines, finding no succour or reliefe. After his death were found in his pocket sundry Orations and Letters written to confirme and harten the Rebels: stuffed with large promises of the Pope and Spaniard. Thus the diuine Iustice of God (if it were lawfull to iudge) closed vp his mouth with hunger, which was alwayes open to stirre vp and moue rebellions, and to vomit forth slanders and lyes. For he was the first (to passe ouer other things) that raised and dispersed that horrible slander of the birth of Queene ELIZABETHS mother; which thing was not to any of those times knowne, onely the hate of the Papists beganne to manifest it selfe against her; neither was it heard of in *England* for the space of forty yeares after, but the circumstance of time, doth plainely conuict him of falshood and vanitie,

Nicholas Sanders, an English Seminarie Priest affamisht himselfe.

ooke 3.

and himselfe also not agreeing with his owne sayings (as it behooueth a lyer) doth argue the same. Yet there bee some distempered spirits that blush not to stain their Papers with this most impudent lye and slander.

Iacob Fitz-Eustace.

count of
alting
ttle fled
way out of
land.

That is to say the sonne of *Eustace*, Viscount of *Baltinglas*, a man of great esteeme amongst the Nobility of *Ireland*; being terrified with the tragicall successes of these men, tooke his flight into *Spaine*; where after a long and languishing griefe he yeelded vp his Ghost. Hauing before through the zeale which he bore to the Roman Religion taken vp armes with the Rebels against his Princesse; and in a kinde of obscure breuity, writ to the Earle of *Ormond* his neighbour decended from Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, inciting him to do the like, in his exhortation amongst other hee vs'd these words. *If* Saint *Thomas of Canterbury had not suffered death for the Romane Church, you had neuer beene Earle of Ormond.* For *Henry* the second to expiate the murder of S. *Thomas* bestowed large possessions vpon his Ancestors.

Sir Iohn Perot,

r Iohn Pe-
t is made
ord Depu-
of Ire-
nd.

Knight, who to his great praise had beene Gouernour of *Mounster*; being this yeare created Vice-Roy, or otherwise Deputy of *Ireland*, and presently after receiued the sword of Iustice; he assembled the States of the Land to the holding of a Parliament, in which certaine Lawes were enacted; that the Earle of *Desmond* which was slaine a space before should be condemned of *Lesæ Maiestatis*, and all the possessions as wel of him and others of the Rebels in *Mounster* confiscate. Which the Queene set to sale at a very low and small price; that she might inuite labourers & husbandmen to them, lest such fertile grounds should bee vntilled, and altogether waste (for the rebellion had spoiled and deuasted the same.) But some of those that had Commission for the

the enquiry and searching out of the possessions of the Rebels, and others that were to prize and set the same to hyre, began to expell and chase from their possessions with such violence those who were true subiects, that the Queen was constrained to represse them by an Edict, lest the violent auarice of some particular men might kindle and inflame a new rebellion. In which the Vice-Roy tooke much laudable paines; although by the English he was accused and blamed, for being too indulgent and fauorable to the Irish, and too rough to them. But he equally distributing iustice to either part by fauouring as well the *Irish*, as the *English*, brought the Prouince into a most desired tranquilitie, and with a milde and gentle command subiected to the obedience of the Lawes, the most barbarous inhabitants of the same: holding the Scotchmen of *Hebrides*, that from their Ilands did breake into *Ireland*, to a hard taske. And inforc'd *Donel Gormi* (that is to say blue) with his brother *Mac-Conel*, who had possest themselues of the little Country of Glinnes, and *Surley-boy*, (that is to say, Red) their Vncle, that had inuaded the Countrey of Rout, neighbouring and adioyning to the Iland *Richnee*, now called *Raclis*, to such a point, that after many of their kindred were ouercome and slaine by the valorous exploits of Captaine *Meriman*, they receiued the oath of allegeance to the Queene, accepting from her Maiesty certaine Lands in that corner, vnder conditions that they should serue the Kings of *England* onely in their warres, and not any other whatsoeuer without their permission: that they should furnish forth vpon any expedition a sufficient number of horse and foot; and that a certaine number of Beeues and Hawkes should euery yeare be truely paid. Thus much for what hath past in *Ireland*.

Labouring men are sent into Ireland.

The gesture and behauiours of Iohn Perot Vice-Roy of Ireland.

Booke 3.

THE SEVEN AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXIV.

roubles in otland.

DIVERS Scots that had compacted with *Gowry*, who now againe was plotting of new stratagems to get the King of Scots into his power, secretly returned from *Ireland* into *Scotland* vpon the entrie of the Spring. There they protested openly, that their intent was onely for the honour of God, the truth of Religion, and to secure the King, the Realme, and the League with *England*, against those that with wicked deuices would seduce the King, not being as yet of sufficient age. The King hauing notice of these things, hee forthwith commanded Colonell *Stuart* to apprehend, before all, *Gowry* the chiefe Architect of the conspiracy, who presently retired himself to a Port called *Dundey*, as though he would haue departed the Kingdome, where he knowing himselfe

himselfe guilty, despising the Kings authoritie, obstinately withstood them, and defended himselfe in his lodging: but after two houres, he was apprehended, and led to prison.

Booke 3

The Earle Gowry is taken.

In the meane while the Conspirators surprising the town of *Sterlin*, they constrained the Castle to yeeld. But vnderstanding that the King was marching towards them in person with an armie; and finding themselues but weakely accompanied, in respect of the number, vvhich *Gowry* had promised them; also in vaine attending succours out of *England*, they forsooke their hold. And as euery one being full of feare, sought to shift for himselfe: the Earles of *Marre*, *Glan*, and *Angus* holding together, vvith others took their flight through many by-wayes into *England*: humbly requesting the Queene to releeue them in their afflictions, and bee an intercessor for them to their King, seeing that they vvere depriued both of their fortunes, and the Kings fauour, by endeuouring for the good of her and her Kingdome. The King on the contrary accused them to the Queene of many hainous things, demanding according to the league of alliance betweene them, that they might bee deliuered into his hands. But there were some about the Court that perswaded the Queene that they were men most obedient to their King, and most desirous of his welfare; that hauing him vnder their custody and power, yet neuer attempted any thing against his state or person; and that law which was vsually expressed in leagues concerning the deliuerie and restoring backe of Rebels, was long since abolished and out of vse amongst Princes. These men also endeuoured to perswade the King of Scots that he should deale more mildly and gently with men of such and so great ranke, and not to driue them (as it were headlong) through despaire to more bad designes. Remonstrating to him, that terrour and violence vvere but feeble and vnhappy props of power, alledging to that end two tragicall examples drawne out of the Scottish History; attributing great praises to his mother, & *Francis*

The conspirors are dispersed.

Queene Elizabeth succoureth some of them.

The King demandeth them by the League,

but in vaine.

Booke 3.

her husband, that at the first rising of the French ciuill war, past ouer the iniuries and offences of the Nobility without regard.

Walsingham fauoureth the fugitiues. Hunsdon against thē.

Walsingham, that studiously fauoured the fugitiues, by letters commanded that they should bee receiued into the Island called *the holy Iland*; but *Hunsdon* (who shewed himselfe a greater friend to the King of *Scots* then any other) opposed it, because the iurisdiction of the place appertained to him, as gouernor of the East frontiers, hee thought it altogether vnfit, that any entrance should be permitted to the *Scots* in a place of strength, neither would he obey the letters of the Secretary without expresse command from the Queene. From hence arose a controuersie, whether a Secretary could by his authority direct or execute the affaires of his Prince, without receiuing speciall command from him, and without the counsell of the gouernor of the place: What was determined thereupon is not manifest, but the *Scots* were not admitted into the Isle. Neuertheless it was esteemed expedient, that they should be in some sort fauored, to oppose the contrary faction which arose in *Scotland*, which was that the Ministers had spred & rumored abroad, that the King was about to forsake his religion, but they could not produce or alledge any argument probable (although they had framed many, but onely that he was wholy transported with a filiall loue towards his mother, and receiued as a most indeered to him, those which he knew were affectionate to her.

Controuersie, or the power of a Secretary argued.

The arraignment of Gowry.

In the meane space *Gowry* was brought to iudgment before the Peeres at *Sterlin*. And was accused to haue plotted a new conspiracy against the King after he had been confin'd prisoner to his house: Notwithstanding that the King had lifted him vp to great honours, riches, and Commands, and accounted of him as a kinsman. To haue consulted by night which the seruants of *Angus* for the taking of *Perth* & *Sterlin*. To haue resisted by force of Armes, the authority royall

all at *Dundey*. To haue concealed the conspiracy which was complotted to ruine the King, and the Queene his mother. And lastly, To haue consulted with the sorceresse *Maclene*. To all this he pleaded innocency, and an vnspotted faith towards the King. He acknowledged the benefits which hee had receiued. He complained bitterly of the Earle of *Arran* as his enemie, and one thirsting for blood, saying that hee was apprehended by his cunning policies, being vpon the point of departure out of the Kingdome, and by him was with the hope both of life & grace which he promised him, so farre allur'd and treacherously ouer-reacht that hee confessed all that was obiected to him: and therefore those things ought not in right and equity, or any consequence, be brought against him, being by treachery and deceit extorted from him. As for the resistance which he made hee excused, because he perswaded himselfe that the letters of protection, sealed with the Kings great Seale, which hee had with him, were of greater consideration and value, then which the Earle of *Arran* had written with his owne hand for his apprehending. Hee likewise answered that hee was not so much blame-worthy, in concealing for so short a time the conspiracy against the King and his Queene-mother, as hee deserued praise at last for disclosing of it. And finally, protesting, that from his heart hee vtterly hated all witches and sorcerers, he openly said, that if there were any at all, hee verily beleeued that they liu'd in the Courts of Princes. The Peeres, after they had according to the custome sworne, that they had in no waies moued or incited the Kings Aduocate to accuse him, they pronounc't him guilty of *Lasæ Maiestatis*, and in the end his head was cut off, which by his friends was presently taken and stiched to the body, and so buried.

Book 3

He defendeth his own cause.

He is beheaded.

Euen in the same time whilst these *Scots* enterprised these things against their King, in the seruice (as they pretended) of Queene ELIZABETH, to their owne ruine. Certaine English

Booke 3.

English likewise to do seruice to the Queene of *Scots*, began to plot against their own Queene things of no lesse weight, and attended on with the like bad successe. Of which was chiefe *Francis Throckmorton* eldest son of *Iohn Throckmorton* Iudge of *Chester*, but by deuices of *Leicester* hee was degraded, and punished, because that (if I faile not in these law matters) hee had stuffed and corrected in many places a copie of iudiciall transaction taken out of the originall which was corrupted, and did not present it with all faults and defects. This *Francis* became first suspected by reason of letters which he had written to the Queene of *Scots*, and were intercepted: and therefore he was clapt into prison, where hee beginning to confesse, *Thomas* Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundell* a Courtier secretly left their Country, and fled into *France*, where they with others zealous in the Roman Religion bitterly deplored their misfortune; complaining amongst themselues that by the means of *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, they had without any desert vtterly lost the fauour of their Queene, that they were vnworthily afflicted with iniuries and opprobries, that many stratagems were deuised against them, and diuers snares laid, to force them against their owne wills and intentions to runne into the crime of *Lese Maiestatis*: neither was there any hope of helpe or succour left for them within the Kingdome. And surely at that time, that they might with more ease sound the mindes of men, there were put in practice many fraudulent deuices; counterfeit letters were suborned, in the name of the Queen of *Scots*, and the rest of the fugitiues, with their hands fasly thereto subscribed, and these were cast into the houses of the Papists. Spies were likewise sent forth to gather the dispersed rumors, and captate scattered speeches. Then reporters of tales and falsities were accepted and welcomed; and many vvere suspected: but amongst others the Earle of *Northumberland*, and his sonne, the Earle of *Arondell*, vvho vvas cõfined to his house, and his vvife vvhich was giuen

The treason of Francis Throckmorton.

The Lord Paget retyreth into France.

The complaints of the Catholikes.

Spies are suborned.

Many suspected.

giuen in keeping to *Shirley*; *G. Howard* brother to the Earle; and *H. Howard* their Vncle, brother to the Duke of Norfolke; who was oftentimes examined about Letters written from the Queene of Scots; *Charles Paget*, and a certaine fellow as then vnknowne called *Mopus*: and notwithstanding he was wise and innocent, yet he had much to doe to defend and warrant himselfe from their traps. Neither were these artificiall policies, and easie credulities to bee holden or esteemed, as things vaine; when the matter lay vpon the safeguard of the Queene. For then the detestable malice of the Papists began to manifest it selfe, publiquely divulging bookes, wherein they exhorted the seruants of the Queene to doe by her as *Iudith* to her immortall fame dealt with *Holofernes*. The Author of these bookes could not certainly be discouered; but the suspition lighted vpon one *G. Martine* of *Oxford*, a man well learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues; and one *Carter* a Booke-binder, because he caused them to be imprinted was put to death.

Booke;

The malice of the Papists against the Queene.

And forasmuch as by these books the Queens honour was much distained, and she rumoured abroad to bee tyrannous and cruell; She which aboue all things laboured and studied to leaue to the world a happy memory of her goodnesse; She was much moued and incensed against those that had knowledge of the causes which thus prouoked the Papists, as barbarously cruell, and iniurious to her honour. Insomuch that they found it needfull for them, to excuse themselues by divulged writings, importing these protestations of their part.

The clemency of the Queene towards the Papists.

THat they had alwayes entreated the Priests in a more milder fashion then they deserued, neither euer vrged any questions to them concerning Religion; but onely of their pernicious machinations against their Prince and Countrey; moued by strong suspitions with probable signes and arguments

therete. That Campian *was neuer so extremely tortured, but that hee was able to walke and subscribe his hand to his confessions. But* Brian *refusing either to speake or write his name that was author of those mysticall writings which were found about him, was kept from all food, vntill by writing he demanded it.*

But this yeelding no sufficient satisfaction to the Queene, she commanded the Commissaries that were appointed for criminall proceedings, that is to say, the examiners, to abstaine from tormenting, and the Iudges from punishing. And a short while after, those seuentie Priests, whereof some were condemned to be put to death, and all of them had incurrred the censure of the Law, shee caused to bee banished out of *England*; amongst which, the most eminent were *G. Heywood*, sonne to that famous Epigrammatist, the first Iesuite that entred into *England*; *I. Bosgraue* a Iesuite also; *I. Hart*, of singular learning aboue the rest; and *E. Richton* that monster of ingratitude, who presently after, vomited vp the poison of his malice against the Queene, to whom hee was indebted for his life, and published it in open writing.

Priests are banished.

Edward Stafford Ambassador for the Queene in *France*, diligently obserued, how the Baron of *Paget* and *Arundell* were ariued in *France*: But could not penetrate into their designes. Neuertheless he sollicited the King of *France* to expell as well them as *Morgan* and other English that were confederates and complotters against their Queene and Country. But his answer was:

Fugitiues demanded of the King of France.

The answer of the King of France.

THat if they did plot or enterprize ought in France, the King according to equitie would chastise them; but whatsoeuer they had done in England, the King would neither enquire after, nor execute the Law vpon them. That all Kingdomes were free, and open to fugitiues, and that euery King should labour to defend the liberties of his Kingdome: That

That ELIZABETH *her selfe had not long before receiued into her Realme* Montgomerie, *the Prince of* Conde, *and others of the French Nation. And that (at that time)* Seguri *the King of Nauarre his Ambassador, remained in* England, *plotting new deuices against the King of* France.

Booke 5

Whilst these things past on, *Bernardin Mendoza* Spaines Ambassador in *England*, secretly past into *France*, murmuring and raging, as if he, contrarie to the right of Ambassie, had beene fore'd out of *England*; being indeed a man of violent and turbulent nature, and hauing himselfe abused the holy and sacred rights of Ambassadors, did deserue, (according to the opinion of many) after the ancient seueritie, to bee pursued with sword and fire: Hee was commanded to depart the Realm, because he had intermixt himselfe amongst those wicked conspiracies, with *Throckmorton*, and others, that laboured for the bringing in of Strangers into *England*, and dispossessing of the Queene: for which being gently reproued, he in stead of excusing and purging himselfe by a modest reply, accused the Queene and her Councel about the money which was detained from the Geneuois, for the aide and succours which were sent to the States of the Netherlands, to the Duke of *Anjou*, and to *Antonio* King of *Pertugall*, and also for the Pyracies of *Drake*. But lest the King of *Spaine* should thinke the rights of Embassie were violated by this, and not the offence of *Mendoza* reuenged, *W. Waade* one of the Queenes Councell for the expedition of Letters, was dispatched into *Spaine*, there plainely to demonstrate how mischieuously *Mendoza* had behaued himselfe in his Ambassage. And to signifie likewise, lest the Queene should be thought by returning of *Mendoza*, to renounce the ancient friendship betweene the Kingdomes, that she was ready to performe all Offices of humanitie towards him, if the King in *Mendoza's* place would send any

The Spanish Ambassador sent out of England.

Waade is sent into Spaine.

Booke 3.

Is not receiued.

other more carefull for the maintaining of friendship. prouided that the like might be performed to her Ambassador in *Spaine*. But the King disdaining to receiue or conferre with *Waade*, referred him to his Councell. Whereat *Waade* somewhat incensed, boldly declared, that it had beene an ancient custome ouer all, that the Ambassadors should bee admitted to speake in presence euen of their enemies, and in time of Warre. And that the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, father of the King, gaue admittance to the Herald that denounced warre against him from the King of *France*, refusing to impart to the Councell the tenour of his Ambassie. Now *Idiac* Secretarie to the King of *Spaine* endeuoured himselfe much to come to the knowledge of those matters, but his Art and policies failing him, hee was fully instructed out of *France* of the whole passage by *Mendoza*. Whereupon laying aside the quality of a publike person, he familiarly declared to *Waade*, that to his griefe hee saw many men which bent all their studies to breake and seuer with mischieuous deuices the Leagues and amity of Princes and to increase their enmities. That the iniury was done to the King of Spaine himselfe, and not to Ambassadors: first on the person of *Dispez*, and then of *Mendoza*. That there was no reason why he should any more accuse *Mendoza* to the King, that had receiued for his fault (if hee committed any) sufficient punishment, being so ignominiously and disgracefully sent backe. That the Catholique King had dealt iustly in rendering like for like; and as the Queene had dismissed *Mendoza* without hearing, but appointed him to bee heard by her Councell, the King in like manner had appointed him to the Cardinall *Granuellan*. To this *Waade* made answer, that there was a large difference between himselfe that had neuer giuen the least distaste to the Catholike King, and *Mendoza* who had highly & grieuously offended the Queene, hauing insolently, a great space, disdained and refused to come neere her, and committed many things vnfitting

fitting and vnworthy an Ambassador. Notwithstanding all this, *Waade* could not bee admitted but returned into *England* without being heard. All those crimes for the most part which were obiected against *Mendoza* were taken out of the confession of *Throckmorton.* Booke 3.

For when *Throckmorton* saw himselfe at the point of being apprehended; hee sent vnto *Mendoza* a little trunke, wherein were contained his secrets; neuertheleſſe his other trunkes being diligently searched, there were found two Catalogues; in one of which were contained the names of the Ports which were most appropriate and conuenient for the landing of their troopes; in the other, the names of such Noblemen in *England*, as did entertaine and imbrace the Roman Religion. Which Catalogues when hee saw produced, he cryed out aloud, that they were things suborned, and that he neuer saw them before that time; and that they were purposely inserted into his trunke by some that plotted his destruction: and being tortured to force him confesse, hee still persisted: but tortures being applyed the second time, he confessed all that he knew; and being examined touching the Catalogues to what end they were written, he made this Declaration.

Throckmortons confession.

THat a few yeares since taking his iourney to the waters of Spaw, with one Ieney *and* Englefield, *they consulted among themselues of the meanes by which England might bee inuaded of the strangers, and the forme of the gouernment changed, and to that end the names of the Ports and Noblemen were set downe in those Catalogues. That* Morgan *had signified to him by Letters out of France, that the Catholique Princes had already deliberated vpon the inuasion, and by the auspicious succours of the Duke of Guise to set at libertie the Queene of Scots, the Guise wanting nothing but money and some helping hands in*

Booke 3.

England. That to procure these things C. Paget *vnder the assumed name of* Mopus, *was sent into* Sussex, *where the Guise had determined first to land his troops. That he had communicated the businesse, and shewed the names of the Ports and Noblemen, to* Mendoza, *who was now perfectly instructed by the rest of the conspiracie. Neither doth he deny that hee had promised his owne helpe and industry. And had also aduertised* Mendoza *with what Noblemen being a publique personage, he might conferre with; with whom, he himselfe being but a priuate man, could not without danger hold parley. And with him found the meanes by some of the principall Catholiques, to take vp souldiers in the Queenes name, then when the stranger forces should ariue, to bee ioyned with them.* These things he freely confessed.

He denieth all.

Neuertheleſſe being accuſed publikely in the Court at *London*, hee preciſely denied all, affirming that hee had ſpoken out of his owne inuention and not the truth, onely to free himſelfe from the tortures againe; and openly accuſed the Queene of cruelty, and thoſe of the Inquest of falſhood,

He seeketh an evasion.

framing an euaſion for himſelfe out of the diſtance of time which had paſſed betweene the Commiſſion of the fact, and Iudgement. For in the 13 yeare of Queene ELIZABETH, certaine offences were inſerted into the ranke of thoſe of *Læſæ Maieſtatis*, for which no man cold be brought to iudgment, if the delinquent were not accuſed within ſixe moneths after hee had offended, and the offence alſo verified by the oath of two witneſſes, or the confeſſion voluntary without conſtraint by force or violence. That the time was long ſince expired, therefore hee ought not to bee produced to iudgement. But the Iudges ſhewed him by ample demonſtrations, that the crimes of which hee was accuſed were of another quality, and therefore by vertue of an ancient

ancient Law enacted vnder the Reigne of EDWARD the 3, he was found culpable and guilty of *Lesæ Maiestatis*, which doth not admit any limitation either of time and proofe; wherupon the fatall sentence was pronounced against him. But he perswading himselfe of the mercy of the Queene, by writing againe confessed all, in more ample manner then hee had done before, all which, through his inconstancy, comming to the Gibber, he vtterly denyed, but it was all in vaine and to no auaile.

Being condemned he inlargeth his confession. About to die he denyeth all.

William Waad being returned out of *Spaine*, was about this time sent to the Queene of *Scots*, for the holding of a treatie betweene her and *Mildmay*, which two yeares since was propounded, and broken off, as already hath beene shewed. She protested to him by diuers oaths that she had seriously laboured to effect it: and also deuoted to Queene ELIZABETH, both herselfe and all her best indeauors, promising vvholly to depend of her, if she vvould vouchsafe to fauor her with such and so great loue and honour: To these she faithfully promised, that if so be this treaty might proceed, she would make intercession to her sonne, and so effectually, that he should receiue into his gratious fauor *Angus* and the rest of the Scottish Nobles, and the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Glasco* their agents in *France*, should not complot or enterprize any thing against the Queene or Realme of *England*, and that they should from thenceforth cease from the faction of the English rebels and fugitiues.

A new treaty with the Queene of Scots.

Queene ELIZABETH ioyfully receiued these newes, and seeing that the Earles of *Angus*, *Marre*, *I. Hamilton*, & *Glam*, remained at that time fugitiues in *England*, shee made vse of profered occasion, and sent *Beal*, with the Earle of *Shrewsbury* to the Queene of *Scots*, to signifie to her, that if she still persisted in the same opinion which shee had declared to *Waad*, then *Mildmay* should presently be with her, to conclude for her inlargement. And that they should worke so farre with her, that in the interim she would bee an intercessor

ropositions made to her.

he answe-ech.

cessor to her sonne the King, for the restoring of the fugitiues, and to perswade him that they had not enterprised any thing against his Maiesty, but onely against certaine rash Counsellors, that with their wicked and peruerse Counsels would corrupt his goodnesse; And finally, that they should sound her as much as possible they could, concerning the practices of the *Guise*, to which (being a woman of a prudent vnderstanding) she made this answer.

THat shee desired nothing more then that the treaty might proceed, and earnestly requested the same of the Queene as of her elder sister, to whom she should giue all respect and honour. That shee had not spoken any thing to Wade *but vnder certain conditions, and she perswaded herselfe that hee was a man freely honest and iust, and would not speake otherwise. As for the restoring of the fugitiues, she thought her helpe very behouefull, and would not faile therein, if there would redound or to her, or to her son any profit or good, and if they would with all humility submit themselues to the King, and yeeld obedience to him: but if not, that the Queene would not assist them, but her sonne, that they might be reduced into order. Furthermore not to dissemble, That she when shee was in a sickly estate, committed herselfe and her sonne, to the faith of their neere kinsman, the Duke of* Guise: *but as for his vndertakings against the Queene she was altogether ignorant; neither, if she had full knowledge thereof would she reueale ought, except she might be certainely secur'd of her liberty, knowing it to be but a smal signe of wisdome to forsake certaine friends for vncertaine hopes. She intreated that she being a free Princesse might not be more cruelly dealt with all, then was Queene* ELIZABETH *being a subiect and imprisoned by her sister Queene* MARIE: *or then the King of*

France

France *not long before dealt with* Nauarre, *being his subiect and rebelling against him. Shee desired also, that the treaty might be brought to some end, before any messenger were sent into* Scotland *about those affaires. And forasmuch as the most Christian King had acknowledged her ordinary Ambassador, and* Seton *whom her sonne sent into* France, *to be Ambassadors from Princes of equall and the same authority, she requested the Queene giuing her that honour that she would, without any preiudice, cause that association of her and her sonne to be published in* Scotland.

Booke 3.

She demandeth to be associated in the Kingdome with her sonne.

The treaty dissolued by surmises.

These things had a good hearing, but soone by obiections of feares frustrated, which were interposed by those that well knew how to increase hatred betweene incensed women: but aboue all, by produced papers, which *Chreicton* a Scottish Iesuit, sayling into *Scotland*, and being apprehended by certaine Pyrates did teare in peeces. But these torne Papers being cast ouer-boord, were by a wind (as *Chreicton* also verified) miraculously blowne into the ship againe; and by *Waad* with great labour and artificiall skill were collected and ioyned together, wherein were discouered new counsels and plots of the Pope, Spaniard, and Guise for the inuading of *England*.

This and the various rumours of imminent dangers that were dispersed abroad, were the causes, that to cut off the way to all wicked designes, and ambushes of sedition, and to prouide for the safety of the Queene, vpon whom both the Realme and Religion depended; by the deuice of *Leicester*, most men of all estates and conditions through whole *England*, which were not possest with feare of her, but for her, did binde themselues by a generall loue with their mutuall vowes, subscriptions, and seales in a certaine association to persecute withall their powers euen to the death all such (whatsoeuer they were) as should plot or attempt any thing against her.

An association begun in England.

ook e 3.
he Queen
Scots
aketh new
opositi-
s.

The Queene of Scots easily vnderstood, that in this generall Association her owne ruine was comprehended: therefore being wearied with her long continued misery, and fearing yet worse, She made this proposition by *Nane* her Secretary, to the Queene and her Councell.

THat if shee could obtaine her libertie, with an euident testimony of loue and sincere affection of the part of Queene ELIZABETH; *Shee would contract and confirme a most straight League of amity with her, and most officiously cherish and affect her aboue all Christian Princes, and blot out of her memory all iniury and offences. She would acknowledge her the true and lawfull Queene of England, and neuer pretend or take vpon her any claime or right to the Crowne during her life, neither would shee euer enterprise any thing either directly or indirectly against her; but for euer renounce all interest in the title and Armes of* England, *which by the command of* Francis *her husband, and the Popes Buls of deposition, she arrogated vnto her selfe. Yea furthermore, would be included in that association, and defensiue League for the Queenes saueguard, without preiudice to that ancient alliance which hath been betweene* France *and* Scotland. *Prouided that nothing be enterprised, during the life of Queene* ELIZABETH, *or after her death, to the preiudice of her, her sonne, and their heires in the succession, before it were first declared before the assembly of the Estates of England. She would for the confirmation of these things, remaine in England for a time as a pledge, and if so be she might bee permitted to depart out of England, she would leane other hostages. Furthermore, she would not alter any thing in Scotland, onely she desired that shee and those of her Family might be suffered to haue the free vse of*

their

their Religion, in her owne house. Shee would forget and forgiue all iniuries, which shee had receiued in Scotland (with this condition): that whatsoever had beene raised to her infamy and disgrace, might be abolished. Shee would recommend to the King such Counsellors as she knew to be studious of peace with England. She would reconcile the fugitiue Noblemen, if it were possible for her: if also they would submissiuely acknowledge their fault, and if the Queene of England would promise to assist the King against them, if after their reconciliation they should fall from obedience. As for the mariage of her sonne, shee would doe nothing without the priuitie of the Queene. Shee desired that because she would doe nothing without the counsell and consent of her sonne, he might be ioyned in this treatie for the more solid and firme assurance thereof. Shee doubted not, but the King of France would intercede, and conioyntly oblige his faith with the Princes of Loraine *to entertaine and effect the conuentions thereof. Shee entreats for a mature and happy answer, lest any discommoditie or hindrance should fall betweene. And finally, requested that shee might bee allowed a little more liberally in her imprisonment; whereby shee might clearely perceiue the loue of the Queene towards her.*

Booke 3.

Queene ELIZABETH seemed to take a great delight in these things, as being full of courtesie and honour, and was then almost perswaded to grant her libertie: but there were some in *England* that with new propositions & apprehensions of strange doubts, did dissuade her. But the matter being almost knowne all ouer, those Scots of the aduerse faction did labour to trouble and hinder the same, Crying out, that it would be the finall ruine of Queene ELIZABETHS safety if shee were set at liberty, of both the King-

The Scots of the English faction oppose them

Booke 3.

domes, if she were admitted to the administration of Scotland conioyntly with her sonne: and lastly of the true Religion through Great Britaine, if she were onely permitted to exercise the Roman Religion.

The insolencie of the Scotch Ministers.

Not contented with this, certaine Ministers in *Scotland* after they had charged the Queen with slanders and calumnies, euen in their Pulpits & common assemblies, they vehemently & bitterly exclaimed against the King and his Counsell: whereupon being commanded to appeare before them, with disdaine and contempt they refused it. As if the Pulpits were exempt from the authoritie of Kings, and Ecclesiasticall persons subiect not to the command of the Prince, but of the Presbytery; contrarie to the Lawes enacted the same yeare by the assembly of the estates, wherein was confirmed the Kings authoritie for euer ouer all his subiects, as well Ecclesiasticall, as Lay-men, that is, the King and his Councell to be sit and competent Iudges in all causes; and whosoeuer denyed or refused the same, to be holden guilty *Læsæ Maiestatis*. The assemblies of Ecclesiasticall persons as well generall as speciall (as also those of the Lay-men) wherein they arrogated to themselues an infinite power of calling of an assembly at their owne pleasure, against the Kings consent, in which they would prescribe lawes to the King and Kingdome, were vtterly prohibited and abolished. The popular equalitie of Ministers was abrogate. The authoritie and iurisdiction of Bishops (whose calling the Presbyters condemned as Antichristian) was established. And all defamatory writings against the King, the Queene his Mother, and the Councell, were interdicted: And namely the History of *Buchanan*, and the Dialogue of the right of the Kingdome, as containing many things worthy to bee condemned and extirpate.

Against the Lawes.

Ecclesiasticall Lawes of Scotland.

Buchanans writings reproued.

Some of the Ministers receiued these things with such impatience, that they streight left their Countrey, and powred out their complaints and griefes throughout al *England*, as

as if the True Religion had now beene chased out of *Scotland*. But Queene ELIZABETH with a deafe eare neglected them, deeming of them as authors of nouation; neither would she permit them to preach in *England*: neuertheless she made vse of them to hinder all preiudice and detriment which the Religion in *Scotland* might receiue. And likewise when the Earle of *Arran* was with all respect imployed for the conseruation of the amity with *England*; Shee thought they would opportunely serue to the purpose, that the fugitiue Scots might not be banisht from the assemblies which were instantly to be holden, nor the King diuerted from the friendship of the English. Whereupon a parley was appointed betweene the Earle of *Arran* and *Hunsdon* Gouernor of *Barwicke*. But before it was holden, the fugitiues, and all those which were in the expedition with *Sterlin*, were banished from the Assemblies, which were hastily to be Conuocated. Whom *Arran* likewise in his Parley which presently followed, charged with many weighty accusations; and amongst the rest, that they had of new conspired the ruine of the King. But he deuoutly promised, not to pretermit any thing which hee thought would content and pleasure Queene ELIZABETH; neither would he doe any thing that might endamage her, so long as he remained in grace and fauour with the King. Notwithstanding these things, the Scottish borderers (by the priuat practices of the Spaniard, who laboured to withhold Queen ELIZABETH from the Flemmish warres) being a moneth after brought into *Rhedisdale*, performed there all the deeds of hostilitie; the bordering English in like manner with fire and slaughter reuenged themselues of that iniurie vpon *Liddesdall*.

A fained conference.

The Scots and English make incursions one vpon another.

Then was sent Ambassador from *Scotland Patricke Gray* heire of that Family, a complete yong man, that thought himselfe equall, if not exceeding, for the dispatch of greatest affaires. The especiall tenour of his Ambassie was for the repressing

The Ambassie of Patricke Gray.

Booke 3. repressing of the incursions on both sides, for the restoring of goods taken by Pyracie, and for the reconciling (according to the League) of the Scottish fugitiues, or else remouing of them from the frontiers of *Scotland*, because they continually inuented new stratagems, with other of their confederacie in *Scotland*, against the King. And the better to obtaine these demands, and incline the Queenes mind and affection towards the King more fully, hee promised to discouer hidden enterprises that were plotted against the Queene. To the first and second Article she answered as she thought fitting, but as for the sending backe of the fugitiues she thus replyed:

THat she was verily perswaded, that those Noblemen had not so much as entertained a thought of enterprizing any mischiefe, & that that vprore which so happened in Scotland, *proceeded not from any euill intent to the King, but of the mutuall discords which dayly arise amongst the Nobilitie about the vnder-age of the King, and therefore that belonged to the King to appease, and to tye his subiects to him (by suppressing factions) in one bond of obedience.*

Yet that shee might in some sort yeeld satisfaction to the Kings iust Petition, and also receiue intelligence of those secret practices, which hee spoke of, shee commanded the Scottish fugitiues to remoue themselues farther from the limits. But the Queene made shew, that what he had reuealed then vnto her, she had knowledge of before. Whereupon arose a suspition amongst many, that the Ambassador had beene hyred by some, to disclose something to the preiudice of the King and his mother, and had oppos'd against the acceptance of these most iust conditions, which the mother of the King had proposed by her Secretary *Naue*.

Hee is suspected of bad dealing.

Whereupon

Whereupon the patience of the Queene Mother that had so oftentimes beene deluded, began now to breake out into flames of griefe and indignation, and the desire which shee had to obtaine her libertie, caused her to lay open her eares and minde to all the pernicious counsels of her friends or enemies. And so much the rather, because, she perswaded her selfe, that the generall association was deuised to take her life from her, because likewise she had intelligence, that by the practices, of someshee was to be remoued from the custodie of the Earle of *Shrewsbury* (who was a iust man, and one that no wayes fauoured their designe) and deliuered into the hands of new guardians. But to bring this more fairely about, lest the singular fidelitie and trust of the Earle of *Shrewsbury* might be thought to be suspected, for it was not thought good to offend the reputation of so great a personage, (albeit it had been diminished with priuate calumnies, by the reproachfull criminations of his importunate wife) certaine suspitions were collected of some designes for her deliuery, through certaine Emblemes which were sent vnto her, importing thus. *Argus* with his many eyes cast into a sleepe by *Mercury*, sweetly playing vpon his Flute, with this Motto.

Booke 3.

The patience of the Queene of Scots offended.

Eloquium tot lumina clausit,
Vn Beau Discours à ferme aultant de
Lumieres.

Mercurius beheading *Argus*, keeper or watcher of *Io*: A yong branch set in an old stocke, and bound about with cords, whereabout was written:

Per vincula cresco,
Ie crois Par les liens.

Booke 3.

A Palme depressed, yet rising againe; with these words;

Ponderibus virtus innata resistit.
La vertù qui vient de Naissance
resiste à l'oppresion.

That Anagram also gaue much distaste;

{ARMATA VERITAS.}
{MARIA STEVARTA.}

Besides all this, Letters were produced, as though intercepted, wherein the friends of the Queen Prisoner did complaine, that they should be depriued of all hope of libertie, if she were deliuered into the custody of Puritans. Vnder this collected pretext, shee was withdrawne from the Earle of *Shrewsbury* (which he had often desired) and committed to the custody of *Drugon Drurey* with others: And that of purpose (as some supposed) that thereby being driuen to despaire, she might be made the readier to entertaine mischieuous counsels, and deuices, and so brought into the Ambushes, which were prepared for her. For the Earle of *Shrewsbury* had beene her guardian for fifteene yeares with such watchfull and warie prouidence, that hee left no place or space for her to enterprise ought against others: nor for others to plot any thing against her. Then shee sollicited with much importunitie the *Pope* of *Rome* and the Spaniard, by *Inglefield*, to finish with all mature expedition, what they had begunne, whatsoeuer betided her. And *Leicester* (who was thought to labour in the peruerting of the lawfull succession) priuately sent murderers (as some report) to dispatch her out of the way. But *Drury* more respecting honesty, and equity, in his heart hated those trecherous designes, would not suffer any to haue access vnto her. Some priuate messengers neuertheless conueyed Letters, some

She is committed to new guardians.

She earnestly seeketh for liberty.

Things plotted against her.

some true, some false vnto her, by which she might be transported, through the imbecility of her sex, to a pernicious ruine, as shall hereafter be related.

That the loue of Queene ELIZABETH might wholy be diuerted from her, it was whispered in her eares, how that *Alan* for the Ecclesiasticall Catholickes of *England*; *Ingl.field* for the Lay Catholickes, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of *Scots*, by common suffrages, and with the consent of the Pope and Spaniard, had decreed to spoile Queene ELIZABETH of her Kingdome; to disinherite the King of *Scotland* from the same, as manifested Hereticks; to giue the Queene of *Scots* in mariage to a Catholicke Nobleman of *England*; and by the English Catholicks to elect him King, which Election should by the Pope bee confirmed, his children by the Queene of *Scots* to bee openly declared legitimate successours to the Crowne of *England*, and all these things by the faith of one *Hart* a Priest. Who this Englishman should be, *Walsingham* studiously indeauoured to find, but to no purpose: but the suspicion lighted vpon *H. Howard* brother to the Duke of *Norfolke*, one of the Nobilitie, not maried, a great Papist, and mightily fauoured of the Papists.

Counsell holden amongst the Papists.

This yeare obscurely dyed in miserable exile *C. Neuill*, that perfidious rebell against his Prince and Country, being the last Earle of *Westmerland* out of that family, which hath beene so fertile in Nobility, that besides sixe Earles of *Westmerland*, haue sprung of the same name, two Earles of *Salisburie* and of *Warwicke* one Earle of *Kent*, one Marquesse of *Montague*, one D. of *Bedford*, one Baron *Ferrers* of *Ousley*, diuers Barons of *Latimer* and *Abergauenny*, a Queene, fiue Duchesses; omitting Countesses and Baronnesses, with the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and a copious off-spring of Nobility.

The death of the Earle of Westmerland.

NEVILL a most noble, most ancient and illustrious name.

In *England* none dyed more worthy of memory, then *Edmund Plowden*, who as in the knowledge of the Lawes of *England*, of which he well deserued in his writings, he was

The death of Plowden.

Booke 3.

aboue others excellent, so in integrity of liuing amongst those of his profession he was second to none.

Alancon dyeth.

But in *France*, *Francis* Duke *d'Alançon* left the world, forced by a malady proceeding of the griefe of mind: and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, who with three bullets from a Pistoll was shot through the body.

The Prince of Orange is slaine.

Queene ELIZABETH much lamented the death of these two, and dispatch into *France* B. to signifie to the King how greiuously she bore the death of the Duke whom shee had found a deare and faithfull friend; likewise to aduertise him of the afflicted estate of the *Netherlands* by the losse of the Prince of *Orange*, and the terrible puissance of the Spaniard, hauing all the Princes of *Italy* at his deuotion, the Pope most affected to him, the Cardinalls as it were his vassals, and many braue and singular men both for peace and warre vnder his pay; that the house of *Austria* in *Germany* was farre and wide extended, hauing all other families allyed to it by mariage, at all times at their seruice; that by the late addition of *Portugall*, and the East *India*, his wealth and forces were so augmented both by sea and land; that he was beeome farre more powerfull and redoubted, then euer *Charles* his father was; and that he would goe neere, if once hee had brought the *Netherlands* vnder his power, to subiect all the rest of the Princes of Christendome to his greatnesse, vnlesse hee were in time preuented.

The power of Spaine growne terrible.

THE

THE EIGHT AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXV.

QVeen ELIZABETH to oblige the King of *France* in a ſtricter bond of friendſhip vnto her, hauing the precedent yeare adopted him one of the Order of the Garter, ſhee ſent *Henry* Earle of *Darby* into *France* with the rites belonging to the ſame order, there more ſolemnly to inueſt him. With great honor he receiued them, and at euening prayers was inueſt therewith: but the Engliſh refuſed to be preſent at the Maſſe: and with holy vowes hee promiſed to obſerue the lawes of the Order; in all points wherein they were not oppoſite to the order of the holy Ghoſt, and S. *Michael*, to which he was before ſworne.

The French King inueſted with the order of the Garter.

At the ſame time a Court of Parliament was aſſembled and holden, wherein *Will. Parry* by birth a Welchman, of obſcure parentage and meane fortunes, by his ſtile a Doctor

Booke 3.

of the Law, but indued with little learning, a man puffed vp, and haughty in mind, very spruse and neat, was of the inferiour house, where hearing a Law demanded against the Iesuits, he onely opposed it, declaiming, that the law was cruell, bloudy, and pernicious to the nation: the reasons being demanded of him, he obstinately refused, except it were in the presence of the Councell royall: whereupon hee was committed to custody; but his reasons being heard, and submission made, hee was againe admitted into the Court. Then presently after, hee was accused of priuate conspiracy against the Queenes life, by *Edmond Neuill*, who layd claime to the inheritance of the *Neuills* Earles of *Westmerland*, and the title of Baron of *Latimer*, as being the next heire male.

s accused f treason.

This *Parry* (to relate from the depth of the matter) two yeares before, returning from *Italy*, to insinuate himselfe into the Queenes grace, and obtaine credit with her, he secretly made knowne vnto her, that *Morgan* and other fugitiues had mischieuously consulted vpon her death; feigning that he had dealt amongst them to no other end, but to discouer intents, and prouide for the Queenes safety. This was the cause that induced her to giue little credit to *Neuills* accusation; Neuertheless she cõmanded *Walsingham* to examine *Parry*, if that he had (to make proofe hereof) treated with any malecontent or suspected persõ. He plainly denied it, neither (being in other matters of a sharpe apprehension) could he perceiue the euasion which the lenity of the Queene had laid open to him. For had he affirmed that he had dealt with *Neuill* (only to vndermine him) whom before, he had certified the Queene to bee a malecontent and suspected person, doubtlesse he had freed himselfe from danger. But mischiefe once conceiued doth dazell the sight of the most acute vnderstanding. *Neuill* wanting witnesses was brought face to face with *Parry*, who after many sharpe and bitter speeches on both sides, began to giue way, and was committed

le perceiith not the ation.

mitted to the Tower of *London*, where he voluntarily made his confession, which in a few words I will comprise. Booke 3

IN the yeare (quoth he) 1570 *being admitted (after my oath taken) into the number of the Queenes seruants, I remained affectionately deuoted to her Maiesty vntill the yeare* 1580, *at which time I was with much ignominy brought in question of my life.* (For he violently had entred into the Chamber of *Hugh Hare* to whom he was indebted, & grieuously wounded him, for which by law being condemned, by the Queens gratious pardon he was acquitted) *From thenceforth I liued much discontented in minde, but obtaining license, I passed into* France, *with a resolution neuer to returne, because I was much addicted to the Catholique religion. At* Paris *I reconciled my selfe to the Romane Church: at* Venice *I had conference with* Benedict Palmy *a Iesuit, concerning the afflicted Catholiques in* England; *and I affirmed that I had bethought of a meanes to ease them, if the Pope, or some other Theologians would instruct and satisfie me whether the deed were lawful or not.* Palmy *praised my intent as a worke of piety, and recommended me to* Campege *the Popes Nuncio at* Venice, Campege *to the Pope. I demanded Letters to goe to* Rome *vnder the publique faith. The Cardinall* Comese *deliuered Letters to me; but being somewhat too briefe and succinct, I demanded others of more ample contents, which I likewise receiued. But then I returned to* Paris; *where I incountred* Morgan; *who gaue me to vnderstand, that there were some that did expect, that I should vndertake some notable peece of seruice, for God and the Catholique Church. I answered, I was ready at any time euen to kill the greatest subiect in England. And (replyeth he) why not the Queene her selfe? That*

His confession.

He consulteth with Iesuits about the murthering of the Queene.

With the Popes Nuncio.

With Morgan.

(qd. I) *may with ease be done: if so be it were manifested to me a deed lawfull: because* Wiat *a Priest (with whom concealing the persons, I had conference hereof) assured me that it was not.* (And *Chreicton* a Scot dissuaded me, teaching mee, that mischiefe should not bee done that good might come of it; that God was better pleased with Aduerbs then with Nownes; that a deed be well and lawfully done, then that the deed is good: Neither if I could redeeme many soules by the destruction of one, were I to doe it, without the expresse commandement of God:) *Neuertheless hauing bound my selfe and my faith by my Letters and promises in* Italy, *I thought it would be a crime vnpardonable, now to desist, if onely the Pope would by his Letters approue the same, and grant me a plenary Indulgence, which I with Letters requested of the Pope by* Ragalon *his Nuncio in France, who much applauded my designe. Being returned into England, I obtained access to the Queene; to whom, in priuate, I vnfolded the whole conspiracie, yet couered ouer with the best Art I could. Shee heard all without any alteration by feare; but I departed with much terrour, neither shall I euer forget what then shee spake;* That the Catholikes should not be called in question either about their Religion, or the primacie of the *Pope*, so long as they were obedient and good subiects. *In the meane time as I dayly laboured in the Court for the gouernment of Saint* Katherines: *I receiued Letters from the Cardinall* Comense, *wherein I found mine enterprize much commended, and an absolution in the Popes name. This I likewise imparted to the Queen. What effect it wrought with her I know not. But it gaue fresh courage to mee, and remoued all scruple. Neuertheless I had no will to offer any violence to the Queene, if she would be persuaded*

swaded to deale more mildly with the Catholiques. But so often as I was to come into her presence, I laid aside my dagger, lest I should be transported to murder her. And when I considered her person, and her truely royall vertues, I was distracted with many doubtfull cares: for my vowes were recorded in heauen, my Letters and promises amongst men. These things did often tosse ouer in my vnquiet minde; She neuer deserued well of mee, indeed she saued my life, but if in such a cause had shee taken it away, it had beene tyrannie. Thus being discontented with my estate and condition, I left the Court. At last I happened on a booke of Alans *against the Iustice of Great Britaine, out of which I was taught, That Princes excommunicate for heresie, might be lawfully deprived both of rule and life: This vehemently incited me to prosecute my purpose. This to* Neuil *(whom I had inuited to my table) I read ouer, six whole moneths before he did accuse me. After this he came home to me. And let vs heare (quoth hee) somewhat, since we can obtaine nothing of the Queen, and so he propounded some things concerning the releasing of the Queene of Scots. But (quoth I) a matter of more weight, and more aduantagious to the Catholique Church, is now hammered in my head. The next day he likewise visited me, and touching the Bible with his hand he did sweare, he would conceale and constantly pursue all whatsoeuer that might bee profitable to the Catholique Religion; I in the same manner took mine oath. So we determined with ten Knights more, to set vpon the Queene as shee rid through the fields, and there to murder her, which thing till now he hath concealed. But receiuing newes of the Earle of* Westmerlands *death; being transported with the hope of succeeding him; he forthwith, violating his oath, discouered and accused me.* This was his confession in

Booke 3.

He waueretb in his minde.

Alans book addeth fresh courage to him.

Neuil offereth him his helpe.

He discloseth the matter.

Booke 3.

in the presence of the Lord of *Hunsdon* and *Fra Walsingham* Priuy Counsellors to the Queene, ac knowledging his fault, he craued pardon by his Let ters to the Queene, to *Burghley* the chiefe Treasu rer, and to the Earle of *Leicester*.

Parry is arraigned.

A few daies after, being brought to iudgement in the Pa lace of *Westminster*; and the Articles of his accusation being read, he confessed himself guilty. His confession being recor ded in the Acts, Iudgment was demanded to be pronounce against him, confessing himselfe guilty. Whereupon *Hatto* thought it expedient, to satisfy the multitude there presen that the crime might openly bee declared according to hi confession; which *Parry* of his owne accord confirmed, an desired the Iudges that he might reade it himselfe. But th Clerk of the Crowne did read it, with the letters of Card nall *Comese*, & those which *Parry* had writ to the Queene to *Burghley* & to *Leicester*; which he acknowledged for true yet he denyed that he euer had any absolute determinatio to kill the Queene. But being commanded to speake if h had any thing to hinder iudgement from being pronounce against him, hee disturbedly answered, as tormented in h conscience for the crime which he had vndertaken, and sai *I see plainely that I must dye, because I was not fast and co stant in my resolution.* Being commanded to speake his me ning more amply. *My blood* (quoth he) *be vpon you.* So th sentence of death being pronounced, he began to rage, ar summoned the Queene to Iudgement before God.

The fift day after, he was set vpon a Slead, and drawn through the middest of the Citie to Westminster: being the place of his execution, after he had vaunted how faith full a guardian he had beene vnto the Queene, hee said h neuer had any intention to take her life away. Thus boasting manner, not in a word committing himselfe God, he was punisht like a Traytor according to the Law

Punished with death.

in the great Palace yard at Westminster, where the States of the Kingdome were in great number assembled for the holding of the Parliament.

In this Parliament, some, either out of a desire of nouation, or reformation, earnestly persecuted the Ecclesiasticall estate: (although the Queene had forbidden it) demanding lawes to represse the iurisdiction of Bishops, in that which concerned the gift of *Faculties*, in the Collation of the holy Orders, Ecclesiasticall Censures, and the oath they take in their office: proposing a new oath to be taken in the Chancery, and Kings Bench: that is, they should not countermand the ciuil Law of *England*. They required that euery Pastor should be resident in his owne Church; and declared that the Church of *England* was destitute of learned teachers: when without doubt it could then number vp more learned Diuines, then any former age, or any other reformed Church. But the Queene fauouring aboue all, the Ecclesiasticall moderation, reproued those Nouators, as changing still to worse, and reiected their demands and propositions, as intended to subuert her Prerogatiue, and soueraigne power ouer Ecclesiasticall matters. But as for the Association (which I haue spoken of) it was by the suffrages of all confirmed, and established;

Booke.

Lawes demanded in the Parliament against Bishops.

Against Non-residents.

The association established.

THat foure and twenty or more of the Queenes Priuy Counsell, or of the Nobilitie, chosen by the Queenes Letters Patents, should make inquest after those, that would inuade the Kingdome, incite rebellion, or attempt to offend or offer violence to the Queenes Person, for or by any one whomsoeuer that shall lay claime to the Crowne of England. And that he for whom or by whom any such thing is attempted, shall be altogether vncapable of the Crowne of England, *and depriued of all right, and pursued to the death by all the Queenes subiects: if by these foure and*

Booke 3.

twenty Noblemen they shall be iudged culpable of inuasion, rebellion, offence, or violence, and so publikely declared.

Lawes against Iesuits and Priests.

Lawes also were enacted for the defence of the Queene against the Iesuites and Popish Priests; which did then inuent by the Bull of *Pius Quintus* the Pope, many mischieuous and dangerous matters; That is to say:

That they should depart the Realme within fortie dayes. And that those which should after that time come or stay in the Kingdome, should bee holden guilty of Læsæ Maiestatis: *And all such as wittingly or willingly did receiue or nourish them, should be guilty of* Felony. (For so are all capitall Crimes vnder *Læsæ Maiestatis* called:) *That those which were brought vp amongst the Seminaries, if they returned not within sixe moneths after the denunciation made, and submitted themselues to the Queene in the presence of a Bishop, or two Iustices, should be holden guilty of* Læsæ Maiestatis. *But of those that submitted, if within ten yeares after they should approach nearer to the Court of the Queene then ten thousand paces, their submission should be void. That those that should any manner of way send money to the Seminary students, should bee* Præmunire. *lyable to the punishment of Præmunire* (that is perpetual exile, with the losse of their goods) *if any of the Peeres of the Realme, that is, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Lords, shall transgresse these Lawes, hee shall vndergoe the iudgement of the Peeres. Whosoeuer shall haue knowledge that any Iesuites, and such as haue any secret abode within the Kingdome, and not make discouery of them within twelue dayes, shall be punished according to the Queenes pleasure, and abide imprisonment. If any one shall be suspected of the num-*

ber

ber of those Iesuites or Priests, and shall not submit himselfe to Examination, he shall for his contempt be imprisoned, vntill he shall submit. Whosoeuer shall send his children or others, to the Seminaries and Colledges of the Popish profession, shall be amerced a hundred pounds of English money. All such as shall be sent thither, if they returne not within a yeare, and conforme themselues to the Church of England, shall be deprived of all succession, and inioying of goods, in what manner soeuer they shall fall vnto them. If the Wardens of the Ports shall permit any other but Saylors and Merchants to passe beyond the Seas, without Licence from the Queene, or sixe of her Counsell; they shall bee deprived of their offices, and the Masters of such Ships shall bee punished with the losse of their goods, and of their voyage, besides imprisonment for a whole yeare.

Booke 3.

The Earle of Arundel resolueth with himselfe to fly out of England.

The seuerity of these lawes (which were thought for those times no more then needfull) did much terrifie the Papists of *England*; and amongst others, *Phil. Howard* Earle of *Arundell*, the eldest sonne to the Duke of *Norfolke*, was in such sort affrighted, that he resolued, lest hee should offend against them, to leaue the Kingdome. Three yeares before, he was by the gracious bounty of the Queene reestablished in the Rights and Honours of his father. But a short while after, being secretly accused by some of the Nobility, and men of power, he was deprived of her fauour; so being priuately deuoted to the *Roman* Religion, hee embraced an austere course of liuing. This was the reason that hee was twice called before the Priuy Counsell, and notwithstanding that he iustified himselfe against all obiections, yet was he commanded to confine himselfe within his owne house. Six moneths after, or thereabouts, being established in his right, he entred in to the assembled Parliament; but the first day before the speech vvas ended, hee vvithdrew

Booke 3.

He writeth to the Queene.

himselfe. The Parliament ended, he being as it were certain of his escape; hee writ Letters to the Queene (which hee commanded should be deliuered after his departure) wherein was contained a long and sorrowfull complaint

OF the malice of his aduersaries, to which hee was forced of necessitie to giue way, because they began to triumph ouer his innocency. A remonstration of the vnfortunate deaths of his Ancestors. First of his great Grandfather, who was condemned without answering for himselfe, then of his Grandfather, who lost his head for matters of small moment; and lastly of his father, who was circumuented by his enemies; but neuer transported with hate to his Queene or Countrey. And a Declaration, that lest he should proue an heire to his fathers infelicitie, that hee might more freely apply himselfe to the seruice of God, and prouide for his soules health, hee had left his countrey, but not his dutifull allegeance to the Queene.

Is apprehended.

Before these Letters were deliuered, he went into *Sussex*, where being about to imbarke himselfe, by the treacherie of his men, and discouerie of the Pilot, hee vvas apprehended, and committed to the Tower of *London*.

The Earle of Northumberland is found dead.

In the Tower at that time remained prisoner *Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland* (brother to *Thomas* that lost his head at *Yorke*) a man full of a quicke vvit, and haughty courage, suspected, priuately to haue consulted with *Throckmorton*, the Lord *Paget*, and the *Guise*, concerning the inuading of *England*, and freeing of the Queene of Scots, to whom he had alwayes borne great affection. In the moneth of Iune he was found dead in his bed, being shot through with three bullets vnder the left pappe, the doore of his chamber being barred to him on the inside.

The

The next neighbouring Enquest sworne after the manner by the Coroner, hauing searched the body, considered the place; and finding a Pistoll in the Chamber with Gunpowder, they examined the seruant that bought the Pistol, with him that sold the same. Whereupon they pronounced the Earle murderer of himselfe. The third day after, the Nobilitie vvere assembled in the Starre-chamber, where *Tho. Bromley* Chancelor of *England* succinctly declared, that the Earle had treacherously consuked against the Queene and his Countrey; which he perceiuing to be discouered, and terified with the guiltinesse of his conscience which conuinced him, he became his owne murderer. But to satisfie the multitude, which is alwaies credulous of the worst, he commanded the Queenes Attourney, and her Counsellors at Law, plainely to vnfold the causes of his imprisonment, and the manner of his death. Whereupon *Popham* chiefe Attourney to the Queene beginning from the rebellion raised in the North parts sixteene yeares before, demonstrated by the publique Acts;

Booke 3. The Coroners Enquest.

The causes of his imprisonment manifested.

THat hee was arraigned for the rebellion, and for consulting of the freedome of the Queene of Scots: That he had acknowledged his fault, and submitted himselfe, and was therefore amerced fiue thousand Markes. But the Queene (such was her gracious clemencie) exacted not a peny from him: and after that his brother had beene deseruedly punished for the same Crime; the Queene confirmed him in the honour of Earle of Northumberland. *Neuertheleſſe, hee vndertooke new counsels for the deliuering of the Queene of Scots, the inuading of* England, *and ouerthrowing of the Religion and the Queene. That* Mendoza *the Spaniard had giuen intelligence to* Throckmorton, *that* Charles Paget *vnder the name of* Mopus, *had in priuate treated*

Booke 3.

with him concerning these matters in Sussex: *That the Lord* Paget *had likwise signified the selfe-same thing to* Throckmorton, *and was also manifested by the Papers of* Chreicton *a Scottish Iesuite; and that* Charles Paget *had declared all to* Shelley *at his returne out of France*, After this *Egerton* the Queens Sollicitor demonstrated, that by the circumstances, & suspitious care which the Earle had to keepe himselfe secret and close, he shewed himselfe guilty of these matters, that is to say, *That the Earle, knowing none of those to bee in* England *that could accuse him but the Lord* Paget *(whom* Throckmorton *had familiarly entertained) a few dayes after that* Throckmorton *was intercepted, he prepared by the helpe of* Shelley *a Ship for* Paget *to passe into* France. *That so soone as* Throckmorton *had begunne to make confession, hee retired from* London *to* Penworth, *and forthwith sent for* Shelley *to him; signifying to him that hee was at that instant in danger both of life and fortunes, hee entreated him to conceale the matter, and to cause them to retire that were knowing of the departure of the Lord* Paget, *and the arriuall of* Cha: Paget; *all which hee presently dispatched, and likewise remoued a farre off the seruant that hee had vsed betweene* C. Paget *and himselfe.* The Sollicitor further *added, That being a Prisoner hee had corrupted his Keepers, and by their meanes gaue* Shelley *to vnderstand all what hee had confessed. That* Shelley *also, by a woman which was hyred to be a priuate messenger betweene them; let him know, that he could no longer abstaine from confessing; that their conditions were farre vnequall, because hee should bee forced by torments; but the Earle by reason of his place and order not, therefore sent him the copie of his confession. Whereat the Earle groaned, and would often*

say,

say, (as Pantin *the seruant of his Bed-chamber confessed) that by the confession of* Shelley *he was vndone for euer.*

After this, the manner of his death was by testimony of the Coroners inquest, of the Lieutenant of the Tower, and of *Pantin*, openly declared: and from thence was gathered that he for feare lest his house should bee vtterly subuerted, and himselfe dishonored, had dispatched himselfe. Certes diuers good men much sorrowed that so great a personage should perish by so miserable a death; being induced thereto partly because they naturally fauoured Nobility, and partly because he had obtained much praise by his valor. What the suspicious fugitiues muttered against a certaine Bailiffe a seruitor of *Hatton*, who a little before was appointed one of the Earles keepers, I will ouer-passe, as not certainely knowne. Neither doe I esteeme it fit to insert any vncertaine things, or vaine heare-sayes.

The Earle of Northumberland is lamented of diuers.

Queene ELIZABETH hauing seene the open conspiracies of the *Guises*, against the Protestant Religion, the King of *France*, and her selfe, well perceiued whence, and by whom these mischiefes were dispersed through *England*. Shee to oppose their designes, and to contract a league amongst the Protestants, for the defence of the Religion; sent *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmarke*, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenbergh*, *Brunswicke*, *Lunbourgh*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Landsgrane* of *Hessen*. And amongst other things she commanded him to aduertise the King of *Denmarke*, that it behoued him aboue the rest to oppose the practices of the *Guise*, because they haue made no question to claime the Kingdome of *Denmarke* as their kinsmans right for the duke of *Lorraine*, as being son to the daughter of *Christierne* the 2, King of *Denmarke*, neither did the Duke of *Lorraine* himselfe dissemble the same, then when not long before he labour

Queene Elizabeth laboureth to contract a league with the Prince of Germany.

Booke 3.

The like with the King of Scots.

boured to obtaine the Queene in mariage.

And to prouide, least any danger should breake through *Scotland* as through a backe doore into *England*, shee sent *Edward Wotton* to signifie to the King, how acceptably she embraced the declaration of his loue to her, by *Patricke Gray*, and by Iustice *Cleric*. And to draw him to a mutuall League of offence and defence, by proposing to him the dangers that then threatned and menaced the profession of the Gospell: And to offer him an annuall pension the better to maintaine his Royall Dignity, because the reuenues of his Kingdome were much shortened by the negligence of the Regents. And to commend vnto him in the vway of mariage the daughter of the King of *Denmark*. And earnestly in her name to make intercession for those Noblemen of *Scotland* that liued banished in *England*. And to promise him that she would send them backe if she found the offence against the King to haue beene practised by them. *Wotton* found the King affectionately bent to this League (notwithstanding that the Earle of *Arran*, and others of the French faction laboured to diuert him) and the Estates of *Scotland* gaue their consent vnder their hands and seales, for the conseruation of Religion, to embrace this League; prouided that the Queene would promise, not to preiudice or hinder the Kings right in the succession of *England*, so long as hee remained constant in his friendship and alliance. But this matter was retarded and hindered by the death of *Fra: Russell*, sonne to the Earle of *Bedford*, who was slaine the next day after.

A relation of the death of Russell.

For *I. Forster* and *T. Carre* of *Fernihurst* gouernors of the middle borders betweene the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, hauing assigned an assembly vpon the seuen and twentieth of *Iune*, to treat of the receit and emploiment of the Fynances of the Kingdome, after the promise of safety, made by both parties with their oaths, and Proclamation, that none should offend either in word, deed, or looke (for

The manner of his death.

(for so the borderers spoke.) The *Scots* brought with them to the place the number of three thousand men or thereabout, being armed, and set in order of battell, with their ensignes displayed, and their drummes beating, contrary to the custome in such affaires, but the English not surpassing three hundred. The Gouernours were no sooner seated to heare the complaints, but a tumultuous vproare was raised by the occasion of an Englishman taken in theft; the Scots discharging a shower of bullets, slue amongst others, *Russel*, and put the English to flight, and eagerly pursuing them for the space of foure miles within England, they carried some back with them as prisoners. The author of this murther was not assuredly knowne, but the English imputed the fault to the Earle of *Arran* then Chancelor of *Scotland*, and to *Carre* of *Fernihurst*. The Queene presently dispatched Ambassadors and Letters, demanding that the murderers might be deliuered into her hands. Because *Henry* the seuenth King of *England* had long time before deliuered into the hands of *Iames* the fourth, King of Scots, *Will. Heron*, and seuen other Englishmen, for murdering of *Ro: Carre* of *Cesford* vpon a day of assembly: and not long before *Morton* the Regent, sent *Carmichel* a Scot into *England*, for the murder of *George Heron*. The King after protestation of his innocency, promised to send *Fernihurst* and the Chancelor himselfe also, so soone as by cleare and lawful proofes they were conuicted, of set purpose to haue violated the safety, or to be guilty of the murder. *Fenwick* an Englishman accused *Carre* before the King, but was refuted by his simple deniall, because hee could not produce any Scotchman for a witnesse. For it hath beene a custome, and so a Law, amongst the borderers, in their iudgements of causes (bred by an inueterate hate) that no witnesse can be admitted but a Scot against a Scot, and an Englishman against an Englishman: Insomuch that though euery one of the English which were present, had plainely beene beholders of

Booke 3.

The proofes amongst the borderers.

ooke 3.

ne death Thomas arre of nihurst.

the fugitiue Scots are ent out of England acke into Scotland.

They haue intelligence of others remaining in the Kings Court.

this murder, yet their testimony would preuaile nothing. *Arran* neuertheleſſe was confined within his owne houſe, and *Carre* was kept priſoner at *Dundey*, where in a ſhort time he dyed. Hauing beene a warlike man; and one prompt and fit to enterpriſe matters of importance, who for his conſtant loue and faith to the Queene of Scots, and the King her ſonne, was twice depriued of his goods, and driuen from his Countrey, and the ſight of his children; yet hee patiently ſupported his baniſhment, remaining conſtant againſt all aduerſities, and bearing himſelfe euer like himſelfe.

Whileſt the queſtion of this murther was deferred, and a gentle diſputation raiſed, whether the twelue thouſand Crownes penſion offered to the King were to bee accounted according to the Engliſh, or the French account: the Queene being much incenſed for the death of *Ruſſel*, and the violation of the ſafety; and being perſwaded by ſome Scotchmen which enuyed *Arran*, that hee was a fauourer of the Ieſuites, and that hee ſtrongly laboured in *France* and *Scotland*, to hinder the League, that it might not be contracted, ſhee gaue permiſſion to the fugitiue Scots, as *Angus*, with *Iohn* and *Claudius Hamilton*, *Marre*, and *Glan*, which were reconciled to him in their common exile; and to the reſt that liued baniſht in *England*, to returne into *Scotland* well furniſhed with money, to worke the ruine of *Arran*.

The Earle of *Bothwell*, and the Lord of *Humey*, *Humey Coldingknoll*, and others in *Scotland* had before promiſed them aide: and aboue all, *Maxwell* lately created Earle of *Morton*, out of a certaine hope he had to ſhunne the penalty of the rebellion which he had raiſed in the Country of *Annand*, if the Earle of *Arran* were once ſubuerted. In the very Court alſo were *Patrick Gray* his bitter enemy, *Belenden* a a Iuſtice of the Church, and *Maitland* Secretarie, drawne into parties againſt *Arran*.

The

The fugitiues being entred into *Scotland*, they commanded all persons by a long Proclamation in the Kings name to giue them assistance, for the defence of the Euangelicall truth, to free the King from mischieuous Counsellors, and to conserue loue and friendship with the English: they appointed the place for their assembly at *Fawkirk*, where they mustered 8000 men.

Booke 3.

They enter into Scotland.

Arran (who for suspition of the death of *Russell* was by the King commanded to keepe within *Keneil*) hearing of these things, he hastily retired to the King, and accused *Gray* as the author of these enterprises. *Gray* ingeniously excused himselfe in presence of the King. But whilest *Arran* maketh great preparations for the defence of the towne, the enemies appeared in readinesse to scale the walles. He certainly knowing, that they sought nothing but his head onely, and suspecting the fidelitie of his men (for hee was hated of most) he secretly withdrew himselfe by the bridge; the rest, all abandoning the towne, betooke themselues to the Castle with the King. The fugitiues straight possest themselues of the Market-place, and then besieged the Castle. The King demanded by his Messenger *Gray* the cause of their comming: they answered, *To submit our selues to the King, and humbly to kisse his Highnesse hand.* He offered to restore to them all their goods, if they would retire. But they replyed, that they made no esteeme of their goods, in comparison of the Kings gracious fauour, desiring him to admit them to his royall presence: the King consented, but vpon these conditions; *That they should not attempt any thing either against his Maiesties Person, or their liues whom he should nominate, and that they should not bring in any innouation into the gouernment of the Kingdome.* They vowed their liues for the safety of their Prince, protesting that they conceited not so much as a thought of bringing in of Nouelties. But they desired for their better assurance that their aduersaries might be deliuered into their hands, with

Sterlin is taken by them.

ooke 3.

the fortified places of the Realme. Of this matter they consulted the whole day: but necessitie compelling, by reason of the multitude, wherewith the Castle was full stuffed, and the want of prouision, they were at last admitted to the King. And forthwith the Earles of *Montrosh*, of *Crawford*, and of *Rothese*, the Colonell *Stuart*, *Downi*, the brother of the Earle of *Arran*, and others were deliuered into their hands; the Earle of *Arran* was publiquely accused to haue conspired against the estate: and as for themselues, the King indulgently pardoned them, as good and well-deseruing subiects. *Hamilton Arbroth* was established Gouernor of *Dunbriton*, *Coldingknol* of the Castle of *Edenborough*, *Angus* of *Tomtall*, *Marre* of *Sterlin*, and *Glan* Captaine of the Kings guards.

hey are reconciled to e King.

After this, hauing by their faithfull duty remoued out of the Kings opinion, all such crimes wherewith their enemies had burdened them, and all suspitions which they had raised of them; by a generall Amnistie all banishments & proscriptions, which had for what cause so euer been adiudged and ordained, since the Coronation of the King, were abolished; excepting only those which had relation to the murder of the Kings father, & such as were adiudged against the Archbishop of *Glasco*, the Bishop of *Rosse* and of *Dunblan*. And with a common & most constant consent of their minds the Soueraigne Authority of the King, in contracting of a league with the Queen of *England*, and deputing of Ambassadors, was confirmed vnto him. Onely *Maxwell* abused this singular clemency of the King. For hauing obtained by the benefit of the Amnistie free Pardon for the cruell slaughter and Pillage committed vpon the *Iohnstons*: yet such vvas his audacious pride, that contemning the authoritie of the Lawes, he commanded the sacrifice of the Masse to be celebrated at *Dumfris*, which of nineteene yeares before had not been permitted in *Scotland*. For which deed hee was punished with three moneths imprisonment.

mnistie.

axwell tablisheth e Masse.

Neither

Neither was, in these turbulent times, *Ireland* next adioyning free from the tempests of rebellion. For when the rest of the Prouinces of that Isle were setled in a profound peace, a great rebellion broke forth in *Connach* the west part of *Ireland*, proceeding of the naturall disposition of that nation, impatient of rest and quiet, and also of the hate which they conceiued against *Rich. Bingham* their Gouernor, complaining that his Commands were sharpe and bitter. The Gouernour seeing the great and powerfull men of *Ireland* exercise such grieuous tyranny vpon the poore miserable peoples, forcing them to acknowledge no other Prince then them; he omitted no meanes to restaine them, and confirme the royal authority, although he was often for the same odiously accused of cruelty to the Queene and Deputy. *Thomas Roe-Bourk* of the most noble family of *Bourg* in *England*, was the first that opposed himself, & being sent for to the lawful assembly in the County of *Maie*, he refused to come. The Gouernor for a time dissembled, seeming not to make account thereof: but presently after he commanded him and two others, turbulent spirits of the same house, to be apprehended, lest they should breake out into a more dangerous rebellion. *Thomas* was slaine in fight ere he could be intercepted. *Meiler* and *Theobald*, the other two, were taken and hanged; and thus had the whole rebellion beene at the beginning compressed, had not certaine English, enemies to the Gouernor, aduertised the rest of that family, prouidently to beware of the Gouernor, and by any meanes not to come neere him: They being thus incouraged, they likewise perswaded the *Ioies* and *Clandonels*, who were powerfull in the multitude of their tenants, that the Gouernor would handle them with as little lenitie, but by little and little would vtterly ruinate their power. Besides they so much preuailed with the Deputy by their friends, that he commanded the Gouernour not to vndertake any violent act against thē of that family, (though they did degenerate)

Booke 3.

The rebellion of the Bourgs in Ireland.

Booke 3.

without his knowledge and aduice.

In the meane space whilst the Gouernour was absent in the Country of *Twomond*, where *Mahon-Obrean* rebelling, slew himselfe, after the Castle was taken by the Gouernour; The sonne of *Edmond Bourg* of *Castel-bar*, and *Richard* son of another *Richard* surnamed by the Irish for his villanies, *the Deuils-hooke*, hauing gathered together a multitude of lewd fellowes, they surprised two Castels at *Lake-Masci* and fortified them: from whence the Gouernour easily expulsed them, chasing them amongst the forests and mountaines; he tooke *Richard* the brother of *Thomas Bourg*, who in humble manner came to intreate him, and hanged him as a robber. And hauing so far pursued the rest through the woods that scarce any were to be seen, the Lo: Deputy commanded him to stay his pursuit; and after they had giuen hostages, to receiue them into his protection. A short while after, whilst the Gouernour stayed at *Dublin*, and souldiers were raised in *Ireland* for the Low-Country wars; they againe aduanced their Ensignes of rebellion, and many which had refused to goe to the wars of the *Netherlands*, ioyned themselues in great numbers with *Clan-Gibbon*, *Clan-Donel*, and *Ioie*; and being increased in number and strength, they openly declared, that they would after the custome of their Ancestors, haue for their Gouernor their *Mac-William*, that is, a Nobleman, by the election of the people out of the house of *Bourg*, or any other whom they should call out of *Spaine*, but they would not admit of the * Viscont, nor be present at the Assemblies. The Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Bermingham*, the Lord of *Atterith*, and *Dillon*, Deputies for the Gouernor, proposed to them most reasonable conditions; but they refusing to submit to order, began to exercise their fury vpon the villages of the Champian, with fire and rapines, and by ruining of the fortifications. They sent *Iohn Itcleaf*, and *Walter Kittagh* of *Bourg* to the *Scots* of *Hebride*, requesting them with their auxiliarie troopes to enter vpon the Con-

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nach, in which Prouince, there were then but a small number of Souldiers in Garison, promising to giue them certain Lordships if they would chase away the English, and defend the rebels.

Booke 3.

The Deputy receiuing aduice of these things, commanded the Gouernor, to pursue the rebells, who gathering vp forces, sent the Earle *Clan-Richard* chiefe of the family of *Bourg* with *Bermingham*, to treat with them of a peace; but they refusing, hee forthwith caused their hostages to bee put to death: and knowing that nothing could disaduantage the English more then a long warre; and on the contrary, nothing more accommodate the Irish: himselfe and the Earle *Clan-Richard* with their troops of horse defēded the champian from the iniuries of the rebells, and *Iohn Bingham* the Gouernours brother, entred with his Companies of foot amongst the woods, pursuing their steps, and wearying them in such sort, seizing and driuing backe with them 5000 head of cattle (the greatest part of which according to the custom of the Countrey being distributed to the souldiers) that about 40 daies after, being in a manner perished by a grieuous famine, they left their caues, scarce knowing one another by their faces, and demissiuely submitting themselues, they deliuered hostages to the Gouernor. Only the sonnes of *Edmund* of *Bourg* of *Castell-barr* (whom they had decreed to create *Mac-William*) persisted in their rebellion, vntil their father was taken, and by vertue of the law conuicted, to haue incited his sons to this rebellion, and was therefore punished with death, and all his lands adiudged confiscate. At the same time the Gouernour receiued newes of two thousand *Scots* of *Hebride* vnder the conduct of *Kittagh*, and *Itcleaf* of *Bourg*, that were euen then in readinesse to breake in vpon *Connach*. In great hast he leauied his troopes, and gathered his garisons together, and with infatigable labor, though sometimes they were hidden amongst the woods, forests, and pastures, and sometimes they wasted the time in making ap-

The Gouernor laboreth for a peace, but in vaine.

He pursueth the rebels.

And he brings them to submission.

Booke 3.

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approaches and retreats, from one side to another, and through crooked windings and intricate waies, he diligently pursued their steps, obseruing night and day their turnings and returnings through corners and by-wayes, carefully placing spies behind, before, and on either side of them, still expecting a commodious time to set vpon them. At last, counterfeiting a retire, as though hee had thought himselfe too weake for them, hee left them; wherevpon they presently with great alacrity marched towards *Ardenare* vpon the riuer *Moine*, and proclamed themselues Lords of the Prouince. He being instructed of their iourney by his spies, followed them, and found them besides *Ardenare*, where hee put his men in battell array, and sounding a charge with his trumpets, he held them play with skirmishes, still retiring backward vntill he had drawne them from a moist and moory ground, into a place more solide and firme, where all his troops (with great silence) ioyned together. Then giuing them a fresh and liuely charge, slaughtering many, he forced them somewhat to recoile, when instantly the muskettieres discharging vpon their front, and himselfe with his troops of horse falling vpon their flanckes, with such fury assailed thē, that hee put them all to rout, pursuing them to the riuer, where they were all either slaine or drowned, excepting 40 which saued themselues by swimming ouer to *Tiraule*, and those which the day before were departed from the Army to fetch in booty: but after this, they were almost all put to the sword by *Iohn Bingham*, and the inhabitants of the County *Slego*. Three thousand of their party perished in this conflict, and amongst them their principall Commanders, *Donel Gormi*, and *Alexander Carrogh* the sonne of *I. Mac-Conel*, which of long time had been troublesome to the Country; and those of the House of *Bourg* which were causers of this miserable expedition. Of the English a small number was slaine, but many were sort hurt; and certes this victory was both famous and profitable, for the instant and future

future times; the title of *Mac-William* being vtterly abolished in the County of *Connach*, and the insolency of the Scotch Islanders repressed in *Ireland*, which was not long before so great, that it was accoũted amõgst the *Irish* a crime of *Læsæ Maiestatis* to entertaine or lodge any of them; and for the better restraining of their wonted rapines, *Perot* gaue in charge to the chiefe personages of *Vlster* that they should traine vp in the exercise of warlike discipline, a certaine number of Souldiers.

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The title of Mac-William abolished.

In the meane time, the States of the *Netherlands* being afflicted with the desolate condition of their affaires, consulted amongst themselues whether they should haue recourse either to the King of *France*, or Queene of *England* for refuge & succors. For they were both at that time discõtented with the *Spaniard*, but suspicious also one of the other: The French could not endure that the English their ancient enemies should encrease their power by the addition of the *Netherlands*, and the English in like sort the French. *De la Prune* the French Ambassador for the Low-Countries, that he might diuert the Estates from the English, made this demonstration:

The Estates of the Netherlands consult of a Protector.

Reasons of the French side.

THat the Sea flowing betwixt England *& the* Netherlands; *the English were too farre distant, and could not at all occasions be ready to assist them, their command also was intollerable; and for that cause were in times past driuen out of* France, *and were like then to hazard the same in* Ireland: *That the succession of the Realme was vncertaine, and whether* MARIE Queene *of Scots or* IAMES *her sonne did succeed, both hee and shee would bee ready to giue vp the* Netherlands *to the* Spaniard *for the assurance of their owne affaires. But that the French were opportunely adioyning and neighbouring, their command most mild, and their succession certaine in the*

person of the King of Nauarre, *who was of the same profession with them.*

Such as fauoured the English, maintained the contrary;

THat they were not so farre dissenered, but they could commodiously send them ayde, without the hindrance of eny. That it appeared by the Histories what the French Command had been of yore in the Netherlands, what it now was, by the surprise of Dixmond, Donkircke, *and* Dendermond, *and the furious and perfidious invasion of* Bruges, Aloft, New-port, *and* Antwerpe; *and what their faith was hauing beene so often obliged by Edicts, and nowithstanding violated by the cruell Massacres which haue beene committed in the townes. That the succession of* England *was assured in the person of King* Iames, *who was zealous in the true religion. Besides the English were of the selfe-same religion, and faitfull obseruers of the ancient League with* Burgundie. *That their trafficke had brought infinite wealth to the* Netherlands, *and their ports most commodious for them.*

The Estates neuertheleſſe by Ambassadors implored the ayde of the French King, by whom they were receiued with a fearefull silence, and a long time deluded with procrastinations, by reason aswell of their enuy to the English as of hate to the *Spaniard*, so the Ambassadours returned home at the last, and conceiuing hope from the former bounty of Queen ELIZABETH, they determined to fly to her for protection.

Hereupon vvas holden a consultation in *England*, vvhether they vvere to be receiued into their protection, or no? Some vvere of aduice, that they shold presently be receiued, and ayde forthvvith sent them, lest the *Spaniard* hauing brought

brought them in subiection, should become a vexation to the English on that side. Other some aduised, that they were to bee esteemed as Rebels, and vnworthy of succours, as being reuolted from the fidelitie which they ought to their Prince.

THe Spaniard had not violated any of the Articles of his Ioyfull entrance, which they sought for as a colour and pretext for their rebellion, and deposition of their lawfull Prince. But admit that hee had violated them, yet was hee not for that to bee punished with the losse of his principalitie. And although some suppose that obedience should bee so long denyed him, vntill hee had recompenced his fault; yet others esteeme that the diuine Lawes, to which humane lawes must yeeld, Princes should, as powers ordinated by God, be simply and for conscience obeyed. For God hath giuen them the Souerainetie of command, and to subiects the glory of obedience. And that subiects should wish for good Princes, but endure all whatsoeuer they be. That these Prouinces were falne to the Spaniard, not by the election of the people, but by the hereditary right of their Ancestors, and the donation of the Emperors. That the Dutchmen had receiued priuiledges from their Princes, but had lost the same by a crime of Læsæ Maiestatis, *in taking vp Armes against them. That these were not the estates of the Netherlands that had demanded protection, but certaine Plebean persons, that had attributed to them the Title of Estates. It was therefore thought by the iudgement of these, most expedient, that the Queene should not intermeddle with the affaires of the Netherlands, but rather strongly to fortifie her own Kingdomes, indeuouring dayly by her naturall bounty to oblige the hearts of good men to her, to restraine the wicked, to*

oke 3.

encrease her treasurie, to haue her Nauy always well prepared and furnished with necessaries, to fortifie with garisons the frontier townes towards Scotland, *to conserue the ancient militarie discipline of* England, *which was corrupted by the Dutch warres. That in thus doing* England *would be impregnable, secured on all sides, and a terrour to the enemy. That this would be the most commodious meanes to auoid the warres, which might fall vpon such as are begirt with potent neighbours. That none would offer to prouoke them, seeing them so well furnished of money, and forces, garded with the good-will and loue of their subiects, and always ready and prepared to reuenge themselues. And that it would be preposterous wisedome, to consume money, and Souldiers, which are the life and soule of warre in anothers cause, and for Princes or people of no ability, being subiects to anothers rule, and by reason of their poueryy must always bee supplyed with fresh succours, or by ingratitude totally prouiding for their owne affaires, will neglect those that haue assisted them, as the English had whilo-ere in* France *experimented to their losse, in the Bourgongnian cause; and not long since in the defence of the Protestants.*

But such as were of this opinion as men degenerate, slothfull, and addicted to the Spanish party, moued the men of warre to much indignation.

: Dutch
r them-
es to the
eene.

So soone as the Ambassadors of the Estates presented themselues to the Queene, with earnest affection they beseeched her to assume the rule of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*, and to receiue them into her protection, and perpetuall homage, being vndeseruedly oppressed. She graciously gaue them hearing, but refused to take vpon her their rule and protection. Neuertheleſſe to raise the siege from

from before *Antwerpe*, which was then reduced into great necessitie, and oppressed by the Prince of *Parma*, she promised them, if they would deliuer for a Gage into her hands the towne of *Sluce* with all the artillery, forthwith to send them foure thousand souldiers. But whilst these things were propounded, *Antwerpe* was yeelded vp, because the passage of the Riuer *Scald* by admirable deuices was quite cut off.

Antwerpe is yeelded vp.

After that the Queen had setled a while her thoughts and cares vpon these matters, and perceiued the great cruelty of the Spaniards which they exercised vpon the Dutch her neighbours, and the hate which they bore to *England*, and the Religion which was there maintained: for the Spaniards were verily perswaded that they could neuer reduce the *Netherlands* to order, if they first subdued not *England*.) To hinder warre from comming home to her (*Scotland* as yet wauering) and that the forces of the Spaniards might not be too farre extended in the adiacent Countries, which would be most commodiously seated for the transporting of warres into *England*; for exercising of traffique as well by sea, as the Riuer of *Rhine*: And to hinder, that there might not be any prouision of Nauigation caried to her enemies, which besides were well prouided of strong Shipping, and men of valiant spirits, that if they should bee ioyned with the English Nauy, it would be an easie thing for them to be soone Commanders of the Sea, so rich and powerfull, that they had long time since without any foraine aide, suppreſt the insolencies of their proudest enemies: and that they might not commit themselues to the trust and faith of the French: She resolued that she was bound in Christian charitie, to succour the afflicted Dutchmen, being professors of the same Religion, and in wisedome to prouide for the conseruation of a people, which God had committed vnto her, by cutting through the ruinous complots of their enemies, not for any desire of glory, but for the necessitie of goodnesse. Whereupon shee openly tooke vpon her the defence

The Queen deliberateth with her selfe.

She takes vpon her the protection.

of the *Netherlands*. The Christian Princes admiring such a Masculine valour in a woman, to haue such a magnanimous spirit, as to denounce warre (as it were) to so potent a Monarch. Insomuch that the King of *Sweden* speaking of her, said, that she had taken the Diadem from off her owne head, to expose it to the doubtfull and dangerous euent of warre.

These were the conditions that were agreed vpon betweene Queene ELIZABETH and the Estates of *Holland*.

nder what
nditions.

THe Queene would send as succours to the Vnited Prouinces 5000 foot, and a thousand horse vnder a generall Commander of famous remarke, and during the warre would pay the souldiers; which should after the Peace were made, be paid backe by the Estates, that is to say, in the first yeare of the Peace, such summes as had beene disbursed in the first yeare of the warres, and the rest in the foure yeares following. In the meane time they should deliuer into her hands for assurance the towne of Flushing, *the Castle of* Rameken *in* Zeland, *and the Ile of* Breil, *with the towne and both the* Skances. *The Gouernors that should bee appointed, should not haue any command ouer the Inhabitants, but onely of their Garison, which should pay the Tributes and Imposts, as well as the inhabitants. Those places should after the money were repayed, bee deliuered backe not to the Spaniard, but the Estates. The Gouernors and two other English which the Queen would name, should be admitted into the Councell of the Estates, and the Estates should not entertaine any League without the Queenes aduice; nor she, the Estates not acquainted therewith. Ships for their common defence in equall number, and at a common expence should be set forth vnder the comm ind of the Admirall of* England. *The Ports of either should be freely*

open

open to either. With other conditions which were printed and exposed to all mens view. Booke 3

For the memoriall of this alliance, the Zealanders triumphing with ioy, caused new money to be coyned, bearing vpon one side the Armes of *Zealand*, which is a Lyon floating vpon the waues, with this inscription:

Luctor & emergo: Ie comba et me sauue
I fight, and I saue my selfe.

On the other side the Armes of the townes of *Zealand*, with this

Authore Deo, fauente Regina.
God Author, the Queene fauourable.

The Queene by a booke set forth, gaue all to vnderstand, that in times past Leagues and Societies were contracted betweene the Kings of *England*, and the Princes of the *Netherlands* for the mutuall faith and defence one of another. She remonstrateth the barbarous cruelty of the Spaniard, against the miserable *Netherlanders*; and the mischieuous complots which they had wrought against her selfe: that had with much labour sought a Peace, and had done this to keepe the Dutch from reuolting. Neither did shee propose any other thing to her selfe in aiding of them, then that the Dutch might inioy peaceably their former liberty; her subiects safety; and either Nation a secure commerce and traffique. The Queen publisheth the causes.

And to prouide that warre should not assaile her at home, and set the Spaniard to worke abroad. She set forth a Nauy to the *West Indies*, vnder the command of Sir *Francis Drake*, and *Christopher Carlile* of one and twenty sayle, in which besides Saylors were 2300 voluntary souldiers, which sur- She sends forth a Nauy to the West Indies to diuert the Spaniard.

surprized in the Ile of Saint *Iames*, neere to *Cap-Verd*, the towne of Saint *Iames* which gaue name to the Iland, where they celebrated with the thunder of the Cannon, the Coronation day of Queene ELIZABETH, which was vpon the fourteenth of Nouember; and pillaging the town they found great store of Meale, Wine and Oyle, but no money at all. The fourteenth day after they set sayle, and many which kept their quarters & guard in the open aire, and slept vpon the ground, were taken with grieuous sicknesse called *Calentura*, whereof they dyed; a disease very familiar in that Iland, and dangerous to strangers which sleepe in the open fields. The first of Ianuary they ariued at *Hispaniola*, where the souldiers being landed in a secure place, by the direction of a Spaniard, whom they had taken and kept to that purpose, they marched in order against the towne: and hauing repulst a hundred and fifty Spanish horsemen which opposed their passage, and putting to flight certaine Musketers which were placed in Ambush, they entered pell-mell into the towne with them by the two westerne gates, and all the inhabitants, being strucke with feare and terrour fled out at the North gate of the said City. The English brought their troops into the Market-place neere to the great Temple: and because they were not in number sufficient to man the towne, they fortified it with rampars of earth, after that they seized vpon other conuenient places. So hauing the whole towne in their possession and command, they remained a moneth there. And seeing the inhabitants offered but a small summe of money to redeeme their towne, they began first to set fire vpon the suburbs, and after vpon the fairest house in the towne, vntill the inhabitants had redeemed their towne with 25000 Crowns of gold, which with much paine they gathered. They found there no great store of pillage, excepting some pieces of Artillery, with Corne, and Sugar: for they vsed there nought but Copper money, and glasse vessels, with some made of earth, which were brought

brought out of the East India. Amongst other things, in the towne Court, were found the Armes of the King of *Spaine*, with the world vnder-placed, from whence a horse with his foure-feet rampant was figured, leaping out, with this inscription:

Non sufficit orbis.
The world doth not suffice.

The proud and audacious Motto of the Spaniards Auarice and Couetousnesse.

Whereat some scoffing, tooke it for an argument of the infinite auarice and ambition of the Spaniard, as neuer satisfied.

From thence sayling vp into the Continent of *America*, fiue miles from *Cartagena* they left their ships, and vnder the conduct of *Carlile* they in the silence of the night, being ranged in order of battell, marched alongst the shore, whilest *Drake* with his armed Shallops in vaine assailed the Port of the towne which was fortified with a rampire and a chaine extended in length. To *Carlile* a troope of horse shewed themselues, but straight retired: he pursued them, till hee came to a narrow passage fortified with a stone wall betwixt the inward Hauen of the Port of the Ocean, which was so straight that scarce a Cart could passe: It was defended with Barracadoes full of stones, and fiue great Cannon, wherwith they often discharged vpon the front of his companies, yet without effect, whilest *Carlile* by the benefit of the darknesse, being politick in auoiding dangers, taking opportunitie by the ebbing of the Ocean, drew his men down lower by the sands iust to the entrance, which they couragiously forced, notwithstanding two great Ships from the inward Hauen of the Port which caried eleuen great pieces, and three hundred Musquetiers furiously thundered against their flanke. This done, they easily gained the Barricadoes which were placed at the entrance of euery street, and chaced the Spaniards and Indians, which cast poysoned darts

The English doe assault the City of Cartagena.

amongst them. Being thus Masters of the towne, they made sixe weekes aboade there, and receiued for the ransome of the towne 110000 Crownes, which were paid presently downe, and distributed man by man to the Mariners and Souldiers, and especially to the neediest. But the pillage was little; for the Inhabitants being forewarned by them of *Hispaniola*, had remoued all their most precious and richest things in to farre distant places. The disease called *Calentura* still remaining amongst them, and much diminishing their numbers, they were constrained to leaue off their designe of surprising *Nombre de Dios*, and make sayle for their returne by the Cape of the Ile *Cuba*, which is called Saint *Anthony*, where they tooke in fresh water out of raine pits.

ey set fire on the nes of nthony, S. He-a.

Then sayling along the coast of *Florida*, they seized vpon two townes, Saint *Anthony* and Saint *Helena*, which were abandoned by the Spanish Garisons, and burned them; and being caried further vpon a ragged and rocky coast, they found the English in the Plantation of *Virginia* (so called in the honour of

ey come Virginia.

ELIZABETH *the Virgin Queene*)

which Sir *Walter Raleigh* (whose worth and vertues purchased him the honour to be one of the Queenes chiefest fauourites) by his neuer enough praised labours, in the discouerie of remote Countries, and promulgation of the glory of the English Nauy, had placed there as *Colony*. *Drake* offered to *Ralph Lan* President there, all offices of humanity, two ships with prouision, and some men, if they thought good to remaine there and prosecute what they had begun: if not to transport them for *England*. But whilest prouision was prepared for these ships, there arose a violent storm, and extraordinary furious tempest, which seuered and dispersed the whole Nauy, in such sort, that it could not be collected together againe, vntill they all ariued in *England*. Insomuch

ey bring Colony nce.

somuch that *Lane*, and the rest that were with him, being oppressed with penury, and much diminished in their number, they all with one voice requested *Drake* to giue them passage for their Country, which he willingly agreed to.

Tobacco.

These were the first (that I know of) that brought at their returne into *England*, that *Indian* Plant called Tobacco, or *Nicotiana*, which they vsed, being instructed by the *Indians*, against crudities of the Stomack. And certes since that time it is growne so frequent in vse, and of such price, that many, nay, the most part, with an insatiable desire doe take of it, drawing into their mouth the smoke thereof, which is of a strong sent, through a Pipe made of earth, and venting of it againe through their nose; some for wantonnesse, or rather fashion sake, and other for healths sake, insomuch that Tobacco-shops are set vp in greater number then either Alehouses or Tauernes. And as one said, but falsely, the bodies of such Englishmen, as are so much delighted with this plant, did seeme to degenerate into the nature of the Sauages, because they were caried away with the selfe-same thing, beleeuing to obtaine and conserue their health by the selfe-same meanes, as the barbarians did. In this voyage perished seuen hundred men, and almost all of that disease, called *Calentura*. The pillage was esteemed to be worth 60000 pounds of English money, besides two hundred and forty great pieces of artillery, as well Brasse as Iron, which were taken from the Enemies.

The booty of the English voyage and expedition.

Their pillage.

A search made for the discouerie of a way to the East India.

Whilest these things thus passed in *America* vnder the torride *Zone*, *Iohn Dauis* made search vnder the frigide *Zone* for a way to the *East India*, by the vpper part of *America*, with two ships, at the expences of *William Sanderson*, (a man who by setting forth Globes hath well deserued in the studies of *Geography*) and of other inhabitants of *London*. He tooke his course towards the North; and being fiue hundred miles from the Cape of *Not* in *Ireland*, he discouered the Coasts of *Greeneland*, whose Cliffes being white by

Book 3.

reason of the snow which couered them, might easily afarre off be discerned, & so round begirt with Ice, as with a fore-wall, for the space of two miles from the shore, that it was inaccessible. The course of this coast hee followed, which bent first towards the West, and then Northward to 64 degrees in Latitude; from thence passing the Ice, his course brought him amongst certaine greene flourishing Ilands, where he found the Inhabitants of a middle stature, little eyes, without beards, and of milder disposition then the most part of Northerne people. From whence sayling to 66 Degrees in Latitude, he encountred a shore, which discouered it selfe by little and little towards the West, with a * sea of equall largenesse: into which being entred forty miles, and being full of hopes, hee turned sayle homeward vpon the end of *August*. The following yeare hee entred foureſcore miles into these Straights; where hee obserued this sea to be on all sides well stored with Ilands, and in his returne found it full of fish. The third time he set forth, with two ships appointed for fishing, and a third for the discouerie of passages, in which hauing sailed to 83 degrees into this Sea, and discouering it to bee forty miles in breadth, hee returned.

* Straits.

Edict against Woad.

During this, an Edict was published in *England*, to represse the auarice of some priuate persons, that had conuerted the fertilest fields and pastures, into grounds to sow Woad in, for the vse of Dyers, not without much losse to the Cloath-workers and Husbandmen, which are commonly fed with Milke, Cheese, and such like meats. Whereupon it was forbidden, to sow that hearbe within eight miles of any of the Kings houses; and foure miles of Cities, Market-townes, and of other places wheresoeuer Drapery is vsed.

Company of the Library Merchants.

But to the intent that English Cloathes might be sold to greater gaines, it was permitted to the Earle of *Warwicke* and *Leicester* his brother, *Tho: Starkey*, *Gerard Gore*, and other

other Merchants of *London*, to recompence their losses which they had sustained in *Africa*, being to all others prohibited, to traffique in *Mauritania Cesariense*, for the space of ten yeares. Which *Mulley Hamet Xerifi* receiued into protection.

In the beginning of this yeare dyed *Edward* Lord *Clinton* High Admirall, who in the yeare 1572 was by Queene ELIZABETH, created Earle of *Lincolne*. He was honorably interred at *Windsor*. *Henry* his sonne succeeded him in his honours: but *Charles Howard* Lord of *Effingham* (Chamberlaine to the Queene) in the Admiralty. And to him in his Office succeeded the Lord *Carie*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, Gouernour of *Barwick*, who a few yeares before supplyed the place of *Fra: Russell*, Earle of *Bedford*, the second Earle of that Family, a Nobleman true professor of Religion and vertue: who hauing ouer-liued three of his sonnes, *Edward*, *Iohn* and *Francis*, and had but one liuing, who was Lord *Russell*, Baron of *Thornaugh*, and three daughters, all three Countesses: one maried to the Earle of *Warwicke*; the second to the Earle of *Bathe*; and the third to the Earle of *Cumberland*, hee dyed of a Gangrene, the next day after his sonne *Francis* was slaine vpon the borders of *Scotland*, (as before is related) and was interred with *Iohn* his father at *Cheney* in *Buckingham-shire*: to him succeeded *Edward* sonne to *Francis* his third sonne.

The death of the Earle of Lincolne.

Of the Earle of Bedford.

About the end of this yeare, the Earle of *Leicester* being out of an itching desire of rule and glory, easily perswaded by those which studied more to assure their owne fortune and power in the Court, then his Honour; passed with great pompe and state into the *Netherlands* with this Title;

The Earle of Leicester sent into Holland.

Generall of Her MAIESTIES auxiliary troops:

Hee had also some command ouer the Nauy-Royall: His

Lordship was accompanied with the Earle of *Essex*, the Lord *Touchet* Baron of *Audley*, and the Lord *North*, Baron of *Kertling*, vvith Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Tho. Sherley*, Sir *Arthur Basses*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gernase Clifton*, and many other Knights, attended on by a chosen company of fiue hundred Gentlemen. The Queene at his departure forbade him to entertaine a thought of any thing, which vvould bee vnworthy either of her, or of the place which he vvas seated in. Shee commanded him to learne vvith all possible diligence, vvhat Garisons the Estates maintained; how, and by vvhat means. And her Maiestie still being carefull & good to the Souldiers, charged him to know by vvhat Art they inhaunced, & put down the value of their money (for in that Art they excelled all others) lest the Souldiers should receiue that at a higher rate then they could put it off for. She admonisht him to cut off all prouision from the enemy, and to his power restraine the *Dunkerks*, vvhich much infested the seas. Finally, shee recommended to his trust the Nobilitie of that Country; and aboue all the children of the Prince of *Orange*.

THE

THE NINE AND TWENTIETH YEERE of Her Raigne.

Anno Dom. M.D.LXXXVI.

DVDLEY Earle of *Leicester*, landing at *Flushing*, was first by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* Gouernor of that Citie, honorably receiued: and after by all the townes of *Zeland* and *Holland*, with all sorts of honours, acclamations, triumphs, deuoted panegyricks, Banquettings, and such like things. And being in the moneth of *July* come to the *Hage*, the Court of *Holland*, the Estates generall (so they are called) by Letters Patents, gaue to him the soueraigne command and absolute authoritie ouer the Vnited Prouinces, with the Title of

Absolute Authoritie is giuen to Leicester by the Estates.

Gouer-

Gouernor and Captaine Generall of *Holland, Zeland*, and the vnited and confederate Prouinces.

Then being saluted of all with the attribute of

His Excellence,

and tickled with flatteries, as if hee had beene seated in the highest and amplest degree of honour; he began to assume royall and Kingly thoughts of Maiesty. But the Queen being highly offended, that the Estates had imposed and receiued him with such exceeding honours, with a little letter abated the swelling winde wherewith hee was puffed vp, then when he least thought thereof. And these were the contents:

You shall vnderstand by this messenger, which wee haue expresly sent vnto you, with what contempt you haue behaued your selfe against our pleasure. Wee had not thought, that you, a man we haue raised from the dust, and fauoured aboue all others, would haue violated, in so great a matter, our command with so great contempt, euen in a matter which so much and neerely concerneth vs and our honour. But though against your duty you haue made so little respect of our honor, yet thinke not that we are so grosly negligent in the repairing thereof, that wee can passe ouer so great an iniury with silence and oblivion. Therefore we command you, that you, setting apart all excuses, incontinently, according to the faith and duty wherein you are bound vnto vs, performe all whatsoeuer Heneage *our vnder-Chamberlaine shall in our name declare vnto you, except you will draw vpon your head a greater danger.*

In

In other Letters which she sent to the Estates generall, she thus reasoned,

With the Estates also.

THat they without her aduice or priuity, had to her reproach, transferd vpon Leicester *the absolute rule of the vnited Prouinces, notwithstãding she herselfe had refused the same, and had manifestly declared to all the world, that she had but onely giuen ayde and succours to her afflicted neighbors, and not in any wise taken any command vnto her.* And therefore she aduised them, *To dispoile* Leicester *of that absolute authoritie, since she had prescribed to him his limits: not that she thought their cause was not to be defended, but that she might keepe safe her honour, which then her life she rather esteemed.*

The Estates answered:

They excuse themselues.

THat they were much agrieued, that in giuing to Leicester *without her aduice the absolute rule, they had offended her Maiesty; and requested her to mitigate the offence by the necessity of matter; remonstrating to her, that of necessity that authority must haue been transferd vpon one or other, for the anoyding of troubles; neither was the authority such as that word* Absolute *did seeme to inferre, seeing that principality and soueraigne rule, with the dignity of Gouernor, still remained intire amongst the people. But to reuoke the power which had already been transferd, would be a meanes to precipitate the* Netherlands *into extreame dangers.*

By these letters of the Estates, and those of *Leicester*, which hee (as one well skil'd how with feigned teares and griefe to re-obtaine the fauour of so gracious and milde a

Princesse) had written in a sorrowfull stile this offence, by little and little vanished into oblision.

In the meane space *Leicester* receiued the contributions of of the Prouinces, and established military lawes; and whilst he laboured to impose new taxes vpon their commerce, hee stirred vp the hate of the people against him. Now had *Charles* Earle of *Mansfield*, by order from the Duke of *Parma* Gouernor for the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, for the space of some few moneths beleagerd *Grane* a towne in *Brabant* situated vpon the riuer *Mase*, and had round intrenched himselfe. *Leicester* to releeue the towne, sent the Earle *Hoenloe* a Germane, and *Iohn Norris* an English Captain, who hauing begun to raise a scance neere to the towne, that they might from thence send prouision & succors to the besieged, were soone assailed and repulst by the *Spaniard*: but certaine fresh companies of English ioyning with the other, and falling vpon the *Spaniard*, repulsed them vvith a great slaughter; only *Norris* receiued a small hurt. But the Duke of *Parma* comming with fresh supplies beganne furiously to play vpon the town with his great artillery, whereupon *Hemart* Gouernor of the town; being a yong man, & vnexperienced in martiall affaires, without abiding any assault, after hee had conditioned for his owne, and the Inhabitants liues, he yeelded vp the towne. Whilst *Leicester* in the meane space expulsed the *Spaniards* out of the *Betow*, an Isle situated betweene the *Rhine* and the *Waale*, and fortified the scance neere *Telon*; *Hemart* for hauing vnadiisedly yeelded *Graue* was (for an example to others) beheaded.

The Duke of *Parma* passing into *Gulderland* lodged his army before *Venlo*, where *Skenke* of *Freezland*, and *Roger Williams* a Welchman, being men of a resolute courage, put in practice a haughty enterprise, breaking through the army of the Duke by night, with intent to enter into the towne, and hauing slaughtered many, they had pierced as farre as the Dukes tent. But they were repulsed: and though they failed

failed of their expectation, yet were they prayſed amongſt the beſt ſouldiers for their aduentrous hardineſſe. Soone after the towne of *Venlo* was yeelded vp. In the interim, the Lord *Willoughby* Gouernor of *Bergen op Zome* intercepted ſtore of Corne which was caried toward the enemy. On another ſide *Philip Sidney*, and *Maurice* ſonne to the Prince of *Orange*, ſurpriſed *Axele* a towne in *Flanders*. *Sidney* ſwelling with courage by reaſon of this ſucceſſe; being allured with hopes from ſome of the gariſon of *Grauelline*, hee by night attempted to take the towne, but *La Motte* the Gouernor, by whom this plot was laid, iſſued out vpon him vnexpected, whereby he perceiued that he was deluded, and retired with the loſſe of ſome few men, ſafe and in perfect health. *William Pelham* Generall of the Engliſh horſe ſcoured vp and downe *Brabant*. *Parma* parting from *Venlo*, marched to *Bergen*, where Colonell *Morgan* with 1200 Engliſh vnder his command lay in Gariſon, which he beleagerd: *Leiceſter* made haſt to raiſe him, but finding himſelfe vnequall in the number of his men, ſlenderly preuided of munition, not any place for retreat at hand, & the leaguer of his enemy ſtrongly fortified: to draw the enemy from *Bergen*, he in likewiſe beleagerd *Duisbrough*, and after that by the force of his cannon he had made a breach, preparing to giue an aſſault, the towne vpon compoſition yeelded; ſo hee entred, and tooke poſſeſſion of the towne before the Duke of *Parma* had altogether left *Bergen* to come to releeue it.

Book 3.

Venlo is loſt.

Axele is taken.

Grauelline attempted.

Duisbourgh beleagerd.

Which yeelds.

Parma ſuſpecting, that they would alſo march againſt *Zutphen* a neighbouring City, he cauſed prouiſion to be caried into the towne but at the ſecond returne of the cariage, the Engliſh by the fauour of the time which was then miſty, encountred the *Spaniards* which conuoyed the ſame. Then began betwixt them a tumultuous conflict. The Engliſh *ſtanding two volleys of ſhot vntouchet, remained* firme, putting to flight the troope of horſe ſent forth vnder the conduct of

G. Cresiac a Wallon, who dismounted from his horse by the Lord *Willoughby*, vvas taken; *Hannibal Gonzago* with many others being slaine. Yet few of the English perished: but oh! He that countervail'd many men, whose valor parallel'd if not exceeded the best, *Sidney*, his horse being slaine, whilst he ascended another, was shot through the thigh, of which wound fiue and twenty dayes after he dyed, hauing scarce out-liued his father foure moneths, and was much lamented of all good men. *Leicester* his vncle returning into *England* performed his obsequies and funerall duties, in the Church of St. *Paul* at *London* with great magnificence, and solemnities due to a noble Souldier. *Iames* the King of Scots honored him with an Epitaph, both the Academies cōsecrated their teares to him, and the new Colledge of *Oxford* erected a stately monument to his lasting memory. And to speake truth, the vertue of this man, his natural magnificent bounty, his adorned literature, and his sweet and milde behauiour, well deserued all this, yea and more.

Leicester, though sad & sorrowful, eagerly assaulted the forts before *Zutphen*, and to expugne them with better successe, he seized vpon the Iland with the places of defence therin; then assaulting the lesser fortresse, hee subdued it by the valour of *Edward Stanley* who laying hold of a *Spaniards* Pike, wherewith he strucke him, kept such fast hold that hee was by the Pike drawne into the Fort, vvhereat the *Spaniards* were in such sort amazed, that they fearefully fled. *Leicester* for this valorous exploit Knighted *Stanley*, rewarding him with 40 pounds English presently paid him down, and a 100 Marks yearely pension during his life. The night following the *Spaniards* abandoned the greater fort leauing behind them all their munition, and retyred into *Zutphen*. *Leicester* thought it not expedient to beleaguer the towne at that time, being then almost in the depth of vvinter, and the vveather very sharpe; besides, hauing garisons round about it, he thought it sufficiently besieged. For Sir *Edward Stan-*

ley remained at *Deuentrey*, being sixe English miles from thence on the North side, with 1200 footmen, as well English as Irish. *Rowland Yorke* kept the fortresses of *Zutphen* neere to *Deuentry* with 800 foote, and 100 horse. There were garisons likewise placed towards the East parts, at *Lillo*, *Sherenbourg*, and *Douay*.

Leicester hauing placed the rest of his troopes in garison, and seeing that the Duke of *Parma* was farre thence retired, hee returned to the *Hage*, where the Estates receiued him with many complaints:

The Estates complaine to Leicester against himselfe.

THat the moneyes were not well distributed, that hee inclined his eares to evill Counsellors, that the numbers of the auxiliary English were not compleat, that foreigne souldiers were inrol'd without their consent, that militarie discipline was neglected, that waggons and pioners were compeld, that the priuiledges of the prouinces were contẽned, & that new formes of contribution were deuised.

They requested him to apply a speedy and healthfull remedy to these things. He that had his whole intendments busied about his returne into *England*, with a courteous answer gaue them faire promising. But vpon the day wherein he was to depart, he committed the administration of the Prouinces to the Counsell of the Estates, and vpon the same day, by letters of restraint secretly dispatcht, he reserued to himselfe the whole authority ouer the Gouernours of the Prouinces, Townes, and Castles, and exempted likewise the accustomed iurisdictions from the Counsell of the Estates

Loke 3. Return into England.

and Gouernours of the Prouinces, and so vpon the third day of December he passed ouer into *England*. Thus for this whole yeare were the English affaires caried in the *Netherlands*.

In *England*, *Phillip* Earle of *Arundel* who all the yeare had beene kept close prisoner, was accused in the Starre-Chamber.

Earle Arundell accused of many things

THat hee contrary to the Lawes, had succoured the Priests, had interchange of letters with Alan *and* Parson, *Jesuits and enemies to the Queene: That he had derogated from the Iustice of the Kingdome by publike writing: and had enterprised to depart the Kingdome without licence.*

answe-them and is fyned.

But hauing made protestation of his obedience to the Queene, and loue to his Country, he modestly excused himselfe out of his zeale to the Catholike Religion, and his ignorance of the lawes, and submitted himselfe to the iudgement of the Assembly, who adiudged him to be fined 10000 pounds, and so long imprisonment as the Queenes pleasure should prescribe. But of these things in the yeare 1589 must more amply be discoursed.

King of Denmarke treateth Peace with the Queene of England.

About this time ariued in *England* frō *Frederick* 2. King of *Denmarke*, *Hen. Ramely* Chancelor for the *German* affaires, with a warlike traine & guard of Musketteers, who at large declared, with what affection the K. of *Denmarke* was transported towards Queene ELIZABETH, and the generall peace of Christendome; to which he promised with his best indeauors to moue the King of *Spaine* to condiscend:

That

THat (as hee said) *the common enemie of mankinde, might not any longer with humane blood water those seeds of warre which he had sowne in the* Netherlands.

The Queene gaue him a gracious hearing; and hauing often graciously entertained him with diuers discourses, she highly commended the pious intention of the King of *Denmarke*. And by the Lord *Burghley*, Treasurer; *Charles Howard*, Lord High Admirall; *Henry* Lord *Carie*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, Chamberlaine; and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, principall Secretarie, she gaue him this answer;

Queene Elizabeth answereth.

THat she desired nothing more, then to embrace a League of amity (in which were coucht no treacheries) with her neighbouring Princes. But considering the complots of the Spaniard which hee had practised against her, shee could not but prouide for her owne safety, the defence of the True Religion of Christ, and the conseruation of the priuiledges of her allyed neighbours in their entier.

The selfe-same answer to the same purpose she gaue to *Bodellan*, sent into *England* by the Duke of *Parma* to treat of a Peace.

In

In the meane space since furnished the King of *Nauarre*, by the hands of *Horatio Pallauicine* vvith a large summe of money; in whose person onely, the *Guises* oppugned the reformed Religion in *France*. But the Queene was to nothing more attentiue, then to confirme a solid amity betweene *England* and *Scotland*, and to conioyne them in one vnited League of mutuall offence and defence, vvhereby she might not onely cut off all hope of ayde from *Scotland* to foraine Nations, but to the Queene of Scots her selfe. For Queene ELIZABETH suspected, that shee, being greatly incensed, had imbraced some perilous counsell, since that the conditions which vvere presented by her, vvere reiected; the association agreed vpon, and she (as is before related) deliuered into the custody of Sir *Aimé Poulet* and *Drury*. And it was apparantly manifest, that the Iesuites on one side, and the fugitiue Nobilitie of the other, had suggested her with diuers designes, and abrupt counsels, by their Letters written one against the other. For the Iesuites perceiuing that there was no other hope left for the establishing of the Roman Religion, either by her, or by her sonne, they framed to themselues new deuices; they beganne to coyne for the Spaniard (whose greatnesse they alwayes laboured to encrease) a new and fained right to the succession of *England*. And (as *Pasquier* reported) they sent *Saumier* (if the name be not fained) into *England*, vvhich vvas one of their owne society, for to draw the Nobility to the Spanish faction, and to force her to some dangerous matter; denouncing that if she were any way troublesome, that neither shee nor her son should raigne at all. And by inciting the *Guises*, her alliance, to new commotions against the King of *Nauarre* and Prince of *Conde*, to the intent to hinder them from aiding of her and her sonne.

But to conclude the League which was begunne by *Wotton*, and interrupted by the slaughter of *Francis Russell*, which also *Desneuall* the French Ambassador, and *Corselle*, a man

a man of an impatient disposition, who not long before was ignominiously driuen out of *England*; began now to hinder; *Thomas Randolph* vvas dispatched, vvhose dexteritie in the Scottish affaires, was accounted wise and fortunate, although to the King hee was scarce welcome, by reason of the troubles which he formerly moued in *Scotland*. He proposed to the King the same conditions of the League, which *Wotton* had before propounded. The King would haue to be added the Articles concerning the yearly pension assigned, and the preiudice not to be offered to his Right to the Crowne of *England*, and vvould haue them inserted into the Contract. The Ambassador according to his instructions promised him an assurance of these things in a writing separate by it selfe, prouided that hee constantly embraced the League. The King, out of the loue vvhich hee bore to his subiects, propounded that the Scots might inioy the selfsame immunities in *England* as the English themselues. But the Ambassador shewing him that it could not be done except by the Parliament authoritie; and the States of *England* vvould not easily accord thereto: the King deliberately proposing the Articles to himselfe, agreed vnto them, and commanded them to be imparted to his Nobility, to the entent that they likewise should confirme them with their subscriptions. Yet the French Ambassador murmuring, first, said, that the Queene had desired this League, not out of any loue to the King, but for the iust feare vvhich shee had, lest shee should bee ruined by her enemies which were ioyned against her: then hee inuected many feares, intermixt with threats, that the amity of France, which is most profitable to the Scots, vvould be by this meanes dissolued: Lastly, he conjured the King, that hee would not doe any thing without the King of *France* his counsel.

Booke 3.

The King of Scots propoundeth conditions.

But the King, who wel knew these to be but vaine speeches, could not be retarded or diuerted from his purpose. For hee wel knew that the English forces were much encreased by

He is not deterred by the French.

ooke 3.

ng James's wer to tion.

he League fast friend ip.

Englands League with the Low-Countries, made this serious answer.

THat he had reposed his confidence in the diuine bounty, and not in the friendship of such as were contrary to the glory of God. Neither was it lesse lawfull for him to contract a League with the Queene, without the French Kings counsell, then it was of late for the King of France to ioyne in friendship with her, without his aduice.

And although the Queene, that she might not be thought to buy this alliance, did send him lesse money then he expected, and made lesse expression of the assurance of the succession; neuertheless for the zeale which hee bore to Religion, and his singular affection to the Queene, hee commanded the League to bee concluded; and further to acquite his promise, he determined to send into *England* the *Carrs*, which were suspected murderers of *Francis Russell.*

A little after, vpon the beginning of *Iuly*, the Earle of *Rutland*, the Lord *Eures*, and *Tho: Randolph* for the Queene: the Earle of *Bothwell*, the Lord *Boide*, and *James Hamy Coldingknoll* for the King of *Scotland* were assembled at *Barwicke*, and there consummated the League, which was called *The League of fast friendship*, (because the word of *offence* was displeasing to the Scots) as followeth.

FOrasmuch as the Raignes and Gouernments of of these Princes, are falne into these doubtful and dangerous times, wherein the neighbouring Princes

Princes, which will be called Catholiques, acknowledging the Papall authoritie, doe contract Leagues, and by mutuall alliances, doe oblige their faiths, to ruine and extirpate, the true, pure, and Euangelicall Religion; not onely out of their owne Territories and Dominions, but also out of foraine Kingdomes. To the end, that those which doe embrace the Euangelicall Religion, might not seeme lesse carefull to defend and protect the same, then those which at this time doe exercise the Roman Religion are for the euersion & ouerthrow of it: The said Princes for their greater assurance, and securitie of their owne persons, vpon whose safety dependeth the good and welfare of the people; and for the conseruation of the true, ancient, and Christian Religion, whereof they at this present make profession, haue consulted and agreed to combine themselues in a straiter knot of mutuall alliance and friendship, then hath beene till now amongst the Predecessors of their Maiesties. Booke 3

The first ARTICLE.

PRimarily then, to the end that this so godly and necessary Proposition of either Prince in this turbulent estate of things might come to an effect, for the common good, and propagation of the truth of the Gospell: it is conuented, agreed and concluded, that the said Princes shall by this mutuall and holy League, be especially carefull to defend and conserue the true, pure, and Euangelicall Religion, which they now professe, against all others that for the ruine thereof shall enterprize any thing against either of them; and shall labour and endeuour with all possible diligence, that the rest of those Princes which are professors of the same Religion, might accord with them in this

holy propounded League, and conioyning their forces conserue in their Dominions the true seruice of God, and defend and gouerne their subiects vnder the said ancient and Apostolicall Religion.

The second.

ITem, *it is conuented, accorded, and concluded that this mutuall League for the defending and maintaining of the Christian and Catholique Religion, which at this present is holden by either Prince, and by the grace of God obserued and nourished in their Realmes and Dominions, shall bee a League of offence and defence against all those that shall hinder, or endeuour by any means to hinder the exercise of the same within their Realmes and Dominions; notwithstanding all Treaties, Leagues of friendship, and Confederations past betweene either of them, and all aduersaries and persecutors whatsoeuer of the same Religion. That if at any time any Prince or State whatsoeuer, of what condition soeuer he be, shal inuade or infest, the Realmes, Dominions, or Territories, of either of the said Princes, or any part of them; or indomage or iniure any manner of way their Maiesties persons, or subiects; or shall attempt these, or any of these things,*

The third.

IT *is conuented, accorded and concluded, that neither of these Princes, receiuing intelligence from the person inuaded, iniured, or indomaged, shall aircctly, or indirectly; openly, or couertly, aide, counsell, or fauour, at any time, the said inuaders, or infestors, in what kinde of inuasion so euer it shall bee; or by whomsoeuer it shall be attempted,*

tempted, notwithstanding all kindred, affinitie, amitie, or alliance before contracted, or after to bee contracted.

The fourth.

THat the said Princes shall reciprocally send aide either to other, in manner as followeth: If the Kingdome of England shall be inuaded or molested by any stranger vpon those parts which are farre remote from the Kingdome of Scotland, *the King of* Scotland *after demand made by the Queene of* England, *shall incontinently and without delay send two thousand horse, and fiue thousand foot, or any lesse number, according to the pleasure & request of the Queene, to bee conducted at the expence of the Queene, from the frontiers of* Scotland *next adiacent to the Kingdome of* England, *into any part of* England *whatsoeuer.*

The fift.

THat if the Kingdome of Scotland *shall bee inuaded or molested by any stranger vpon those parts which are farre remote from the Kingdome of* England: *the Queene of* England *after demand made by the King of* Scotland, *shall incontinently, and without delay, send three thousand horse, and fixe thousand foot, or any lesse number, according to the pleasure and request of the King, to be conducted at the expence of the King, from the frontiers of* England, *next adiacent to the Kingdome of* Scotland, *into any part of* Scotland *whatsoeuer.*

The sixt.

THat if the Kingdome of England *shall by any one bee inuaded vpon the North parts within threescore miles of the borders of* Scotland, *the most illustrious King of* Scotland *being requested and demanded by the most excellent Queene of* England, *shall assemble all his forces and troopes to his possibilitie, effectually and without delay; and ioyning them with the English troops, shall pursue in all hostile manner those that shall inuade the Kingdome of* England, *their fauourers and assistants whatsoeuer, for the space of thirty dayes together, or longer, if occasion and necessitie shall require, according to the space of time, which the subiects of* Scotlind *were anciently accustomed, and to this day doe hold, for bringing of succours to the defence of the Kingdome.*

The seuenth.

THat when the King of Scots shall haue notice giuen him from the Queene of England *of any inuasion or deuastation happening in* Ireland, *he shall not onely forbid the inhabitants of the County of* Argathel, *of the Iles, and places adiacent to the said County, and the inhabitants of all other places whatsoeuer in the Kingdome of* Scotland, *not to enter into the Kingdome of* Ireland, *and to his power to hinder them from entring: But also in what time soeuer it shall happen, that the inhabitants of any part whatsoeuer of the Realme of* Scotland, *shall, contrary to the intent of this Treaty, enter in hostile manner into any part of* Ireland, *with an extraordinary and vnusuall number of Souldiers: the King himselfe, after he had*

had giuen notice to the Queene of the said entry, shall, by a publique Edict, denounce the said inuaders, breaking in hostile maner into the said Realme, for Rebels, disturbers of the publique peace, and men guilty of attempt against the estate, and as such shall pursue them.

The eighth.

THat neither of the said Princes shall giue (or permit any other in any sort whatsoeuer to giue) at any time hereafter, any aide, fauour, or assistance, to any conspirator, rebell, or one reuolted from either Prince; or suffer any such person or persons in publike or in priuate, to make stay or aboade in their Dominions. But either of the said Princes, vpon the first notice, or request of the Prince (from whom they haue reuolted) offered, shall deliuer or cause to be deliuered vp the said conspirators, or Rebels, without any delay or procrastination, (according to the Conuentions, in our former Treaties betweene our selues, and our predecessors, expressed) or at least shal compell them to depart out of the bounds of their Dominions. And furthermore, so long as the said Rebels, or conspirators shall remaine in the said Dominions, either of the said Princes shall giue reasonable satisfaction for all the wrongs and damages done by the said Rebels.

The ninth.

THat to compound for all and singular the iniuries and controuersies which haue hapned since the time that the most excellent King of Scots tooke the gouernment of the Kingdome vpon him, and for the space of foure yeares before, by reason of the frontier

Book 3.

frontier limits, or amongst the borderers. The Princes shall on either side, within six moneths after this league concluded, send capable Commissioners, desirous of peace, well instructed, with commands sufficient and proper for the same affaires, to some commodious place upon the frontiers of both Kingdomes, which shall determine and end all causes & controuersies by a friendly and honorable composition.

The tenth.

THat neither of the said Princes shall contract any League or confederation with any other Prince, Common-wealth, or Communalty whatsoeuer, to the preiudice of this present Leagne and vnion, without hauing and obtaining an expresse consent from the other, by Letters, either subscribed with his hand, or sealed with his Priuy Seale.

That both Princes, when either of them shall bee duely requested by the Ambassadors or Commissioners of the other, shall approue and confirme this holy League of Society, both by Oath, and vnder the Great Seale. And further, for the greater assurance and stabilitie of the same, shall deliuer, or cause to be deliuered Letters Patents at a certaine time, which by the mutuall consent of either Prince shall be constituted.

The eleuenth.

THat all the precedent Treaties of friendship, and Conuentions of Leagues betweene the Predecessors of the said Princes, their Kingdomes and Dominions (though now seeming out of vse) shall remaine

remaine in their vertue, force, and vigour. And likewise this present treaty of mutuall alliance, and fast friendship shall not derogate in any manner from the precedent Treaties, and confederations passed by the said Princes, with other their Allies, or diminish in any part their waight, and authoritie, (onely excepted the defence of the pure Religion which the said Princes doe defend and exercise at this present in their Kingdomes) in which manner we understand, that this present League of offence and defence, in its owne force shall remaine ratified, and inviolable.

That when the King of Scotland *shall come to the age of fiue and twenty yeares; he shall (so soon as he conueniently may) approue and confirme by a publique assembly of his Kingdome this present League. Likewise the Queenes Maiestie shall doe and accomplish the same thing, and shall cause to be done and accomplished in the Court of Parliament, by the Nobility and other states of the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland.

A conspiracie against Queene Elizabeth.

In the same moneth that this League was concluded of, a most pernicious conspiracy was discouered against Queene ELIZABETH; of which (in as few words as may possible be) I will expound the originall and progresse; according to that which I haue extracted out of the voluntary confessions of the conspirators. Some out of the English Seminarie at Rheims, admiring as it were with astonishment, a certaine omnipotency in the *Pope* of *Rome*, beleeuing that the Bull of *Pius Quintus* against Queene ELIZABETH was dictated to him by the Holy Ghost; perswaded themselues, and others also that desired the glory of being Martyrs: that it was a meritorious thing to murder such as were excommunicate; yea, and a martyrdome to dye in such a cause. *Giffard* Doctor in Diuinity, *Gilbert Giffard* and *Hodgeson* Priests, so farre possessed the minde of *Iohn Sauage*

Booke 3.

with these things (who was reputed to be a bastard) a man ready at all assayes, that hee freely and voluntarily vowed to murder Queene ELIZABETH. And to make men beleeue, that they desired to assure the Queene and her Counsellors, they published a booke at the same time, wherein they admonished the Papists of *England* not to enterprize any thing against their Queene, but with their teares (which are the weapons of Christians) to combate against her enemies. And also by this meanes they dispersed a false rumor, that *George Giffard* a Gentleman of the Queenes Guard, had sworne to murder her, and to that end was by the *Guise* hyred with large summes of money.

ow discoered.

In Easter Holydayes, *John Ballard* Priest of the same Seminary, after hee had visited many Papists in *England* and *Scotland*, and had sounded their minds, hee returned into *France*, accompanied with *Maude*, *Walsinghams* Spy, a most crafty dissembler, that had seduced his easie nature, and treated with *Barnardino Mendoza* then Leidger for the King of *Spaine* in *France*, and *Charles Paget* who was wholly deuoted to the Queene of Scots, about the meanes to inuade *England*; representing to him, the apt opportunitie of the time which then was, because the men of warre were then absent, and busied in the Low-Countries: neither was there a fitter time to bee hoped for, because the *Pope*, *Spaniard*, *Guise*, and *Parma* had then determined to inuade *England*, to diuert the warres from the *Netherlands*. But *Paget* clearely demonstrated, that it would be in vaine, to goe about to inuade *England* so long as the Queene was liuing. *Ballard* neuertheless was sent backe, after hee had sworne, to procure speedy succours to them that should inuade, and the liberty of the Queene of Scots.

Ballard returneth into France.

Ballard sent backe into England.

At Whitsontide this Priest ariued in *England*, apparelled in Silks, in the habite of a Souldier, and by a borrowed name called himselfe Captaine *Foscue*. Hee consulted at *London* about these things with *Anthony Babington* of *Dethicke* in *Darby-*

Secreth with Babington.

Darbyshire, a yong man of a famous house, of a haughty spirit, in learning surpassing his age, and very zealous to the Roman religion; who without leaue, had before passed into *France* vnknowne, and there became familiar with *Thomas Morgan* a seruant to the Queene of Scots, and the Bishop of *Glasco* her Ambassador; who continually sounded in the eares of his ambitious yong man, the heroicall vertues of the great Queene of Scots, in whose seruice hee might obtaine the meanes to rise to great Honours. Whereupon the yong man conceiued a certaine hope, and *Morgan*, without his knowledge, commended him by Letters to the Queene. For after that he was returned into *England*, the Queene of Scots graciously saluted him with her Letters; & after that, *Morgan* made vse of him for conueyance of Letters to and fro, vntill such time, that she was deliuered into the custody of *Poulet*: then he, perceiuing the danger which might ensue, desisted. *Ballard* (as I said) consulted of the aforesaid things with *Babington*, hee plainely thought that the inuading of *England* would be to no purpose so long as Queene ELIZABETH liued. But *Ballard* giuing him to vnderstand, that she had not long to liue, because *Sauage* who had vowed to murder her, was then ariued in *England*; *Babington* was of another aduice, and thought it not fit, that affaires of such greatnesse should be committed to him alone, lest he should faile in the attempt. But to sixe valiant and Noblemen, of which he would haue *Sauage* to be one, to the end he might not infringe his vow. And therfore *Babington* sought out a new meanes for the inuading of *England* by the strangers, at what Port they should land, what assistance should be ioyned with them; how the Queene of Scots should be set at liberty: and lastly, for committing the tragicall murder (as he called it) of the Queene of *England*.

Whilst hee wholly bent his cogitations vpon these matters, hee receiued Letters by a boy vnknowne from the Queen of Scots, written in a familiar Character betwixt them:

Booke 3.

He instructs him in the stratagem.

Babington receiueth Letters from the Queene of Scots.

Booke 3.

them: wherein she gently blamed him for his long silence, and commanded him with all speed to send the packet of Letters sent from *Morgan*, and deliuered to him by the Secretary of the French Ambassador, which hee performed, and by the same messenger sent her a Letter, by which

which she to her.

HE excused himselfe of his silence, because hee was destitute of opportunitie to send to her, since she was giuen into the custodie of Sir Aimé Poulet *that Puritan, wholly deuoted to* Leicester, *and a cruell and bitter enemy to the Catholique faith. He writ of the conference which he had with* Ballard. *Hee gaue her notice that sixe Gentle-men were chosen to commit a tragicall murder; and that he with a hundred others at the instant would deliuer her. And he desired her to propound recompences to the heroicall actor of this tragedie (so he called it) or to their posteritie if they dyed in the attempt.*

She answered the Letters the 27 of Iuly: And

answered Iuly.

SHe praised his singular affection to the Catholique religion, and to her selfe. But she admonished him to be considerate in this enterprise,

prise, and that he should conclude an association amongst the authors and actors in the same, for feare of the Puritans; not to attempt any thing before he was sure of the foraine succors to stirre vp some combustion in Ireland, *whilest the blow was to be giuen here; to draw to his faction the Earle of* Arundel *and his brothers, with the Earle of* Northumberland, *and secretly to repeale into the Kingdome the Earle of* Westmerland, Paget, *and others.*

Booke 3.

She prescribeth the meanes of her deliuerie;

E*ither by subuerting of a Cart in the Port, or setting fire vpon Stables, or by intercepting of her when she should ride to take the aire, or recreate her selfe betweene* Chartle *and* Stafford. Finally, she requested *Babington* to promise recompences to the sixe Gentle-men, and to all the rest.

He had now associated to him certaine Gentlemen of Noble race burning with zeale toward the Romane Religion; amongst whom the principall were *Edward Windsor*, brother to the Lord *Windsor*, Baron of *Bradnam*, a yong man of

His associates in the conspiracie.

ooke 3.

of a pleasing and milde disposition. *Thomas Salisbury* issued from a house of ancient Knighthood in *Denbigh-shire*. *Chari Tilney* of a remarkable and famous race; who was the onely hope of that house; with one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the Queene, whom *Ballard* a while before had reconciled to the Romane Church: and *Chidiock Tichborn* of *Hampshire*, and *Edward Abington*, whose father was the vnder-Treasurer of the Queenes houshold; two braue yong men; *Robert Gadge* of *Surrey*, *Iohn Trauerse*, *Iohn Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *I. Iones*, whose father was keeper of the Wardrop to Queene MARIE: *Sauage*, of whom I haue spoken: *Barnwell*, of a Noble House in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* Clerke for the receipt of first fruits and tythes. Into this company *Polly* insinuated himselfe, vvell instructed in the affaires of the Queene of Scots, very expert in dissembling, vvho stil from day to day, laid open all their counsels to *Walsingham*, and by the mischieuous aduice which he suggested to these yong men, being of themselues inclined to euill, hee precipitated them to farre vvorse matters: notwithstanding *Naue* the Queene of Scots Secretary, had forwarned them of him.

ington eth to ry one task.

To these *Babington* communicateth the matter, but not to euery one, all; he shewed to *Ballard*, *Tichborne* and *Dunne* his owne Letters, and the Letters of the Queene of Scots. Also he soliciteth *Tilney*, and *Tichborne* to doe the deed. At the first they refuse to staine their hands in their Princesses blood. But *Ballard* and *Babington* labouring hard to teach and giue them to vnderstand how iust and lawfull it vvas to kil Kings or Princes excommunicated, and that if right were to be violated, it must needs be for the Catholike Religion; yet notwithstanding they with much adoe are perswaded to it. *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock*, and *Sauage* yeelded their ready consent vvith alacritie, swearing to act the murther. *Salisbury* they could not possibly induce to bee a Regicide, nor draw to any thing more, then to imploy his best endeuours for the deliuerance of the Queene of Scotland. *Babington*

bington maketh choice of *Tichburne* to be the odde man ouer and aboue the number of those that should doe the deed; of whose secrecie, trust and resolution he made no doubt; but he was then abroad in trauell. *Babington* commandeth that before they had taken their oath, they should not impart the businesse to any. Booke

After this, they met in S*t*. *Gyles* fields to conferre further; in *Paules* also, and in Tauernes, where they feasted often, puft vp with vaine hopes of preferment to: great honors and dignities: whereupon they would often commend the noble courage of those valiant *Scots*, which had lately seized on the Kings royall person at *Sterlin*; and *Girard* the *Bourgonian*, who slew the Prince of *Orange* at *Delph*. Moreouer, they grew to that height of vanity, that thy would needs haue the pictures of them drawne in a table, and *Babington* in the midst, with this versicle or inscription: They conferr togeth Their vanity.

Such be my consorts, as dare incurre my dangers.

But this pleased them not so well, as being a little too plain, wherefore they exchanged it with this other;

Quorsum hæc, aliò properantibus.

Some are of opinion that this table was once show'd to Queene ELIZABETH in priuate, of which shee could not discern or know any other man by his effigies, but *Barnwell* onely who had had at diuers times accesse to her Maiesty from the Earle of *Kildare* whom hee serued; but being instructed in the busnesse, she knew him to be the man should haue attempted her life; for ona time walking abroad, and espying *Barnwell*, whom she beheld with an vndanted countenance, turning herselfe suddenly towards Sir *Christopher Hatton* Captaine of her Guard, and others; she said, Am not I fairly guarded now, hauing not one man of my followers, that is prouided of a sword? This *Barnwell* reported this to the

the rest of his fellowes, telling thē how easily it might then haue beene done, had he had his consorts with him: and *Sauage* said the same.

After this, *Babington* cast all his care, how he might bring in the forraigne power according to his promise. For the more certainty hee resolued to passe himselfe into *France* and to send *Ballard* before to the same end, for whom in an other name he had procured a licence to trauell. And for the better auoyding of suspition, insinuateth himselfe with Sir *Francis Walsingham*, by meanes of *Polly* already spoken of, whom he earnestly intreated to procure him a Passe from the Queene to goe into *France*, promising him he would be exquisitely industrious to finde out all the hidden plots the English fugitiues had in hand concerning the Queene of *Scots*: He commendeth much the yong Gentlemans purpose, promising him not only his Passe, but greater matters. Neuertheless putting off from time to time both the one and the other, hauing serued his turne in the meane time by his owne intelligencers, who had acquainted him beforehand with all things, though they thought themselues as secret as the Sun; he who discouered most of these matters to *Walsinghams*, was one *Gilbert Giffard*, descended from the noble family of the *Chilingtons* in *Staffordshire* neere *Chartley*, where the Queene of *Scots* had lyen, and was then sent by the fugitiues into *England*, vnder the name of *Luson*, to put *Sauage* in mind of the vow he had made: and being now to bee their factor, was to keepe himselfe close, and the Queene of *Scots* letters safe which were to bee sent ouer, when as they could not in those dangerous times draw in the Countesse of *Arondel*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *H. Howard*, nor Sir *G. Shirley*.

The fugitiues to try whether they might safely expect letters out of *England* from *Giffard*, sent often empty white papers (which they call blanckes) bound vp in packets like letters, which perceiuing by the answers they receiued that the

they had beene deliuered, and now beleeuing their cariers better then before, write materially, but in characters. Whether this *Giffard* was troubled in conscience, or corrupted with money, before hee carried ouer his letters, or terified with feare, I cannot well tell; but hee went to *Walsingham* first in secret, to vvhom hee discouered himselfe, and for vvhat cause hee was thus imployed into *England*, offering his seruice for the loue hee bore vnto his Princesse and Countrie, vvith promise that what Letters so euer from the Fugitiues, or the Queene of Scots should come into his hands, hee would acquaint him with. Sir *Fran: Walsingham*, embracing his offer, entertaineth him kindely, and sending him into *Stafford-shire*, vvrit to Sir *Aimé Poulet*, intreating him to giue this *Giffard* leaue to intice some of his seruants. He vnwilling that any seruant of his (as he said) should by dissimulation, or otherwise, bee brought to turne Traitor, seemed not to be pleased therewith. Neuertheleſse suffered him to practice vntill hee had brought in a Beate-brewer, and an Oate-meale-man, his neare neighbours, whom he made sure. *Giffard* vvith a few crownes had easily corrupted the Brewer; who by a hole made artificially in a wall, wherein vvas a stone that vvas to be easily put in and out, he both deliuered & receiued Letters, the which by Carriers appointed for the purpose, *viz.* relapsed Priests, came to Sir *F. Walsinghams* hands. He opened them, tooke Copies of them, and by the cunning of *Tho. Philips* found out the Charactory, and by the deuice of *Arthur Gregory*, so closed them vp againe, that it was not to be perceiued that they had been vnsealed, then sent them to whom they were directed, according to their superscriptions. In this fashion were the two first Letters intercepted which the Queene of Scots had written to *Babington*, and his answers againe to her (wherein in the same Characters was added at the end of the Letter a *Postscriptum*: in which they found sixe Noble-mens names, if no more) as also other Letters,

Booke 3.

Sendeth the Letters he receiued, to Walsingham.

which all in one day were vvritten to the Spanish Ambassador, to the Lord *Paget*, *Char: Paget*, the Archbishop of *Glascow*, and Sir *Francis Inglesfield*: all which were first written out, and so sent away againe.

So soone as the Queene vnderstood by these Letters, vvhat a horrible storme vvas ready to light on her, as well out of diuers places abroad, as at home; she commanded out of hand, to apprehend *Ballard*, vvho vvas at vnawares taken in *Babingtons* house, being vpon his departure for France. This brought a thousand doubts and dreadfull thoughts into the perplexed heart of *Babington*, who hereupon vvent to *Tichbourne* for his aduice vvhat to doe. *Tichbournes* counsell vvas that euery man should fly out, to saue himselfe. But *Babington* vvas of a minde to send forth *Sauage* and *Charnocke* to performe the murder. But first, that he might haue the better accesse in Court, to apparell him richly; and to this end, had conference with the rest in *Pauls* that day. But changing his opinion, and hauing hidden in his perplexed heart, the thornes of his sorrowes, importuneth *Walsingham* by Letters and intreaties, being then at the Court, without further delay to let him haue his Licence for *France*, and for that he had speciall vse for *Ballard* to set him at libertie. *Walsingham* deferred his suit vvith faire promises, laying the taking of *Ballard* vpon *Yong* the cunning Catcher of the Papists, and vpon his *Pursuiuants*, aduising him as it were in kindnesse to keepe him out of the clawes of such as they; and this he easily perswaded him to (being a yong man) and to take his house in *London* for his lodging for a vvhile, till the Queene had signed his Passe, and till himselfe returned to *London*, that they might conferre the more priuately together of such great matters, and that otherwise by his often goings vp and downe, which he must needs vse if he be lodged any where else, the fugitiues could not but grow suspitious of him vpon his going into *France*.

In the meane time one *Scudamore*, a seruant of Sir *Fran-*

cis Walsinghams, vvas commanded to haue an eye to him, to accompany him euery where; giuing him to vnderstand, that this was done to saue him from Pursuiuants and Sergeants. This webbe Walsingham had closely wouen vvithout the knowledge of the Queenes Councell, and thought to lengthen it a little more. But the Queene would not haue it so, lest in not seeking to saue her selfe whilest she might, her Maiestie should seeme (as shee said) rather to tempt God, then to trust in him. Hereupon a letter was sent from Walsingham at Court, to his man at home, to looke a little more narrowly to Babington then hee had done. This vvriting was deliuer'd him vnsealed, sitting at table next to Babington, who tooke occasion to read it vvith him. He hauing a guilty conscience began to suspect that all was discouered; so that being the night following vvith Scudamore, and two others of Sir Francis Walsinghams seruants at supper in a Tauerne; After they had supped, he riseth from the table, leauing his Cloake and Rapier behind him, as if he had gone to pay the shot, taking the benefit of the darke night, slipt away to Westminster, where hee changed his cloathes with Gage, which Gage soone after put off in Charnocks Chamber, and put on his: being so arrayed, they went to saue them in Saint Iohns Wood neare the Citie, vvhere Barnwell and Dun came to them. The meane while, they vvere proclaimed traytors thorow the vvhole countrie. They lurked in woods and by-wayes, after the French Ambassador had refused to lend them money, and Tichbourne horses. Babington cut his head-haires; and because he vvas faire of complexion, they besmeared his face vvith the huskes of greene Wal-nuts. Hunger at the last inforced them to retyre themselues into the houses of the Bellamis neare Harrow-hill, a people zealously affected to the Romane religion, which hid them in barnes, and put them in Rusticke apparell, and relieued them with meat. But being found ten dayes after, they vvere conueyed from thence to London, and the Citizens to expresse

Booke.

Getteth himselfe out.

Lyeth in a wood.

Harrow Hill.

They are found.

Booke 3.

presse their great ioy, rung Bels, made bonefires, and sung Psalmes; which the Queene much commended, and gaue the City thankes.

And all the rest of the conspirators

The other Conspirators vvere taken presently after, the most of them in the Suburbs; *Salisbury* in *Cheshire*: his horse being shot through by those vvhich pursued him, and *Travers* with him: after they had swom ouer the Riuer *Weauer*: and *Iones* in *Wales*, who not vnacquainted with the treason, had lodged them in his house, after he had heard them proclaimed Traitors, and had changed Cloakes with *Salisbury* and his man, (who vvas a Priest) which fled on horsebacke. Many dayes were spent in the examination of these, which bewrayed one another, not concealing any thing of the knowne truth.

All discouered.

Now whilst these things past thus, the Queene of Scots and her seruants were by Sir *Aimé Poulet* kept with watch and ward, that she might not heare thereof, although it were knowne all the Land thorow. But so soone as they were all taken, Sir *Tho: Gorge* vvas sent to aduertize her briefely hereof, which he did purposely, shee not dreaming of any such matter, but was now mounted on horsebacke to goe hunt', and vnder a show of honour is conducted vp and down from one Noble mans house to another, not suffering her to returne home. In the meane time, Sir *John Manners*, *Ed. Aston*, *Ri: Bagot*, and *Wi: Waade* (who knew not any thing of this businesse, hauing beene lately sent into this Countrey) receiued Letters and Commission from the Queen to execute the same, to separate *Naune*, & *Curle*, and the rest of her seruants, to be kept safe and seueral from comming to haue any communication with her, or shee with them. And breaking open the doores of her Closet, sent away to the Court all her Desks, or Coffers, wherein were any Letters vnder her owne hand and Seale. Then *Poulet* (as it was commanded him) seized vpon all her money, that she might haue no meanes, to bribe any, promising

The Q. of Scots kept with a guard and separated from her seruants.

Her Cofers with Letters sent to the Queene.

to

to restore it to her againe. The Coffers being opened before Queen ELIZABETH, diuers Letters were found written to her by Strangers, copies of such as she had sent, to sundry; notes, memorials and secret Characters, to the number of threescore more or lesse; with diuers amorous Letters, and Letters of complement from some great men of *England*: ELIZABETH notwithstanding passed all ouer in silence, vsing her old Motto.

Video, Taceoq;.

I see, and say nothing.

But as they had knowledge of these things, those who before had fauoured the Queene of Scots, from thenceforth were her aduersaries.

After this, *Giffard* (hauing first playd his part in this Tragedie) was sent into *France*, as if he had beene banished, but before he went, he left with the Ambassador of *France*, an indented Paper, willing him not to deliuer the Queene of Scots her Letters, nor those of the Fugitiues to any but him that should show him a Paper sutable to that, the which he left secretly with *Walsingham*. Hee returning into *France* within a few moneths after, being committed to prison for some impuritie of life, and suspected of these matters, ended his dayes miserably, confessing that the most of that which hee had said was true, as was apparant by that which was found in his Deske.

Giffard sent into France, dyeth miserably.

The thirteenth day of September seuen of the Conspirators were arraigned, vvho confessed themselues guilty, and vvere condemned of High treason. The second day after, the other seuen was likewise called to the barre; who pleading not guilty, put themselues (as the manner is) to be tryed by God and the Countrey, and vvere by their owne confessions found guilty and condemned. Onely *Polley* (though he were guilty of all) saying hee had some thing to

The Traytors come to Iudgement.

Booke 3.

speake to Sir *Fran: Walsingham* was not brought forth.

Vpon the 20 day of the moneth, the first seuen were hanged on a Gibber, a scaffold being set vp for that purpose, in S. *Gyles* fields, where they had commonly vsed to meet. They were no sooner hanged, but presently cut downe: their priuy members cut off, their bowels ript vp, and quartered (they yet aliue, and looking about them) which was not without some note of cruelty. The first was *Ballard* the Arch-traytor, after he had asked God and the Queene forgiuenesse, if euer he had offended her. Then *Babington* (who neuer seemed dismayed at *Ballards* execution) whilest the other turning aside, prayed on their knees, confessed his faults ingenuously; and being cut downe from the gallowes, and lying vpon the blocke to be quartered, cryed aloud in Latine; *Parce mihi Domine Iesu.* *Sauage* (the Rope being crackt) fell from the Gibber, and being presently snatcht vp by the executioner, had his members cut off, and was bowelled aliue. *Barnwell* excused his crime out of a pretext of conscience and Religion. *Tichbourne* most penitently confessing his offence, was much pitied of the beholders: so also was *Tilney* a man of modest demeanor, & of comely personage. *Abington*, of a furious and turbulent spirit, threatneth, that shortly there should bee no little blood-shed through *England*.

Are punished.

The next day, the other seuen being drawne to the same place, suffered the same punishment; but with lesse seueritie, by the Queenes commandement, who hated the first dayes cruelty after she heard it. For they hung till they were dead, and then were taken downe, bowelled, and quartered. *Salisbury* was the first, who dyed very penitently, exhorting Catholikes, neuer to attempt the restoring of Religion by force of Armes. *Dunne*, who was next, spoke to the same effect. Next was *Iones*, who protested hee had diuers times dissuaded *Salisbury* from the enterprize, nor did euer approue the bringing in of foraine inuasion. *Charnock* and *Travers*

were earnest in prayer, commending themselues to God, and to the Saints. *Gage* acknowledgeth the bountifull fauours of her Maiestie towards his father; and his owne execrable ingratitude by his treachery. *Hierome Bellamie*, (who had concealed *Babington* after hee was proclaimed Traytor) confused and silent, concluded the Tragedy. For, *Babingtons* brother, being guilty of the same, had strangled himselfe in prison.

The Queen of Scots her Secretaries examined.

After this execution, M. *Nauue* a Frenchman, and *Curle*, both Secretaries to the Q. of Scots, being examined of the Letters, copies of Letters, Notes, and Characters found in the Queenes Closet, presently confest, and subscribed, that they were their hand-writings, dictated from her to them in French, taken by *Nauue*, and translated by *Curle* into English, and written out in secret Characters. Neither denyed they, that they had receiued Letters from *Babington*, and that they, by her bidding, had written backe to him againe. I will not say, that they were hyred to say what they did; yet this was plainely to be seene by their Letters, and what *Curle* challenged at that time by *Walsinghams* promise; but he reproued him as vnmindfull of the gracious fauours hee had receiued, saying, that hee had confessed nothing, but what his fellow *Nauue* vrging him to, hee could not deny.

The King of France is aduertised.

Presently after, Sir *Edward Wotton* is sent into *France*, who was to certifie the King of all the Conspiracy, and to shew the Copies of the Letters of the Queene of Scots, and of others of the Nobility of *England*, to testifie the truth of the cause, that the King might perceiue in what perill the Queene was, by the practices of *Morgan*, *Charles Paget*, and others then resident in *France*.

Sundry opinions how to dispose of the Scottish Queene.

The Counsell could not determine what should be done with the Queene of Scots. Some aduised not to deale with her too rigorously, but to haue her kept straitly in Prison, for that shee was not the Author of the conspiracie: but

Booke 3.

conscious: and because she was sickly, and not likely to liue long. Others were of opinion to haue her put to death by course of Law, for feare of endangering Religion. But the Earle of *Leicester* thought it better to dispatch her with poison, and sent a Diuine to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, to tel him, that he thought it might lawfully be done. But Sir *Fr. Walsingham* protested that he was so farre from consenting to haue any violence offered her, as that he had diuerted *Mortons* purpose, which was to haue had her sent into *Scotland*, and to haue slaine her on the Borders. It was argued againe amongst them, by what Law she should be iudged. Whether by that of *An.* 25 of *Edward* the 3, (by which, *such were held guilty of Treason, as conspired the death of the King or the Queene, which should bring warre vpon their Kingdom, or take part with their Enemies*) or by that of *Anno* 27 of ELIZABETH, which I spoke of. But the aduice of those, which thought better of the latter, preuailed: for it vvas made in the case, which vvas now to be handled, and therefore proper. There vvas chosen by Commission, many of the Priuy Councell, and of the Peeres of the Realme, to proceed, by vertue of the Law aboue-mentioned, and to passe iudgement against such, as had raised rebellion, inuaded the Land, or offered violence to the Queene, &c. And behold the words of the Statute, as they are in the originall.

By what Law shee should be iudged.

Commissioners appointed to heare the cause.

A Commission granted to that end.

ELIZABETH by the Grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. *To the most Reuerend Father in Christ*, Iohn, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primate and Metropolitane of* England, *and one of our Priuy Councell; and to our beloued*

loued and faithfull Tho: Bromley *knight, Chancellor of* England, *and of our priuy Counsell; as also to our welbeloued and faithfull* William CECILL, *Baron of* Burghley, *Lo: high Treasurer of* England, *our Priuy Counsellor, &c.* Greeting, &c.

The rest of the Lords Commissioners names, for breuities sake, are * thus inserted.

Then after the rehearsing of the Law, or Act (as wee tearme it) these words follow.

FOr asmuch as since the last Session of Parliament, to wit since the first of Iune, in the xxxvij. yeare of our raigne, diuers things haue beene attempted and conceiued, tending to the hurt of our royall Person; aswell by Mary, daughter & heyre to Iames the fift, late King of Scotland and Dowager of France, pretending a title to the crowne of the Kingdome of England: as also by diuers other persons, with the priuitie of the said Mary, according as it hath beene giuen vs to vnderstand. And whereas we intend and determine, that the said Act should in all and by all be well, duely, and effectually executed, according to the forme and tenour of the said Act. And that all the offences in the aforesaid Act, and the circumstances of the same (above mentioned) be duely examined, and sentence, or iudgement, accordingly be giuen, agreeable to the tenour and effect of that Act: We giue to you, or the maior part of you, full and absolute power, licence and authority, according to the purport and meaning of the aboue recyted Act, to examine all & euery thing and things, tending to the impeachment of our royall person, which haue beene practised or conceiued, aswell

* William Poulet Marquiss of Winchester, Edward de Vere Earle of Oxford, Lo: high Chamberlaine of England, George Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury Earl Marshall, Henry Grey Earle of Kent, Henry Stanley Earle of Derby, William Somerset Earle of Worcester, Edward Manners E. of Rutland, Ambrose Dudley E. of Warwick, Master of our Ordnance, Henry Herbert Earle of Pembroke, Robert Dudley E. of Leicester, Master of our horse, Henry E. of Lincoln, Charles L. Howard high Admiral of England, Anthony Viscount Montagu, Henry Cary Baron of Hundsdon, Lo. Chamberlaine of our houshold, Henry Nevill Baron of Abergauenny, Edward Lord Zouch, Edward Parker L. Morley, Will. L. Cobham, Lord Warden of the cinque Ports, Edward L. Stafford, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, John L. Lumley, John L. Stanton, William L. Sandes, Henry L. Warwick, Ludouick L. Mordant, John L. Saint John of Bletso, Thomas Sackford Baron of Buckhurst, Henry L. Compton, Henry Lo. Cobham, Sir Francis Knollis knight, Treasurer, Sir Iacob Crofts knight, Controller, Sir Christ. Hatton Vice Chamberlaine, Sir Francis Walsingham our Secretary of state, William Dawson knight our second Secretary, Sir Ralph Sadler knight, Chancellor of our Dutchy of Lancaster, Sir Walter Mildmay knight, Sir Christo. Pooler knight, governor of our Island of Iersey (all our trusty & beloued priuy Counsellors, and Sir Christopher Wray knight L. chiefe Iustice of the Common pleas, John Wolley esquier Secretary for the Latin tongue, Edmund Anderson Knight, L. chiefe Iust. of our Bench, Sir Roger Manwood chiefe Baron of our Exchequer, Sir Tho. Gawdy, and Sir William Dickenson.

by the aforesaid Mary, *as by any other persons whatsoeuer, with the knowledge and priuity of her, all circumstances of the same (and other forenamed offences whatsoeuer specified, as hath beene abouesaid) and all circumstances of the said offences, and euery of them. And moreouer, according to the forenamed Act, to pronounce sentence, or iudgement, according as the matter shall appeare to you, vpon sufficient proofe: And therefore we command you, that yee proceed diligently vpon the foresaid matters, in maner abouesaid, vpon certaine dayes and in certaine places, as you, or the maior part of you, shall thinke good.*

Commissioners come to her.

Most part of these Commissioners met together the 11. of October, at Fotheringham in the countie of Northampton, vpon the riuer *Nen*, where the Queene of Scotts was then kept. The next day after, the Commissioners sent to her, *Mildmay*, Sir *Ayme Poulet*, and *Barker* publick Notary, who deliuered vnto her the Queenes Letters; which when she had read, with a bold spirit and maiestick countenance, she thus answered:

She answereth the letters vpon the sudden.

IT grieueth me, that my dearest sister the Queene hath beene so badly informed against me, and that after so many yeares as my body hath beene shut vp, and kept with watch and ward, the many iust conditions which I haue offered for my liberty, haue been neglected, and my selfe abandoned. I haue sufficiently aduertised her of many dangers, yet neuertheless she hath not giuen credite vnto me, but alwayes reiected them, though I be the next of her blood. When a combination was begunne, and an Act of Parliament thereupon made, I foresaw that what dangers soeuer might happen eyther from forraigne Princes abroad, discontented persons at home, or for Religion, would re-

dound

dound vpon me, hauing so great enemies in Court. I might take it ill, to haue my sonne contracted without my knowledge; but I omit that. Now as touching this Commission, it seemeth strange to me, to be arraigned in iudgement like a subiect, being an absolute Queene, not committing any thing preiudiciall to the Queenes royall Maiesty, to any Princes of mine owne ranke and dignitie, or against my sonne. Mine heart fayleth me not yet, nor will I faint in aduersitie: I referre me to my confession made to Bromley *now Lo: Chancellor, and Baron* Lauar: *I am ignorant of the English lawes and Statutes; I haue no Counsellers at law: Who are my Peeres, I know not. My notes and writings are taken from me, and there's none dares mediate for me. I am free from all trespasse against her Maiestie, I haue animated none against her, neither am I to be called into iudgement, vnlesse it were for some word or writing of mine owne, that could be produced against me, wherein I haue recommended my selfe and cause to some forraigne Princes; which I would not deny.*

Booke 3.

The day following Sir *Ayme Poulet* and *Parker*, two of the Commissioners, repayred to her, who shewed her (in writing) her answer, and demanded whether she would persist therein: which after she had heard read distinctly and truly vnto her, she commended it, saying she would.

But this (quoth she) *was out of my minde, the which I would haue added now; that the Queene wrote vnto me, that I was subiect to the lawes of* England, *and to be iudged by them, because I liued vnder their tuition.*

Addeth the next day to her answer,

To which I answer:

That I came into England *for ayde; and hauing euer since beene detayned prisoner, I could neuer enioy the tuition or benefite of the lawes, nor till this present had I any to teach them vnto me.*

In the afternoone, certaine of the Commissioners, with some learned Counsellors at the Ciuill and Canon Law, came to her. The Chancellor and Treasurer shewed their authoritie by Commission; telling her, That neyther her derayning in captiuitie, nor her Princely prerogatiue, could priuiledge or exempt her from answering in the kingdome; gently intreating her, That she would be pleased to heare what was obiected: if not, they were to proceed by course of Law against her, though absent. She answereth,

She refuseth her tryall.

She was no subiect, and that she would rather dye a thousand deathes, than acknowledge her selfe to bee one, seeing that by such acknowledgement, shee should preiudice the soueraignty of her royall Maiesty, and become lyable to the Lawes of England, *yea, in case of Religion: notwithstanding, she was ready to answere to all things in open Court of Parliament, though shee knewe that this Conuention was (for formalities sake) purposely continued for the taking away of her life, already condemned in opinion. She wisheth them to examine their owne consciences, and to remember, that the spacious Theater of the world, was more than the Kingdome of* England.

Then she began to complaine of some iniuries offered her: but the Treasurer interrupting her, recited fauours which she had receiued from her Maiestie, namely, that she had punished some for impugning the title of her right to *England*, stayed the State when they would haue condemned her for seeking to haue married with the Duke of Norfolke, and for consenting to the rebellion in the North. But when they saw she made no reckoning thereof, they departed from her.

After a few houres Sir *Aimé Poulet* and the Sollicitor, presented the Commission, and the names of the Commissioners to her, that thereby she might see, they were to proceed by no fraudulent, but a legall course in equity. As for the

the Commissioners, she tooke no exception; but that shee excepted against, was the seuere new Law, as vniust and purposely deuised against her and vpon which their Commission depended, whereof they could shew no president: neither would she euer yeeld vnto it. She demanded by what Law they should proceed, Ciuill or Canon? saying, they must send for Interpreters from *Padua*, *Poytiers*, and other outlandish Academies, because there were none in *England* that vnderstood them: adding further, that by the expresse words of the Queenes letters, it appeared she stood already conuicted of diuers crimes, and condemned before she was tryed; and therefore had no need to come before them to a second hearing: but desired to be resolued of some scruples she had found in the letters, yet would not deliuer them out in writing, because (shee said) it became not a Queene to play the Scribe.

Booke 3.

Exception against the new-made Law.

For this cause the selected Commissioners went again to her, of whom she desired to know what these words meant;

For that she was vnder the Queenes protection.

To which the Chancellor made answer:

This was easie to be vnderstood by any; yet was it not the subiects part, to interprete their Soueraignes meaning, neyther were they come for that cause.

She likewise required them, that they should shew forth the Protestation, which once she had made. But it was answered, That it had not beene allowed, nor should it be now: because it was preiudiciall to the Realme of *England*. Then she demanded by what authoritie they were to proceed. To whom it was answered, By the authoritie of the Commission, and the Ciuill Law of *England*.

But (sayth she) *you make Lawes as you list, and I am not bound to submit my selfe to them, seeing the* English *long since refused to be subiect to the* Law-salique *of* France: *and that if they would proceed by the Ciuill law of* England, *they must produce examples,*

ooke 3.

for that, that Law consisteth, for the most part, of presidents and ancient customes. But if by the Canon Law, none but the founders therof ought to be the expositors.

Answer was made, They would proceed neyther by the Ciuill, nor Canon, but by the Law of *England*: yet by the Cæsarian and Canon Law both, it was plaine (if she would heare it) that she ought to appeare. She refused not (shee said) to heare them, by way of discourse, but not iudiciarily.

From this she fell into other speeches: That she neuer had any thought to destroy the Queene: That she had been forced to endure many iniuries: That she should become a common stone of offence (if she were thus stil abused:) That she had offered to imploy *Nauue*, for the repealing of the Popes Bull, and that she would sundry times haue excused her innocencie (by letters) but was not permitted: finally, That all the offers of good-will, which she had offered for twentie yeares space, were still reiected. As she slipped aside by these prettie digressions, they brought her to the point, and intreated her to say plainly, whether she would answer the Commissioners. She replyed;

Their Commission was grounded vpon the new Law, which was made to entangle her; hauing therefore iust cause of suspicion, she could not endure it: and hauing alwayes carried a true heart, she would not now trespasse so much against the Kings of Scotland, *her ancestors, as to acknowledge her selfe a subiect to the Crowne of England. For what were that else, but to proclaim them rebells and traytors? notwithstanding she refused not to answer, yet by no meanes in the nature of a subiect; for that shee had rather perish, than to answer as a malefactor.*

Sir *Christopher Hatton* perswadeth her to appeare.

Then answered Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlaine, saying:

You are accused of conspiracy against our soueraigne La: the Queene (an anointed Queene) but not condemned.

demned. You say you are a Queen. Admit it: yet are you not of royall estate, neyther by the Casarian, Canon, nor Law of nations or of nature, exempt from answering in such a case. For all iustice would swarne, nay ly dead, if such crimes should escape vnpunished. If you be innocent, you dishonour your selfe in your reputation, to refuse to come to iudgement. You protest your selfe to be so, but the Queene thinkes otherwise, yet not without cause, to her great griefe; and hath appointed persons honourable, wise and vpright, to examine your innocency, who must heare you with equity and fauour, and will be very ioyfull that you shall cleare your selfe of these crimes. Beleeue mee, the Queene her selfe will greatly reioyce: for she assured me at my departure, that no greater griefe had euer befalne her, than this of your accusation: wherefore setting aside this vaine conceit of soueraignety, which at this time standeth you in no stead, shew your selfe blamelesse, attract no more suspicion to your selfe by subterfuge, but rather wipe away the spot, which else will sticke perpetually vpon your reputation.

I refuse not (said she) *to answer in open Court of Parliament, before the States of the Realme lawfully conuocated. so I may be declared next heir to the crown, or else before the Queene and Councell, so my protestation be admitted, and I acknowledged the Queenes next kinswoman.* Her tergiuersation.

The Chancellor asked her, if she would answer when her Protestation was admitted.

Neuer will I (quoth she) *put my selfe vnder this new Law, mentioned in the Commission.*

Whereupon the Treasurer concludeth: We will proceede notwithstanding in the case to morrow, be you absent or obstinate.

Examine (said she) *your owne conscience: respect your*

your credite, and God reward you and your children as you deale with me in your iudgement.

The morrow after, which was the 14. of the moneth, shee sent for some of the Commissioners to come to her, and desired them that her Protestation might be admitted and approued. The Treasurer asked her, if she would answer the Commission, if it were simply admitted and recorded in writing, without approbation. At last she condescended, though very hardly, because she would not seeme to derogate from her predecessors or successors. And then she said, that (being perswaded by *Hattons* reasons, after she had thought of them considerately) she desired to purge her selfe of the imputed crime.

Shee yeelds at last to appeare and answer.

Instantly the Commissioners came together in the Chamber of presence; at the vpper end whereof was placed a Chaire of Estate for the Queene of *England*, and in a remote place below, a Chaire for the Queene of *Scotts*, opposite to the other. By the wals on the other side were seats; on the one side sate the Lo: Chancellor of *England*, the Earles of Oxford, of Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincolne, and the Viscount *Montagu*: on the other side, the Barons d'Abergaveny, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Gray*, *Lumley*, *Sturton*, *Sands*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, *S. John* of Bletso, *Compton*, and *Cheny*. After these, the Knights that were of the Priuy Councell, *Crofts*, *Hatton*, *Walsingham*, *Sadler*, *Mildmay*, and *Poulet*. Right ouer against the Earles, sate the two chiefe Iustices, and the chiefe Baron of the Exchequer: on the other side, the two Barons, the other Iustices, *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctors of the Ciuill Law: and at a little table in the midst of the roome, *Popham* Atturney, *Egerton* the Queenes Sollicitor, *Gaudy* Sergeant at Law, the Clerke of the Crowne, and two other Notaries.

The maner of the sitting.

When she was come and set in her place, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, spake to this effect.

The

THe Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England, *being certified (to her extreame griefe of heart) that you haue practised the subuersion and ruine of her, the Kingdome of* England, *and the Religion established therein: to discharge her selfe of her duty towards God, her selfe and her subiects, without any malice of hart, hath appointed these Commissioners to vnderstand the things you are accused of, how you can discharge your selfe of them, and demonstrate your innocency.*

Booke 3. The Lord Chancellor speaketh to her.

Vpon this, she rose vp, and said:

She was come into England *to craue the ayde that was promised her, and yet euer since she had beene kept a prisoner: protesting withall, that she was no subiect to the Qu. of* England, *but a free and absolute Queene, and therefore ought not to be brought to appeare (vpon any cause whatsoeuer) before any Commissioner or Iudge, but God the soueraigne Iudge of the World; nor would she derogate so much from royall Maiestie, or her sonne the King of* Scotts, *her successors, or other absolute Princes. But she was now come in presence, to answer what should be obiected, and desired her seruants to beare witnesse of the same.*

Her protestation

The Chancellor, taking no notice of her being promised ayde, answered:

That this protestation was vaine, forasmuch as whosoeuer in England, *of what condition or estate soeuer, shall offend the law, must be subiect to the same, and be examined and iudged according to the late established Act. Therefore this protestation (made as it were in preiudice both of the Queene and her Lawes) was not sufferable.*

Recorded.

The Commissioners, notwithstanding, commanded it to be recorded, with the L. Chancellors answer. Then the Commission, which was grounded vpon this Law (whereof I

xe 3. haue so often made mention, being openly read, she with great animositie againe reinforceth her former protestation, is a thing directly enacted against her, and of set purpose, whereof she charged them vpon their credites. The Treasurer (hauing answered, that euery one in this Kingdom did hold the Lawes, euen the newest of all, not to be contradicted) said, That the Commissioners should iudge her accordingly, what protestation or interruption soeuer shee made or interiected. In conclusion, she said she was ready to giue attention, and to answere any fact against the Queene of *England*.

oceeding. *Gaudy* expounded the Law from point to point, affirming that she had offended against it; and then entring into an historicall narration of *Babingtons* conspiracie, he concluded,

> *That shee had knowne, approued, and consented to the same, promised assistance, and had shewne the way and maner.*

To which she answered boldly:

She denieth the former allegation.

> *THat she neuer knew* Babington, *nor had receiued any Letter from him, nor written to him, nor attempted the Queenes death: and to make it good, they must shew some signe vnder her owne hand. That shee neuer had heard speech thereof, neyther did she know or assist* Ballard. *But she had learned of some, that the Catholicks suffered great troubles in* England, *and that shee had writ to the Queene, intreating her to haue compassion on them. That many persons, whom she knew not, had offered her their seruice, yet she stirred not any vp to commit any crime; and being in prison, she neyther knew of, nor could hinder their practises.*

Moreouer, they insist vpon *Babingtons* confession, that there had beene entercourse of letters betwixt them. She confessed, that shee had had conference, by letters, with Queen

uers, yet notwithstanding it followed not, that therefore she was accessary to their wicked designes. Shee desired them to shew any thing vnder her owne hand, demanding withall, what hurt any had receiued by any letters which came to her for a whole yeare together. Then were the copies of *Babingtons* letters produced and read to her, describing the plot of the conspiracy. Booke 3. Copies of letters shewed.

AS for these letters (said she) *it may possibly be that* Babington *writ so: but let it be proued that I euer receiued them. If* Babington *or any haue affirmed it, they haue belyed me. Others crimes are not to be cast vpon me. A whole Packet, that had been detained a yeare together from me, about that time, came to my hands, but sent from whom I know not.*

To proue the receipt of *Babingtons* letters, there was read the principall points of the letters out of his confession, wherein he voluntarily granted, that she had receiued them, and had written back againe; in which letters was mention made of the Earle of *Arundell* and his brethren, and of the Earle of *Northumberland*: which hearing, she wept, & said: Extracts out of *Babingtons* confession.

NOw alas, miserable woman that I am, how many things hath that noble house of the Howards *endured for my sake!*

And after that, hauing dryed her cheekes, she said:

BAbington *might confesse what he pleased: but to say, that she had practised to escape, was a notorious vntruth. That her aduersaries might (as well as she) get the same characters, and write what falsities they would in the same: nor was there any probability, that she should vse the helpe eyther of* Arundell *or* She denies them.

Northumberland *for her escape, seeing the one was a prisoner, and the other a young man, and vnknowne to her.*

They read also the abstracts of *Sauages* and *Ballards* confession, importing, that *Babington* had shewed them letters of hers. But she protested,

He had neuer receiued any from her. On the contrary, she was so farre from consenting to the inuading of the Realme of England *or giuing counsaile thereto, that she alwayes perswaded the contrary.*

Then they shewed her letters, wherein she had commended and approued *Babingtons* proiects. She demanded the sight of them: which hauing seene, she said,

These neuer came from her, but peraduenture from the Alphabet of the letters she had in France. *That shee had labourd to recouer her liberty, being a thing we all naturally desire, and to sundry which had offered her helpe to that end (whom she would not name) she answered not a word: yet notwithstanding she heartily desired, that the persecution of Catholicks might cease in* England, *and that she had begged it in lieu of the Q. She would not purchase a kingdome with the bloud of the poorest subiect, much lesse of the Queene.. That many had practised dangerous matters vnknowne to her, and that (by letters) some had asked her forgiuenesse for so doing, that neuer had spoken to her thereof. That any might easily counterfeyt the cyphers or characters: as a yong fellow in* France *(not long since) had done, nominating himselfe the base brother of her sonne, the King of* Scotts: *and she suspected, this was* Walsinghams *doing to haue her life, who, as she heard, had practised both against hers and her sonnes. She protested, she had neuer conceiued any thing hurtfull to the the Queene, and that she would more gladly lose her life, than*

ke 3.

y vrge with the tions

B. Ballard.

She blames *Walsingham.*

than to be a cause that the Catholicks should be so afflicted and cruelly tormented. Booke 3.

And with that there gushed from her abundance of teares.

BUT (said the Lo: Treasurer) *there hath not any beene put to death for Religion, which would become an obedient subiect: onely some few, for committing treason, in maintayning the Popes Bull and authority, against the Queene. Yet I haue heard,* said shee, *the contrary, and haue read as much in printed bookes. The authors of such bookes,* replyed he, *write also, that the Queene is to be deprived of all regall power.*

Then Sir *Francis Walsingham*, who was toucht a little before in words, taking his time, stood vp; and, hauing protested that he carried no ill will in heart, said:

Walsingham maketh his Apologie.

I *Take God to record, in the place of a priuate person I haue done nothing vnbeseeming an honest man; nor any thing in publike, but that becomes a person of my ranke. I must say, that out of my zealous care for the Queene, and the good of the Kingdome, I haue been inquisitiue in discouering conspiracies against her. If* Ballard *had offered me his seruice, I would not haue refused it, but rather recompenced him for his paines. If I conspired with him, why bewrayed he it not, to saue his owne life?*

This answer, as she said, satisfied her. And

She desired him he would not be offended at that which she had heard by report; and that he would no more beleeue her calumniations, than shee did his: for these pick-thankes are men of little credite, which pretend one thing, and say another; and that he would not by any meanes beleeue, that euer she had conspired the death of her dearest sister the Queene.

And here she brake forth into teares againe, saying:

I will neuer make shipwrack of my soule, by conspiring my

my dearest sisters death and ruine.

The Lawyers answered, That would appeare by euidences. This past in the forenoone.

In the afternoone, to proue this, they produced the copie of the letters which *Charles Paget* had written, and *Curle* one of her Secretaries, testified she had receiued, touching conference had with *Mendoza* and *Ballard*, for inuading the Realme, and setting her at libertie.

*arles Pa-
s letters
produ-
d,*

This, she said, was nothing to the purpose, nor any proof that she had plotted the Queenes destruction.

*d Babing-
ns,*

The Lawyers passing further, said, That they could proue she had conspired the Queenes death, by the confession of *Babington*, and letters of his; wherein he called her his Lady and most excellent Queene: as also out of those she had written vnto him; And by the way, put her in minde of consultation had, how the kingdome of *England* was to be transferred to the *Spanish* King. She confessed, that once a Priest had visited her, and said, That if she interposed not her selfe, her sonne and she both would be excluded from their inheritance: but she would not name him. He added, That the *Spaniard* pretended a title to the crowne of *England*, and would yeeld to none but her. Then they pressed her vpon *Babingtons* confession, from the testimonies of her Secretaries *Nauue* and *Curle*, and letters written interchangeably betwixt them. And though all the proofe was grounded vpon their bare assertions, yet were they neuer brought forth face to face. She confest *Curle* to be an honest fellow, but no fit witnesse against her: That *Nauue* (sometimes Secretarie to the Cardinall of *Lorraine*) had beene commended to her by the King of *France*, and that he might be easily drawne for money, hope or feare, to depose falsly; and had bound himselfe thereto by a rash oath, hauing *Curle* (a fellow of a flexible nature) at his command, to write what hee would. And it may be, they had put things into the letters which she dictated not, & possibly such letters might come

and the testimonies of her Secretaries.

She obiecteth against their credites.

to

to their hands, which notwithstanding shee neuer saw. Then shee broke into these or the like speeches: Booke 3.

THe state of all Princes is at a weake stay, if they depend vpon the writings and testimonies of their Secretaries: for my part, I deliuered nothing to them, but what nature put into my minde for the recouery of my libertie; nor ought I to be conuicted, vnlesse it be by mine owne words or writing. If they haue written any thing preiudiciall to the queene my sister, they did it without my knowledge, and therefore let them be punished for their inconsiderate insolency. I know for certainty, that if they were present, they would cleere me in this case: and if I had my manuscripts here, I could answer all this particularly my selfe.

With that the Treasurer obiected, that shee had determined to send her sonne into *Spaine*, and to conuey to the *Spaniard* the right shee challenged to the Kingdome of *England*. Whereto she answered:

Arguing about transferring the kingdome.

That she had no kingdome to bestow, yet was it lawfull for her to giue her owne at her pleasure, neyther was she to be accountable to any therefore.

And when they obiected further, out of *Curles* testimony, that she had sent her Alphabet to *D. Lodowick* and *Fernhurst*, she denied not,

But she had written out many of them: and amongst others, that for D. Lodowick, *after she had recõmended him and another to the honour of Cardinal. And without offence, she hoped, it was as lawfull for her to haue entercourse of letters, for the dispatch of her affayres with people of her owne religion, as it was for the Queen with those of another religion.*

After this, they vrged her againe vpon the euidences of *Nauue* and *Curle*, which agreed together: whereto shee eyther

ther replyed as before, or reiected them with a precise deniall: protesting againe, that she neyther knew *Babington* nor *Ballard*. With this, the Treasurer interrupting her, said, That she knew *Morgan* very well, who had secretly sent *Parry* to slay the Queene, and that she had giuen him an annuall pension. She said,

> *She knew not that* Morgan *had done so, but she knew well, that he had lost all he had for her sake, and therefore it stood with her honour to reliene him: neyther was she bound to reuenge the wrongs done to the Queen by one who had well deserued from her; yet had she alwayes done her best to dissuade him from such wicked enterprises: saying withall, that out of* England *likewise there were pensions giuen to* Patrick Gray, *and other Scotts enemies to her and her sonne.*

Whereto the L. Treasurer answered:

> *Because the treasure of* Scotland *had beene much impayred, by the negligence of the Regents or Vice-roys, therefore the Queene had dealt the more bountifully with her neere kinsman your sonne.*

Then was shewed some of the letters, which shee had written to *Inglefield*, to the Lo: *Paget*, and to *Bernard Mendoza*, touching the forraigne supplies: but when she had answered that,

> *That tended not to the ruine of the Queene, because some strangers had a desire to procure her liberty; and that she had manifested plainly enough to the Queene, that they sought nothing but her freedome:* the matter was prorogued till the next day.

On the day following, she reiterateth her protestation before mentioned, requiring to haue it recorded, and a copie thereof to be deliuered her: lamenting,

> *That the most reasonable conditions, which she had offered the Queene, were still reiected, especially hauing promised to deliuer her sonne and the Duke of* Guise *Hostages,*

ooke 3.

he excuseth her selfe for hauing giuen *Morgan* an annuall pension,

by pensions giuen to the Scottishmen.

Hostages, that neyther by her, nor by her meanes, the Queene nor kingdome should receiue any detriment. That she her selfe (altogether excluded from all hope of liberty) was now most vnworthily handled, whose honour and reputation was called in question by common Lawyers, who, by their contorted arguments, make slender circumstances matters of great consequence; whereas anointed and consecrated Princes are not subiect to lawes, as priuate persons. Moreouer, whereas the authoritie of their Commission is to examine matters tending to the hurt of the Queens person, yet they so handled the matter, and so wrested their letters of Commission, that they called in question the Religion she professeth, the immunitie and maiesty of forraigne Princes, and the priuate commerce they haue amongst themselues by writing, and brought her to be arraigned at a Barre like a malefactor, to the preiudice of Maiestie and soueraigne dignitie: And this was done to no other end, but to bring her in disgrace with the Queene, and to seclude her from the right of inheritance to the Kingdome.

Booke 3. She offereth the Duke of Guise and her sonne pledges for her libertie.

She called to mind withall,

How Qu. Elizabeth *her selfe had bin questioned about* Wyats *rebellion, though she were most innocent: protesting most deuoutely, that notwithstanding she wished the Catholicks welfare, yet shee desired not the procurement thereof by the slaughter or bloud of any one. She had rather play the part of* Hester *than* Iudith, *rather make intercession to God for the people, than take away the life of the meanest.*

Expostulating the matter, she complained that her aduersaries had bruited it abroad, that she was of no religion:

which was that time, she said, *when she desired to be informed of the Religion of the Protestants, but none would vouchsafe her the fauour; a signe they had little*

K c 3.

care of the safety of her soule.

Then concluding:

When you haue done all you can (said she) *against me you shall aduance your selues nothing in your cause o hope.*

And so inuocating God, and appealing to the Princes of he acquaintance, desired she might haue another day of hea ring, and that she might be allowed an Aduocate to plead her cause; and being a Queene, she might be beleeued vpo her royall word:

For it was extreme imprudence in her, to be arraigne before those whom she perceiued to be armed with pre iudice against her.

To this the Lo: Treasurer made answer:

The Lord Burghley answereth.

For asmuch as I represent two persons, the one of Counsellor, the other of a Commissioner, first hea me speake as a Commissioner: Your protestation is r gistred, and you shal haue a copie of it. The power whic we beare, hath bin imposed vpon vs vnder the Quee signet, and the great seale of England, *from the whic there is no repeale: Nor are we come with any prei dice, but to censure according to the rules of Iustic Nor doe the Lawyers exaggerate the matter, otherw then to make it plainly appeare, wherein you haue o fended against the person of the Queene. Our autho tie is to heare and examine the matter in your absenc yet notwithstanding we haue willed you should be pr sent, for that wee would not seeme to derogate in a thing from your honour: Nor haue wee any purpose obiect against you any thing, but what your attemp haue beene against the person of the Queene, or wi those with whom ye haue beene confederate. Your le ters were read, only to shew your practising against t queenes person, and such other things as concerne t same; which are so intermixt, they cannot bee seq*

stre

ſtred: therefore the letters were read wholly, and not in parts, to extract the particularities of the things you had intreated of with Babington. Booke 3.

As he was thus ſpeaking, ſhe interrupted him, ſaying:

That the circumſtances indeed were probable, but not the thing: That her ſincerity depended not vpon her Secretaries fidelity or memory, though ſhe knew them to be ingenuous. Or if for feare of puniſhment, or hope of profite and eſcape, they had confeſſed any thing, it was not to be admitted, for diuerſe good reaſons which ſhe had alleaged before. That the mindes of men are carried away with many paſsions: for her Secretaries would neuer haue confeſſed ſuch things, if eyther profite or ſome other hope had not induced them thereto. That the letters might be directed to others than them they were written to; and that oftentimes many things had beene inſerted that were not dictated. And if her papers had not beene taken from her, or if ſhe had a Secretary, ſhe could more ſoundly haue confuted their obiections. She interrupteth him

But, ſaid the Lo: Treaſurer, *they will obiect nothing but ſince the xix. of Iune, and your papers would ſtand you in no ſtead, ſeeing the Secretaries and* Babington *himſelfe, vninforced by torture, haue confeſſed that you ſent theſe letters to* Babington. *But if you ſhall deny this, let the Commiſsioners iudge, whether there be more credite to be giuen to your denyall, or their affirmation. But to returne to the point; marke what I denounce as a Counſellor: You haue mentioned many things for the procuring of your liberty, (which haue had no ſucceſſe) and that hath proceeded from your ſelfe or the* Scotts, *not from the queene. For your Lords of* Scotland *haue refuſed to deliuer the King of* Scotts *in hoſtage: and when laſt there was a treaty about your liberty,* Parry *was ſent from* Morgan He proceeth.

ook 3.

gar, *your clyent to slay the queene.* Ah, said shee, *you are mine aduersary. I,* replyed he, *I am aduersary to all* Q. Elizabeth's *enemies. But enough of this. Let vs returne to our proofes.*

When she refused to heare,

Yet we will heare, said he. *And I too,* answered she, *in another place, and will defend my selfe.*

ters she-ed again.

Now they read againe her letters to *Charles Paget*, wherein she certified him, That there was no way left for the K. of *Spaine* to bring the Low-countries into his subiection, but by placing a Prince in *England* to serue his turne: And her letters to the Lo: *Paget*, to hasten the ayde he should send for the inuading of *England*: And those which Cardinall *Allen* had sent her, wherein he saluted her by the name of Most excellent Lady; and certified her, that the matter was recommended to the Prince of *Parma*. Whilest they were reading them, she said,

he inter-upteth their rea-ding.

That Babington *and her Secretaries had accused her to excuse themselues: That she neuer heard of six murtherers, the rest were nothing to the purpose. She held* Allen *a venerable Prelate, and knew no other head of the Church, but the Pope of* Rome; *neyther could shee tell how he, or other stranger kings, did style her: nor could she hinder them (in their letters) from calling her queene of* England. Affirming, *that her Secretaries were not to be trusted, for that they had proceeded against her, contrary to the duety and fidelity which they had sworne to her. That the periured are not to be credited, though they sweare neuer so much: neyther did shee thinke their oathes were to be taken in any Court of conscience, because formerly they had sworne fidelity and silence; neyther were they any* English *subiects. That* Nauie *had often written otherwise than she dictated, and* Curle *alwayes that which he told him. That she could beare with their faults in all things,*

Affirmeth her Secreta-ries were not to be credited.

things, but such as touched her honour. They might also confesse these things for to saue themselues, thinking that in so doing, she could not hurt them, and that being a queene, they would deale more gently with her: And that she had neuer heard of Ballard, *but of one* Hallard *that had offered his seruice to her; which notwithstanding she refused, because she had heard that he had likewise proffered it to* Walsingham.

Booke 3.

After this, when they read certaine notes out of letters, which *Curle* confessed hee had written to *Mendoza* in her secret characters, and pressed her with them, as hauing had a purpose to make ouer the title of the kingdome to the *Spaniard*, and that *Allen* and *Parsons* were resident now in *Rome* for that cause: shee protesting that they had forsworne themselues, answered;

She is accused againe for transporting the Kingdome. She condemnes her Secretaries as periured.

I being a prisoner, without hope of liberty, languishing in griefe, and in disparre to performe that which many expected from me, who am now in my declining age, and without my health: some were of opinion to settle the succession of the English *Crowne vpon the* Spaniard, *or some other* English *Catholick. A booke was sent me, to declare the* Spaniards *right, but because I refused to receiue it, some were grieued at me. As for the rest, being at this instant out of all hope of aide from* England, *I haue resolued not to reiect that of the Stranger.*

Vpon that, Sir *Thomas Egerton*, the Queenes Sollicitor, opened to the Commissioners what would become of them; their honours, goods, and children, if the kingdome were so transported. But the L. Treasurer answered, That could not be, because by the Law the Crowne was hereditarie. Then asked he the Queene of *Scotts*, if she had any more to say.

Sir Thomas Egerton (the Q. Solicitors) demonstratio.

She desired to be heard in open Parliament, or in presence of Queene *Elizabeth* and her Councell; not doubting but one Queene would haue consideration of another. Then

She craued a hearing in open Parliament.

rising vp, with a bold countenance, she conferred apart with the L. Treasurer, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, about some busi-nesse. That being done, they reiourned their meeting to-gether again vntill the xxv. of October, in the Starre Cham-ber at *Westminster*. And this is that which I haue gathered from the memories of *Ed. Barker*, chief Clerke of the Coun-cell, *Tho. Wheeler* publique Notary, and Clerke of the Court of *Canterbury*, and other credible persons, whose assistance I haue had in this.

At the time appointed, all the Cõmissioners being assem-bled together, except the Earles of *Shrewsbury* & *Warwick*, who then were sick: & *Naune* and *Curle* hauing voluntarily, without hope of future preferment or present reward, affir-med & ratified by oath, that all & euery the letters, & copies of letters tofore produced, were most true; sentence was pronounced against the Q. of *Scotland*, signed and sealed by the Commissioners, and recorded in these words:

With one vnanimous accord and consent of theirs, they pronounce and giue their sentence and iudgement, which was read aloud, vpon the last day, and in the assigned place, saying, That since the end of the aforesaid Sessions of Parliament specified in the said Commission, to wit, since the said first day of Iune, in the yeare xxvij. afore mentioned, and before the date of the said Commission, many things haue bin attempted and conceiued against the Realme of England, *by* Anth. Babington *and others, with the knowledge and priuity of the said* Mary *(pretending that the Crowne of* England *appertayneth to her) tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royall person of our soueraigne La: the Q. that is to say, that since the first of Iune,* Ann. 27. *and before the date of this Commission, the said* Mary, *pretending as aforesaid, practised and conceiued against this Realm, many things tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the royall person*

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ed against
her.

person of our said Lady Q. Elizabeth, against the forme of the Statute specified in the said Commission. Booke 3.

This sentence bred diuers doubtfull opinions amongst men, because it was grounded onely vpon the credite of the Secretaries; and they were neuer brought face to face, as was required by the first Statute *Anno* 13. of *Elizab.* some thinking them men of credite, and some not. I saw *Nauue's* Apology, which he wrote to the Kings Maiesty in *Scotland*, 1605. wherein he greatly laboureth to excuse himselfe, protesting, that he was neyther author nor perswader to this matter, nor yet the first discouerer. And that he had neither by negligence nor ignorance fayled in his * devoire, but stoutly at his death defended the contrary, to all the accusations brought against the Queene his Mistresse: notwithstanding there are publicke Acts thereof to be seene. Now the same day the Commissioners and Iudges of the Realme, declared,

Some suspect the credite of the Secretaries.

Or, duety.

That this sentence did derogate nothing from the right or honour of Iames *King of* Scotland: *but that he remained and was in the same ranke, estate and right, as if it had neuer beene.*

Declaration that the sentence against the Q. of Scotts did nothing preiudice her sonne.

A few dayes after, the Parliament sate at Westminster, commenced by certaine authoritie granted by Q. *Elizabeth* to the Archb. of Canterbury, the L. Treasurer, and the Earle of Derby, as her Lieutenants, and that not without example: wherein was confirmed a Proscription, that the goods & possessions of the L. *Paget*, *C. Paget*, Sir *F. Englefield*, *E. Iones*, *Chediock*, *Tichburne*, *C. Tilney*, & other traytors, were adiudged confiscate. The States of the Realme also, after they had by generall suffragie and consent, approued and confirmed the sentence pronounced against the queene of *Scotland*: all with one accord (by the Lo. Chancellor) presented a petition to the queene, wherein they desired, that for the preseruation of the true Religion of Christ, the tranquillitie of the land, the securitie of her person, the good of them

A Parliament held. The banishing of traytors confirmed. The States approue & confirme the sentence and desire the publication thereof

Book 3.

them all and their posteritie, the Sentence against *Mary* Q. of *Scotland*, might be publickly pronounced, according to the tenour of the Law: alleaging reasons drawne from the dangers stirred and practised against Religion, her own person and the Realme, by her who was a mother-nourse of the Romane Religion, and had sworn an inviolable accord to extirpate the Religion now established, and had long since laid claime to the Crowne, Q. *Elizabeth* yet liuing; esteeming, that (seeing she was excommunicated) it was lawfull to conspire against her, and meritorious to take away her life: She had ruinated some noble houses of the land, and had kindled the fire of rebellion in *England*: That to pardon her, were to destroy the people, who much repined at her impunitie, and that she could not be freed from the oath conspiracie, otherwise than by punishment: and lastly, they recited the example of the horrible vengeance of God against K. *Saul*, for not putting *Agag* and *Benadad* to death. And this is that which was presented by the States of the Parliament.

Queene *Elizabeth* with a most graue countenance, and maiesticall speech, answered to this effect:

The Queen answereth.

THe benefites which God hath bestowed vpon me are so great, that I doe not only acknowledge them with humilitie, but call them to minde with admiration, wanting wordes sufficiently to expresse them. And although there be no mortall aliue more bound to the Almighty, who hath so often and so miraculously deliuered me from eminent dangers; yet am I most of all for this, that after hauing gouerned this kingdome now the space of 28. yeares, I doe finde in my subiects the same, if not farre greater affection, than when

when I came first to the Crowne: the which entire loue if I should finde to fayle, I might well perhaps perceiue my selfe to breathe, but not to liue. And now my life hath bin attempted to be taken away, it grieueth mee most, that it was by such a person as was of mine owne sex, estate and ranke; to whom I was so farre from bearing ill will, that on the contrary, after she had complotted diuerse matters against me, I wrote to her in priuate, that if in any writing secretly she would acknowledge them, I would bury them all in obliuion. Neyther would I haue done this to entrap or circumuent her; for I knew already all she could confesse: and although the matter was at that passe, yet if she had but shewed her selfe truely penitent, none should haue taken her cause (against me) in hand. Neuertheless, if only it had concerned mine owne life, and not the safegard of my people (without ostentation be it spoken) I would willingly haue pardoned her. If England by my death might flourish the more, or gaine a better Prince, I could bee well content to lay downe my life: for I desire to liue onely for your good and the peoples. Neyther is there any cause (I haue so ledde my life) why I should desire life, or feare death. I am not ignorant of the common state of life; I haue obeyed, I haue commanded: I haue had both good & bad neighbours: I haue found treason in trust: I haue bestowed some benefites ill, and where I haue done

Booke;

3. good, I haue beene badly requited. When I ponder these things in minde, I see what the condition of the present time is, and I foresee the future, thinking them the happiest that soonest depart hence. But against these, and such like, I haue put on a warlike resolution, that whatsoeuer shall happen, death shall not surprise me vnprouided.

As touching these late treasons, I will not so much preiudice neither my selfe, nor the ancient lawes of my countrey in such fashion, as not to thinke this arch-treason to be subiect thereto, although this new had neuer bin made; the which (although some fauourers of her haue suspected so) was not made against her, but was so far from entangling her, that rather it was an aduertisement or preadmonition to her, not to come within the danger of it: neuertheleſſe seeing she hath now incurred the lawe, it is thought good to proceede against her by vertue thereof. But you, captious Lawyers, you are so precise, so curious in the quercks and quidities of law, & to follow the formalitie of it, in stead of interpreting the true sense, that forsooth according to the form of proceeding, she should be called to iudgment within the countie of Staffordshire, there to appeare holding vp her hand at the Barre, to stand to the verdict of twelue men, vpon her fact. And is this a braue fashion of proceeding against a Princesse? But I haue thought good rather (auoyding such absurdities) that it was more

more conuenient, to referre a matter of such importance to the Peeres and Iudges of the Realme, to be examined. And yet hardly will that serue, because all the world haue their eyes vpon vs Princes, as if we were set vpon a Stage, and do marke afarre off the least spot or blemish that is on vs: so that we had neede to be carefull, we do nothing vnbeseeming vs. But you haue by this new law brought me into such a narrow straite, that I am to determine vpon the punishment of a Princesse my next kinswoman; whose practises haue afflicted mee with so great griefe, that, not to augment my sorrowes in hearing it spoken of, I did willingly absent my selfe from this Parliament, & not (as some thinke) for feare of treachery. Notwithstanding I will not leaue (although I vse few words of it) to put this secret out of my heart, which I haue seene with mine eyes, and read the oath, by which some haue bound themselues to dispatch me within one moneth. From hence I foresee your danger in my person; and certainly I shal be carefull and diligent to repell it. I haue not forgot the combination you haue made for my safety, of which I neuer thought before I saw it confirmed vnder the signes & seales of the most part of you: & assuredly it hath bound me in strict bonds of loue towards you perpetually, who doe affect no greater comfort, than in the loue of you and the common-wealth. But for as much as the matter now in hand, is an example as

ke 3. important, as rare; I deeme you expect not, that I should resolue any thing for the present: For My manner is, euen in things of lesse consequence, to be long in deliberating, about that I must once resolue vpon. I will pray to God Almightie, that he will illuminate My heart, to fore-see what is commodious for the Church, the Common-wealth, & your safeties. Notwithstanding, lest delay should bring danger, you shall (as the oportunitie of time will serue) vnderstand My purpose. In the meane time, I would you should expect all the goodnesse from Me, which good Subiects may look for from a good Princesse.

he desireth em to find ut some o- er reme- ie.

Twelue daies after, when she had more deeply weighed the matter in her minde, seeing her selfe with many doubts and difficulties variously distracted, and vnable to counsell her selfe; she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Noble men, and *Pickering* to them of the Lower House; intreating them to consider more seriously of so weighty a matter, and to deuise some more wholesome remedy, that the Queene of *Scotlands* life might be preserued, and she secured.

Their An- swer to her.

After they had deliberated a long time, and considered, that the good or ill of Princes concerneth the Subiects; with one according voice, they all put on againe the same resolution, which they had before, grounded vpon these Reasons:

That so long as the Queene of Scotland *liued, Queene* Elizabeth *could not bee secure, vnlesse shee would become penitent, and acknowledge her crimes; and that shee should be kept more strictly, and bound by oath and writing; or that shee should deliuer Hostages; or that shee should depart the King-*

Kingdome. Of her Repentance they had no hope, for that shee had beene vngratefull to Queene Elizabeth, *who had saued her life; and would not so much as acknowledge her faults: As for a straiter Guard, her hand-writing, oath, or Hostages, they would be all as nothing: for that Queene* Elizabeth *being dead, all these would vanish away instantly. As for departing the Land (if shee were out of it) they feared shee would raise Armes against it.* Booke 3.

The L. Chancellor, and *Pickering* the Speaker of the Lower House, declared these things at large to Queene *Elizabeth*; importuning her earnestly, that the Sentence should be put in execution; shewing her,

That if it were iniustice to deny the Execution of the Law to the meanest Subiect, much more to refuse to grant it to the whole Body of the People, who with one voice & will demanded it so iustly. To which she answered:

Her reply to them.

O how wearisome is that way, where We find nothing but irksomnesse whilst we are going in it, & when tis past, vnquietnes? I am troubled this day (if euer the like) whether to speake, or hold My tongue: if I should speak, and not complaine, I dessemble: if I hold my tongue, the paines you haue taken is in vaine: if I complaine, it will seeme strange; notwithstanding, I confesse, that My first request was both for your securitie, and mine owne: Some other meanes should haue beene found out, than that you now propound: Insomuch, that I cannot but complaine to you, though not of you; for that I learne by your demands, that My safetie dependeth vpon anothers ruine. If any thinke, that I haue purposely prolonged the time,

oke 3.

to purchase a counterfeit praise of clemencie; vndoubtedly they wrong Mee vnworthily, and he that searcheth the depth of all inward thoughts, knoweth it well. And greater wrong they doe Mee, if they thinke that the Commissioners durst pronounce no other sentence for feare of displeasing Mee, or seeming to neglect My safetie. For either My Officers haue failed Me in their duties, or else certified the Commissioners, that My will and Command was, That euery one should proceede freely, according as they thought good; and that they should tell Mee in particular, what they purposed to publish openly. Out of the great affection I bore her, it was, that I would haue some other means inuented, to haue preuented this mischiefe: But because it now clearly appeareth, that I cannot be safe, vnlesse shee die; I am touched with a deepe dolour, to see that I, who haue shewed fauour to so many Rebels, wincked at so many treacheries, should at the last be seene to deale cruelly with so great a Princesse.

Since I tooke in hand the managing of this Kingdome, I haue seene infamous Libells cast out against Me, as a Tyrant. Much good may it doe the writers: I thought they would signifie som strange thing, & indeed it was strange to Me, to be taxed of tyranny; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie. But now, what is it they will not put forth in their writings, when they shall know, that

I

I haue consented that an executioner shall imbrue his hands in the blood of My neerest Kinswoman? And in the mean time, I am so farre from cruelty, that I would not to saue My life, doe her any violence; nor haue I had so much care to prolong it, as (in the preseruing of it) to preserue hers, & with intolerable griefe, that it cannot be so still. I am not so senseleſſe, as not to see the perils which lye before Me; so vnaduised, to whet the knif that shal cut My throat; nor so careleſſe not to respect My life: But I thinke with My Selfe, that there are many, which for the safeguard of a Prince's life, aduenture their owne; but I franckly confesse, I am none of that number. These things haue I often cast in My minde: But forasmuch as diuers haue imployed their tongues and pens against me, giue me leaue to defend My Selfe as I may, to the end you may see what a woman shee is, for whose well-fare you haue been so circumspect. Certainly I doe well, and with gratitude of heart call your vigilant care to minde, but neuer shall be able to giue you condigne thankes, although I should liue as long as euery one of you. Book 3.

So soone as I receiued the Scepter, being not vnmindfull of God, who gaue me his grace, I begun my Raigne in his seruice, and the Religion wherein I was borne, and haue beene brought vp, and I hope shall die. And although I am not ignorant, how many ieopardies haue encompassed Mee at home;

home; and how great Princes, for changing Religion, haue enuied Me abroad, yet haue I not beene moued thereat: For I know, that God, whom alone I respect, will defend both Mee and My cause. From thence haue sprung vp against Me, so many attempts and conspiracies, that I wonder I liue; but God hath alwaies beene my succour and support, and sent me aide beyond My expectation. Since that, to proue My selfe a Proficient in the Art of Raigning, I haue of long time bethought Mee, what things were fitting for Kings, and haue found, that nothing is more necessary, than to be plentifully furnished with the predominant Vertues of *Iustice, Temperance, Wisdome*, and *Fortitude*. For the two last, which appertaine more properly to men, My sexe permits Me not to attribute them to my self: but as for the two precedent, and the more mild, I dare say (without glorying) I haue with indifferency, conioyned the highest with the lowest. I haue not preferred any vnworthily: Mine eares haue not beene too credulous; nor haue I (before I heard the cause) past my iudgement rashly: yet I will not say, but many things perhaps haue bin brought by report to me, by som too partially affected to the Parties; *For the good and wary Prince is often sold, for that hee cannot heare euery Cause*. My iudgement (the best it could) hath euermore inclined to the Truth; as he which admonished his Friend to make no answer, before he

he had repeated the *Alphabet*; so haue I done nothing vnaduisedly.

As concerning therefore your Counsels & Consultations, I acknowledge them so elaborate, prudent, and prouident for My conseruation, issued from hearts so sincere, and so well-affected to My seruice, that it is My part to endeuour with all My power, not to be vnthankfull to men of so great demerit. But as concerning your demand, I intreat and charge you, to hold you content with an Answer without Answer. I commend your Iudgements, and apprehend the reasons thereof. But excuse Me (I pray) for that doubtfull perplexitie of thought which troubleth Me. Let the most gracious affection which I beare you be acceptable and pleasing to you; and withall this Answer, if so be you esteeme it an Answer. If I say I will not do your demand, perhaps I shall say more than I thinke: If that I will; I (whom you would so gladly preserue) shall runne headlong vpon mine owne destruction. And I thinke (such is your wisdome) you would not that, if you obserue seriously the times, and manners of persons. *After this the Parliament was prorogued.*

At that time were sent to the Queene of *Scotland*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, and *Beal*, to certifie her, that Iudgement was giuen against her; and that it was approued most iust by Authoritie of Parliament, and that the States had demanded the execution thereof; for *Iustice*, *Securitie*, and *Necessitie*: And therefore they perswaded her, that after

The Q. of Scotland is certified of her iudgment.

3. she had acknowledged her offences to God & Queen *Elizabeth*, she should satisfie therefore by repentance before she dyed; and to shew, that if she liued, the Religion receiued in *England* could not stand. At which she seemed to triumph with extraordinary cheerefulnesse: giuing thankes to God, and reioycing, that she was held to be a worthy Instrument, for the re-establishing of her Religion in this Iland. Shee did with great feruour and affection desire a Catholike Priest to direct her Conscience, and to administer the Sacraments; refusing (vpon the first motion) the Bishop and the Deane, which they recommended to her to that end: And she greatly blamed the English Nation, saying often:

The English haue many times murdered their Kings: & it is no strange thing, if they do the like to me, who am deriued of their Royall blood.

The Ambassador of France stayeth the publishing of the Sentence.

Notwithstanding, it is published.

L'Aubespine the Ambassadour of *France* stayed the publishing of this Sentence: yet by suite and soliciting of some Courtiers, it was published in the Month of *December*, with the sound of a Trumpet thorow the Citie of London, in the presence of the Maior, the Sherifes, and certaine selected Citizens. And Queene *Elizabeth* protested seriously in the Preface of this publication, that she had beene drawne to it, with great griefe of heart, by a certaine necessitie, and the earnest request of the States of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, there were some that thought, it was done by a certaine familiar policie incident to women, who seeme to doe by compulsion, the thing they most desire.

The Queen of Scotland arrieth herself with a resolute courage.

The publishing of this Sentence of death being declared to the Q. of *Scotland*, she was so far from fainting in courage, or seeming disanimated, that with alacritie casting vp her eies & hands towards heauen, she thanked God for it, & getting

getting leaue of her keeper *Sir Ayme Poulet*, she wrote to Q. *Eliza. That She putteth off all malice of minde towards her; giueth thankes to God for this Condemnation, seeing it was his good pleasure to adde an end to the irksome pilgrimage which she had in this life; and desired her, for that shee could not expect any good from some hot-spirited Nouators, which held the chiefest ranke in England, that she might be beholden to her alone, and no other, for the benefits following:*

Booke 3.

She moues a request to Queen *Elizabeth.*

First, that when her Aduersaries were glutted in her innocent blood, her Body might be carried from thence by her owne seruants to some sacred and hallowed ground, there to be buried; and aboue all, into France, where her Mother lyeth in rest, seeing that in Scotland they had offered violence to the dead bodies of her Ancestors, profaned or ruinated the Churches: and in England, she could not hope for any burial according to the Catholike solemnities, amongst the ancient Kings, both their Ancestors: And so her Body that neuer had rest so long as it liued with her Soule, may haue some at last after it is parted from it.

Secondly, (for that she feared the close tyrannie of some) she may not suffer her punishment vnknowne to the Queene of England, in some secret place, but in the sight of her seruants, and other people, which may truly beare witnesse of the Faith which she shewed in Christ, of her obedience to the Church, and of the end of her life, against the false rumors which her Aduersaries may bruit abroad.

Thirdly, that her seruants may be suffered peaceably to depart whither they will; and to enioy the goods she had bequeathed them by her Will. Shee beseeched her, in the name of Iesus Christ, to grant her these things, and combined her thereto, by their alliance, in Blood, by the Ghost and memorie of Henry *the seuenth,*

Progenitor to them both, and by the Princely honour which sometimes she had. Then she complained, that all her Princely Robes were taken away by the command of the Counsellors. Shee presageth; their malice will extend to worse things. Shee added, that if they had shewed without fraude or falshood the papers which they tooke from her, it would clearly haue appeared by them, that nothing had caused her vntimely death, but the doubtfull care which some had of Queene Elizabeths *safetie.*

Finally, she intreated her, to returne her an Answer vnder her Hand, touching these things. Whether these Letters come to the hands of Queene *Elizabeth*, I cannot say.

As for the rest, there past, according to the diuersitie of mens natures, diuerse speeches vpon this matter; not to speake of the declamations and exclamations made by the Clergie *pro & contra*, which commonly are very sharpe.

Some weighing the matters in equitie, thought they had handled her too hardly, because she was an absolute and free Princesse, ouer whom God alone had the command, being very neerely allyed in blood royall to Q. *Elizabeth*; and that being driuen out of *Scotland* by the rebells, shee was no sooner arriued in *England*, but Q. *Elizabeth* promised her vpon her Princely word, by *Hen. Mildmore*, to shew her all courtesie, and to welcome her with all royall deeds of hospitalitie; yet neuertheless, contrary to this promise, imprisoned her, and violated these sacred rights. That shee could not be held but for a prisoner of warre, and to such it was lawful to practise any meanes for their libertie and freedome. That she could not commit treason, because she was no subiect: and that none hath power ouer his equall. That, that had disanulled the sentence of the Emperour against *Rob.* King of *Sicily*, because he was not subiect to his Empyre. That if Embassadors, which are but Princes seruants, shal haue conspired

spired against those to whom they are imployed in Embassage, are not culpable of treason, much lesse the Princes themselues: and that the will ought not to be punished, vnlesse it take effect. That it was a thing neuer heard of, for a Queene to passe vnder the hands of a common executioner. That she was condemned contrary to the law of God, the *Romane* Ciuill Law, and the *English*; yea, euen against the Statute of the Parliament *Anno* 13. of *Elizabeth*, whereby it was ordained, That no person should be called into iudgement for hauing attempted the ruine of the Prince, but vpon the testimonie and oath of two lawfull witnesses, who should be brought face to face before the accused; and in her trial no witnes was produced against her, but she was condemned from the testimony of two Secretaries absent. They discourſed diuersly also of the credite that was to bee giuen to domestick seruants, being prisoners: They much commended the speech of *Adrian* the Emperour: *Testibus, non testimonijs credendum*, That wee should rather trust the the witnessors, than the witnesses. Others priuately complained, that Spyes or Intelligencers had beene suborned, who by forgerie, false letters, and deceitfull sleights had deluded this Princesse exposed to iniuries, had preuented her purposes, encouraged her to bad matters, of which shee had not so much as once thought, had she beene kept as was requisite, and if such fraudulent Machinators had not beene put to her to that purpose. That it hath beene a familiar thing in all ages, for those that are enuyed by Courtiers, euen against their wills to be brought into treason, and to heape more dangers (more treacherously) vpon the innocent, being once restrained of liberty. Booke 3.

Others thought that she was not a free and absolute Qu. but only titulary, because shee had forsaken her kingdomes gouernement, and was vnder the protection of the queene of *England*, so soone as she was come within the kingdome: and as in doing well she had tasted the benefite of the Law, Against her

so in doing ill, she was subiect to the rigour thereof; according to the Lawyers Maxime:

He deserueth no benefite of the Law, which trespasseth against the Law.

Otherwise the condition of a stranger-king, offending within the countrey of another, should be better than of him which raigneth well: That she was a subiect temporally, but not originally; because that in respect of regall authoritie, there cannot be two absolute Princes together in one Kingdom: That by the common receiued opinion of Lawyers,

The king out of his Territories is a priuate man, except in expedition of warre: and therefore can neyther conferre nor exercise the royall Rights.

Besides that, that she had lost her soueraignety of Empire by her trespasse: and that those which are subiect to a King by reason of *domicile*, may commit treason. As touching the parentage, there is no neerer kindred than our country; for that it is a second Diuinity, and our first and greatest parent. As touching the promises of the duties of humanitie and hospitalitie, these are no priuiledges to commit euills vnpunished: That promises are to be vnderstood so long as things remain in the same estate, and are not changed. That he which hath committed a crime, deserueth not to enioy any promised security, and the rights of hospitalitie as sacred: but our countrey is more sacred. That the Prince, no more than the Pope, neuer bindeth his hands, and that all Princes are more neerely obliged to their Cōmon-wealths, than to their promises. That if they should proceed with her, as with a prisoner in warre, they obiect I know not out of what author,

That

That onely captiues are to be pardoned, from whom we can suspect no disturbance of the peace; and no others. Booke 3.

And that euery one hath power ouer his equall, alwayes and when the equall submitteth himselfe to his iudgement, eyther expressely by word, or secretly by contract, or else by offending within his iurisdiction. That the Pope had cut off the sentence giuen by the Emperour against *Rob.* King of *Sicily*, because the fact was not committed within the Emperours dominions, but within the Popes. That by the law of Nations, Ambassadors haue beene so fauoured for the necessity of their Ambassages, as not to be violated: but Kings which trespasse in the countrey of another, haue no such graunt. Finally, that in matter of treason, the will, though wanting effect, is punishable: and to practise the death of the Prince, nay to know of the practice, & to conceale it, is held for treason. That many Kings haue beene condemned and punished, as namely *Rescuporis* of *Thrace*, by *Tiberius*, *Licinius* & *Maximinianus* by *Constantine* the great, *Bernard* of *Italy*, *Conrade* of *Sicily*, &c. And that which is the summe of all, The soueraigne Law is the safetie of the people: now no law more soueraigne, than the welfare of the Common-wealth. And that *Iupiter* himselfe made this law, That whatsoeuer is for the commodious good of the Common-wealth, is lawfull and iust. On the contrary, that the Bishops of *Rome* haue put to death some Ecclesiasticall Princes, not for the safeguard of the Common-wealth so much, as for their owne particular: as *Boniface* the eighth put to death *Celestine* the fist, deposed from the Papacy, fearing that he should be called againe, because of his singular piety: *Vrban* the sixt, who caused fiue Cardinalls to be sewed vp in sackes, and cast into the Sea, beheaded some, and two others he caused to be baked in an Ouen; and for the more terror, commanded they should be laid on Mules, and carried about the countrey. Moreouer that Secretaries are not to be held for seruants, and that domestick witnesse is to be

be admitted for proofe of secret things done in the house. And it was argued vpon, whether the accusers which haue sworn voluntarily, and those which are suspected of crimes, ought to come face to face in criminall matters, to maintain the accusation. Lastly, That there is no such perfect example, but hath some thing in it which is not iust. These, and such like, are the matters which then were debated.

In the meane time the K. of *Scotland*, for the remarkeable deare loue he bore his mother, laboured with all his power, by the imploimēt of *Mr Keith*, to saue her; omitting nothing beseeming a good & vertuous sonne: but without successe, because the *Scots* were diuided into factions amongst themselues, & more fauoured Q. *Elizabeth*, than their prisoned Q. insomuch that some of them by priuate letters sollicited Q. *Elizabeth* to hasten her punishment: and that the Ministers of *Scotland*, being commanded by the King to pray to God in the Churches for his mother, they obstinately refused so to do, for the hate they bore the Religion which she professed. And though the King had formerly beene earnest (by messages and letters) with Q. *Elizabeth* in his mothers behalfe, yet then he became more instant; complayning,

> *That it was most vniust, that the Nobles, the Counsellors and subiects of* England *should giue sentence against a Queene of* Scotland, *borne of the* English *blood; and as vniust also but to thinke, that the States of* England *can by authority of Parliament exclude the true heyres from the right of succession, and their lawfull inheritance.* The which some did often threaten, to cause the more terrour.

He sent also *Patrick Gray* and *Robert Maclain*, to delare to Q. *Elizabeth*,

> *That the great proximitie which was betwixt them, would not let him beleeue, that shee would violate that renowned reputation, which shee from all parts had purchased by her vertues; and especially by her mercifulnesse,*

sulnesse, which shee had reserued vnstained with any spot of cruelty; and that she would by no meanes now defile it in his mothers blood, who was of the same princely dignity, parentage, and sexe: whom he (because his mothers blood had so great an interest in him) could not forsake, nor leaue to the cruelty of these, who had so long breathed after his death, as well as hers.

Booke.

After he had by other letters shewed at large, with what heauinesse of heart, and doubtfull perplexities he was afflicted, by reason of this weighty businesse, which touched and bound him in nature and honour, and into what extremities of distresse and danger his reputation was like to fall among his subiects, if any violence were offered to his mother; these things he propounded to her serious consideration, drawne from the inward sense of his sorrow and filiall affection:

And propoundeth some things considerable.

How greatly it concerneth his honour, being a King and sonne, if his dearest mother (who was also an absolute Princesse) should dye an infamous death, and that by her commandement who was the next in league of loue and consanguinitie. Whether by the word of God any thing may iustly be enacted by law against those, whom God hath established for the administration of iustice; whom he vouchsafeth to call gods vpon earth, whom he hath anoynted, whom he hath forbid to touch, because they are his anoynted, and whom he will not permit to suffer wrong vnreuenged. How monstrous a thing were it, that an absolute Prince should be subiect to the censure of subiects: How prodigious, that an entyre Prince should leade the way, to giue such a detestable example, to prophane the diadems of others: What should inforce her to this bloody cruelty? Honour, or profit? If honour, then might she acquire more and greater in pardoning; for so (to her eternall glory for her clemency) should she binde to her for this benefite, both Him and

all the Kings of Christendome, whose affection otherwise she should lose, together with her reputation, and brand her selfe with the marke of cruelty. If profite, it is to be considered, whether any thing can be accounted profitable, but that which is iust and honest. And then concluded, in desiring her to send such an answer by his Ambassadors as should be wellbeseeming so pious a Princesse, and not vnworthy for such a King as was her most affectionate kinsman.

But these Ambassadors, intermingling tempestiue menaces with their messages, were not pleasing: and so taking their leaue, some few dayes after returned back, carrying with them as little comfort as hope.

Pomponius Bellieure, sent for this cause from the King of *France*, had accesse to the Q. of *England*, (accompanied with *l'Aubespine de Chasteauneuf* the ordinary Ambassador) and hauing giuen her to vnderstand how many contrary thoughts had troubled the K. of *France*; on the one side, for the singular affection which he bore her; on the other, for the neere alliance of kindred which was betwixt him and the Q. of *Scotland*: propounded to Q. *Elizabeth* at two seuerall times in writing, these and the like things, *viz.*

That it neerely concerned the K. of France, and other Kings, that a free Queen and absolute Princesse should not be committed to death.

That the safetie of Queene Elizabeth *would be in more danger by the death of* Mary, *than by her life, and that being set at libertie, she could not attempt any thing against the Queene of England, because that her want of health did promise no long life.*

That she had arrogated to her selfe the Kingdome of England, was not to be imputed (as a crime) so much to her,

her, as to that she had learned in her youth of naughty Counsellors. Booke 3.

That shee came into England as a suppliant, and therfore she could not be iustly detained, but was at the last to be released eyther for money or mercy. And besides, that an absolute Prince ought not in any sort to be brought to arraignement: which made Cicero *say*, that it was a thing neuer heard of, that a K. should bee called in question, or accused of any capitall crime.

That if she were innocent, she ought not to be punished: if culpable, she should be pardoned, because that would redound to the greater honour and profite, and would remaine an eternall example of the English clemency. Alledging to this purpose the History of Porsenna, *which drew out of the fire the right hand of* M. Sceuola, *who had conspired his death, and let him go.*

That the first precept to raigne well, is to spare blood: that blood cryeth for blood, and to be seuere vpon her, cannot but seeme a thing cruell and bloody.

That the K. of France would endeuour seriously to dissolue the designes of those, which conspired against Queen Elizabeth, *and that the Guises (the Queen of Scotland's kinsmen) should swear and subscribe to do the same, who would take it very grieuously if she were put to death, and perhaps would not suffer it vnreuenged.*

Finally, they required she should not be handled with such rigorous and extraordinary iudgement: for if shee were, the King of France could not but take it as a most grieuous offence, howsoeuer the other Princes tooke it.

To euery one of these Articles, answer was made in the Margent, That the Queene of *England* hoped, that the most Christian king of *France* made no lesse reckoning of her, than of the Queene of *Scotland*, who had practised her destruction, she being an innocent Princesse, her neere Kinswoman, and in league of Alliance with the King of *France*: That it is expedient for Kings and their Countries, that wicked actions be not left vnpunished, especially against Princes.

That the English, who acknowledge Queen Elizabeth *the sole Supreame Gouernesse of* England, *cannot at once acknowledge two Soueraignes free and absolute Princes; nor any other whilst she lived could participate in equalitie with her: Neither could she perceiue how the Queene of* Scotland, *and her Sonne, which then raigned, could be held at once for Soueraigne and absolute Princes.*

Whether that the safetie of Queene Elizabeth *be exposible to greater perils, shee being put to death, seeing it dependeth vpon future contingencie: That the Estates of England, having well weighed this point, are otherwise conceited: namely, That whilst shee liueth, there will alwaies be new plots of mischiefe breeding; especially, because it is now come to that issue, that there is no hope left for the one, if the other be not extinct: and this saying should often present it selfe to her mind;* Either I shall dispatch her, or shee me. *And the lesser time her life shall last, the more celeritie will the Conspirators vse, to execute their plots.*

That hitherto she would neuer renounce her claime and challenge to the English Crowne, and therefore was for iust cause to be detained in prison, and detained must be, till she renounce it, although she came to England for succour and support. And for what cause soeuer she was put in prison, she is to be punished for the faults she hath committed since the time of her imprisonment.

That the Queene of England had pardoned her before, when she was condemned of all the Estates, for consenting to the Rebellion in the North; the which was raised, to haue made the

Mary-

Marriage betwixt her and the Duke of Norfolke: and to pardon her againe, were imprudent and cruell mercy. That none are ignorant of that Maxime of the Lawyers: An offender found within the Territorie of another, is to be punished, where he is found to haue committed the fault, without respect of Dignitie, Honour, or Priuiledge. *And that the same is permitted as well by the Lawes of England, as also by the examples of* Licinius, Robert *King of* Sicilie, *Bernard King of* Italy, Conradine, Elizabeth *Queene of* Hungary, Ioan *Queene of* Naples, *and of* Deiotarus, *for whom* Cicero *pleading, said: It is not a thing vniust, though vnusuall for a King to be arraigned. His very words are these:* Primùm dico pro capite, fortunisq; Regis, quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est, in tuo duntaxat periculo: tamen est ita inusitatum, Regem capitis reum esse, vt ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Booke 3.

That shee that hath beene found guiltie by a iust Iudgement, ought to vndergoe punishment; forasmuch, as that which is Iust, is Honest; and that which is Honest, is also profitable.

That the History of Porsenna *hath no allusion to the matter in question, except it were to be thought, that there are a great number yet behinde, of them, which conspire against Queene* Elizabeth; *and so could perswade her out of feare and some little respect of honour, to dismisse the Queene of* Scotland, *without putting her to any paine; as* Porsenna *past off* Mutius, *after* Mutius *had told him, there was yet* 300. *more of his Fellow-Confederates, which had sworne his death. Besides, that* Mutius *set vpon* Porsenna *in open warre, and assured himselfe, that by sending* Mutius *away, he was out of all danger.*

That blood is to be spared, but that is innocent blood: That God hath said, Blood cryeth for blood, it is true; and that France *both before the Massacre of* Paris *& since cõtestifie this.*

That punishment by death, iustly inflicted, cannot be accounted bloody, no more than a wholsome medicine, can be deem'd hurtfull.

Howsoeuer the Guises, *the Queene of* Scotlands *Consens relish it, Queene* Elizabeth *hath more nearer cause to respect her*

Book 3. selfe, her owne safetie, her Nobilitie, and the good of her People, on whose loue shee wholly dependeth, than the discontent of any other whosoeuer: And that the matter was now at that point, that, the old Prouerbe of the two Princes, Conradine the King of Sicilie, and Charles the Duke of Anjou, might be vsed, and truly said, of these two Queens,

THE DEATH OF *MARY*, THE LIFE OF *ELIZABETH*:
And
THE LIFE OF *MARY*, THE DEATH OF *ELIZABETH*.

The promises of the French King, or the Guises, *cannot secure the Queene of* England, *nor the Realme of assured safetie: much lesse make amends for her death, if she be made away.*

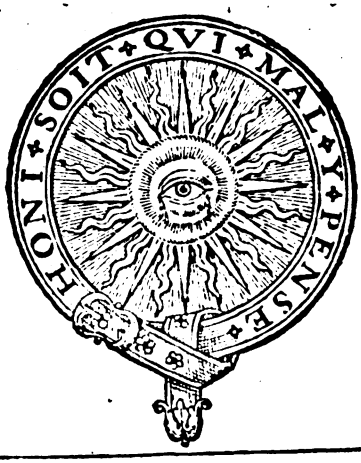
That the French King cannot discouer, or keepe in the plots of Treason, which are practised against him in his owne Country; much lesse this against the Queene of England; *for that Treason is closely carryed, and therefore inuitable. And if the wicked act were once committed, what good would come on it to claime their promises? How can the life of an incomparable Prince, after death be repaired? and what redresse can be found out for the Common-wealth, (failing with her) in this sad confusion of all things?*

That the hand-writings, or oathes of the Guises *can be of no great moment; for that they hold it a meritorius matter to put to death the Pope of* Romes *Aduersaries, and may easily haue a dispensation of their oath. And when Queene* Elizabeth *shall be slaine, and the Queene of* Scotland, *which is of the House of the* Guises, *aduanced to the Royaltie, who is he will accuse them for her death? or if they should be accused, that can bring her to life again?*

But in that the Aml assadours haue said, That the Iudgement was rigorous and extraordinary; they haue spoken indiscreetly (for they saw neither the proceedings of the business, nor heard the proofes) and haue with too much asperitie reprehended the

Estates

Estates of the Realme of England, being Personages of chiefest note in the Kingdome, for noblenesse of Birth, Vertue, Wisedome, and Pietie. Yea, and that they haue altogether deliuered these speeches from the King of France, *to terrifie the Queene of* England, *and the Estates of the Land. That the English are not wont to feare the Frenchmens menaces, nor can these diuert them, from prouiding how to settle their State in securitie, For-asmuch as the Ambassadours, in the meane time, haue not made any demonstration or mention, how to preuent the imminent ieopardies, and dangers hanging ouer* Englands *head.* Booke 3.



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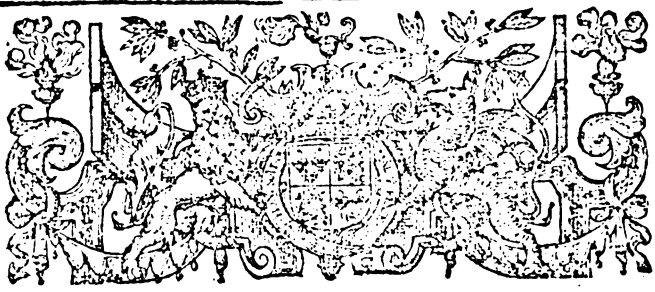


THE NINE AND TWENTIETH YEARE OF HER RAIGNE,

ANNO DOM. M.D.LXXXVII.

AS men thus (according to the varietie of their apprehensions) discoursed busily, and at large of these matters, as they were led either by enuy or affection: *D'Aubespine* the Ambassadour for *France* in *England*, who was of the Faction of the *Guises*, thinking, that if he could not by Arguments or Reasons deliuer the Queene of *Scotland*, yet would he by some mischieuous craft: Treateth priuatly, and first with one *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and apt to conceiue strange hopes, whose Mother was one of the Ladies of Honour, and his Brother Leger in *France*, about the killing of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Ambassadour of *France* attempteth Queene *Elizabeth* life.

Elizabeth. At first he dealt with him vnder-hand, but afterwards more plainely by his Secretary *Trappe*, who promised him, if he performed it, that he should haue thereby, not only great glory, and a large summe of money; but also exceeding fauour from his Holinesse the Pope of Rome, the *Guises*, and all Catholikes. *Stafford*, as loathing such a monstrous miseniefe, would not be the Actour thereof; but notwithstanding, notifyed to him one *Modey*, a fit fellow to be imploed in matter of murther, & one who would dispatch it though neuer so bloody, for money. This *Modey* was a prisoner in London; to whom *Stafford* made it knowne, that the French Ambassadour desired to speake with him. He answered, that he desired the same, if he were out of Prison; intreating him in the meane time, to speake with *Cordalion*, the Ambassadours vnder-Secretary, who was his familiar friend. The morrow after, was sent to him *Trappe* and *Stafford*; which *Trappe (Stafford* going apart) grew into talke with *Modey*, how and by what meanes they might kill Queene *Elizabeth*. *Modey* aduised to haue it done by poyson, or by bringing priuately into the Queenes Chamber, a barrell of Gun-powder, to be secretly set on fire. But this liked not *Trappe*, who desired a resolute fellow, which feared nothing, such a one as the *Bourgoignon*, which had slaine the Prince of *Orange*.

Booke;

Stafford had quickly reuealed this to the Councell: And *Trappe* (now preparing himselfe for *France*) is apprehended, and being examined, confesseth all the matter. Hereupon, the twelfth of *January* following, the Ambassadour was sent for to the House of *Cicile*, whither he came about euening, where there was present at that time, by the commandment of the Queen, *Cicile* the Baron of *Burghley*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*; the Earle of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlaine to the Queens Maiestie; & *Dauison*, one of her Maiesties Secretaries: who declared, that they had inuited him thither, to acquaint him with the

Stafford discouereth the enterprise to the Councell.

cause, why they had stayed his Secretary *Trappe*, being bound for *France*; and so discoursed to him the whole matter, as *Stafford*, *Modey*, and *Trappe* themselues had confessed; and had caused them to be brought in, to testifie the same before his face. The Ambassadour (with great impatience) bending his browes, and standing vp, said: *That he (being the Kings Ambassadour) would not abuse his Master the King of* France, *or preiudice other Ambassadours in that kinde, to be a hearer of Accusations, be what they will.* But they hauing answered him, that these things were not produced as accusations against him; but to let him perceiue that they were neither false nor faigned: and, to the ende hee might take occasion to conuince *Stafford* of Calumnie the more freely; hee became quiet. But so soone as *Stafford* came in, and had begun to speake; he interrupting of him, in rayling manner, swore: *That* Stafford *had first mentioned the matter, and that he had threatned to send him bound hand and foote, to the Queene of* England, *if he would not giue ouer that businesse; and that at that time he forbore him, for the loue and affection he had to his Mother, his Brother, and his Sister.* *Stafford* falling on his knees, protested many times vp on his Saluation, *That the Ambassadour had first broken the matter to him.* The Ambassadour then more moued than before, *Stafford* was commanded forth, and *Modey* not permitted to come in.

The Ambassadour denieth it.

Hereupon the Lord *Burghley*, out of his owne words, and *Trappe* his Confession, reproued him, but somewhat gently, for this intended mischiefe. The Ambassadour answered; *If he had beene guiltie, or acquainted with the matter, yet as being an Ambassadour, he was not bound to reueale it to any but his owne King.* *Burghley* answering, said; *Admit it be not the part of an Ambassadour (which yet is a matter questionable) to discouer such matters, but only to their owne King, when the life of a Prince is in hazzard: yet it is the part of a Christian to preuent such enormities, as touch the life of a*

The Ambassadour mildly rebuked.

Whether an Ambassador be to discouer the attempts, if he know any to be committed a-

Prince

Prince; nay, of any priuate Christian. This he stoutly denied, and withall recited an example of a French Ambassadour, not long agone in *Spaine*, who knowing of a treacherous practise against the King of *Spaine*, although it concerned his life; yet discouered it not to him, but to his owne King: for which he receiued great commendation, both of his King and of his Councell. But the Lord *Burghley* very grauely admonished him, hereafter to haue a care how he offended her Maiestie, and not to forget his duty, and her Maiesties mercifulnesse, which was loath to offend the good Ambassadours, by punishing the bad: neither was he all this while exempt from the fault, though freed from the punishment.

Booke against the Prince to whom he is sent.

From this attempt, such as were the sworne enemies of the Queene of *Scotland*, and sought to doe her hurt, tooke occasion hereby to hasten her death; knowing that in extreame danger of safetie, Feare leaueth no place for Mercy, and tooke order (the more to terrifie the Queene of *England*) to spread rumorous speeches daily, and false and fearefull exclamations all ouer the Land; to wit:

That the Spanish Fleet was already landed at Milford-Hauen; That the Scots were come vpon their borders; That the Guise *was in Essex with a mighty Armie; That the Queene of Scots had broken prison, rayſed a great troope of Souldiers, and began to make a Rebellion in the North; That there were new plots in hand, for murthering the Queene, and to burne the Citie of London; yea, That the Queene of* England *was dead,* and such like: which in those that are crafty and fearefull (by a natural desire) are nourished, and encreased; and Princes (credulous by curiositie) will soon lend their eares thereunto.

By such divulged horrors, and fearefull arguments, they brought her Maiestie into such trouble and perplexitie of minde, that she signed the Letters of Warrant to her deadly Sentence, and was perswaded most of all to it, by *Patricke*

Gray Scottishman, whom the King of *Scotland* had sent to dissuade the Queene of *England*, from putting his mother to death: who many times put these words into her eares; *Mortua non mordet: Being dead, she will byte no more.*

And notwithstanding, as she was naturally slow to anger, she had this custome, that she neuer would enter vnaduisedly, or without premeditation, into any action: so she began to weigh in her minde, whether it were better to put her to death, or to let her liue. From putting her to death, she was dissuaded,

By her owne naturall clemency, not to vse cruelty to her who was a Princesse and her next kinswoman; from the feare that she had, Histories should make her infamous to posterities, and from the dangers which might fall vpon her, as from the part of the King of Scotland, *who then was the next in succession to the Crowne of* England: *so also from the Catholick Princes, and from desperate people, who would attempt any thing.*

From pardoning of her likewise, she foresaw no lesse danger to ensue;

That the Nobility which had giuen the sentence against her, would couertly seeke to regaine the fauour of her and her sonne; and that could not be done without danger to her selfe. That her other subiects would take it ill, when they perceiue their labour to be lost; and though then they were carefull for her welfare, yet hereafter they might grow careless: and that many would change their religion, and become Popish, vpon a supposition of greater hopes, seeing her preserued, as it were by fatall prouidence, to inherite the Kingdome of England. *That the Iesuites and Seminaries, whose eyes were all cast vpon her, seeing her sickly, and not like to liue long, would be so much the more busie to procure the death of Q.* Elizabeth, *to set vp their religion.*

Her

Her Courtiers also ceased not to suggest these and the like things, vnto her: Booke 3.

The Courtiers perswade her,

wherefore should you pardon so monstrous a malefactor, being already iustly condemned; who, after shee had subscribed to the combination made for the preseruation of your health and safety, notwithstanding presently after attempted the taking away of your life, and thereby to procure the vtter ruine of Religion, the Nobilitie, and commons? Clemency indeed is a Princely vertue, but not to be shewed to such as are mercilesse. Let the vaine shew of mercy yeeld to life-preseruing seueritie, and haue regard, that your mercy bring you not to misery. It is enough to haue the commendation of clemency, in that you haue once giuen pardon: to pardon her againe, were nothing else but to pronounce her innocent, to condemne the States of the Kingdome of iniustice, to animate her agents to attempt new mischiefes, and to discourage your faithfull subiects from hauing any care for the preseruation of the weale publick. Religion, the Common-wealth, your own welfare, the loue of your countrey, the oath of association, the care of posteritie to come, doe all together begge and beseech you, that she which desireth the destruction of all these, may speedily be brought to destruction her selfe. If these be not heard, there is no safety left for this State, and Historians will leaue it recorded to the ages to come, that the fayre sunne-shine dayes of all prosperity, which were in England *vnder* Q. Elizabeth, *ended in a darke and dreadful euening, nay turned into a dismall night of eternall obscurity. Our posterity shall find, that we wanted wisedom; hauing power to foresee our miseries, but not to preuent them: the which will thereby become the greater: the grossenesse whereof will be imputed, not so much to the malice of our enemies, as the improuident stupidity of these*

By reasons,

times. That the life of a titulary Queene of Scotland, *was not so much worth, as the safety of this whole kingdome: nor is there any place left for lingring; for delayes are dangerous. We should not giue malefactors of that monstrous nature, leaue to breathe, which from their insolency will take their last support, and from the impunity of their crime, expect some recompence. He which keepeth not himselfe out of danger when he may, seemeth rather to tempt God, than to trust in him. All the danger that can be from strangers, will cease with the cause, and cannot harme* England, *vnlesse it be by her. What will or power soeuer the Pope can haue to hurt, will cease with her death. The Spaniard can haue no cause to finde fault, who for his own security, put his onely sonne* Charles *to death, and doth what he can at this present also to make away* Don Antonio *King of* Portugale, *the more to extend his ambition. The king of* France *entertayneth an inuiolable league of loue with* England, *and is aboue all things so interested herein, that by the present dispatch of the Q. of* Scotland, *the hope of the* Guises *shall be layd flat vnder foot, since it is so that (out of the desperate hope they haue in the long looked-for ayde from their kinswoman) their insolency is growne so great at this time against him. That the King of* Scotland, *euen in nature, and out of a true respect of his royalty, cannot but be moued to displeasure at his mothers death, yet he will rather (out of better deliberation) wayt wisely, till time shall ripen his hopes with security, than to attempt, out of season, the things which can afford him nothing but disturbance and danger. And the nearer he shall growe to his great hopes, the farther off will forraigne Princes (who of customary course are alwayes opposite to the growing greatnesse of others) estrange themselues from him.*

They

They propounded also to her domesticall examples, because that that which is warranted by president, is the more tolerable: As,

Booke 3. And by examples.

What comportment the Kings of England *(for their securities) haue had with their competitors, namely,* Henry *the first with* Robert *his elder brother,* Edw. *the third, or rather his mother, with* Edward *the second,* Henry *the fourth with* Richard *the second,* Edward *the fourth with* Hen. *the sixt, with his sonne the Prince of* Wales, *and* George *of* Clarence *his owne naturall brother,* Henry *the seuenth with the Earle of* Warwick, *the yonger sonne of the Duke of* Clarence, *and* HENRY *the eighth with* De-la-Poole *Earle of* Suffolk, *with* Margaret *of* Salisbury, *and* Courtney *Marquesse of* Exeter: *all which (in comparison of their offences) dyed for very sleight matters.*

Neyther did the Courtiers only suggest these, and the like to the Queene; but diuerse fiery-tongued Preachers also, tooke occasion to exercise (with all asperity of spirit) the heate of their desires, in hastning on her death. Sundry also of the vulgar sort were of the same temper, according as their affections or humours carried them away with hope or feare.

Amidst these sad-afflicting thoughts of minde (which so troubled the Queene of *England's* perplexed heart, as that she delighted to be all alone, and to sit solitary by her selfe, neyther looking vp, nor vttering any speech; yet would suddenly many times, breake out into these words, and sighing, say, *AVT PETEKE AVT PERCVTE, and withall, also a kinde of Emblem: PREVENT THE STROKE BY STRIKING)* shee deliuered Secretarie *Dauison* letters vnder her hand and seale, wherein hee was commanded to make ready a Warrant, vnder the great seale of *England*, for the execution of the Qu. of *Scotland*, and to keepe

She is notwithstanding suspensiue & perplexed with doubtfull feares.

She commandeth a Warrant to be drawne for the executiou.

keepe it priuate, not acquainting any therewith, lest happely in this turbulent time of feare, some sudden violent danger might happen. But the morrow after (some sudden affright mixing it selfe with her pensiue thoughts and meditations of minde) changing her former purpose, she recommanded *Danison* (by *Killegray*) to dispatch his Warrant. *Danison*, going to her, told her it was ready, and sealed. Whereat she grew very angry, saying, He was too hasty. But for all this, he forbore not to publish the matter, and to impart it to the Councell; who (beleeuing that willingly, which they desired earnestly) were easily perswaded, that the Queene had giuen commandement for the execution; and (vnknowne to her) sent presently away *Beale* (who, out of a feruour of zeale which he bore to religion, was more eagerly bent against the Queene of *Scotland*, than any other) and with him two executioners, and letters Patents, whereby authoritie was granted to the Earles of *Shrewesbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland* and others, to proceed in this execution. And although the Queene had told *Danison* at that time, that shee had a purpose to deale otherwise with the Queene of *Scotland*; yet for all that, he did not stay or recall *Beale*.

Ier Counell send ecretly.

Now assoone as the Earles were arriued at *Fotheringham*, they found the Q. of *Scotland* with Sir *Ayme Poulet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whose custody she was committed; and then (reading the Mandate) shewed the cause of their comming, admonishing her, in few words, to prepare her selfe to dye against the next morrow. Sh, chearing that, with an vndanted courage and countenance, answered them:

I Neuer thought, that my sister, the Queene of England, *would haue consented to my death, seeing I am not subiect to your law: but since her pleasure is such, death to me shall be most welcome. And surely that soule were not worthy the eternall ioyes of heauen, whose body cannot endure one stroke of a Headsman.*

The Q. of Scotl. prepares herself for death.

She desired of them to haue conference with her Almner, her

her Contessor, and *Melvine* her Steward. As for her Confessor, they flatly denyed her him; and appointed her for comforters, the Bishop and Deane of *Peterborough*, whom shee refused. Thereupon, the Earle of *Kent* (a zealous professor of Religion) amongst other his speeches, vttered this: Booke 3.

Your life will be the death; and your death, the life of our Religion.

Then hauing made mention of *Babington*, shee confidently affirmed, she neuer knew of his practices. Shee referred the due reuenge of all to God: and hauing inquired what was become of *Nauue*, and *Curle*, asked;

If euer it was heard of, in former times, that the Seruants should be suborned to betray their Lady and Mistresse to death, and also be admitted as Euidencers against her.

When the Earles were departed, shee called in for supper, the better after to dispose of her businesses. Shee supped that night (as her manner euer was) very temperately: and noting her seruants at supper time, both men and women, to weepe and mourne; with cheerefull aspect, and hearty alacritie, shee comforteth them, bidding them to wipe their eyes, and rather to reioice with her, for that shee was now to depart this Gulfe of miseries. Then turning to *Burgon* her Physician, she said:

Haue you not obserued how powerfull and great the Truth is. For (quoth she) *the common report is, That I am to dye for conspiring the Queene of* Englands *death; but the Earle of* Kent, *notwithstanding, told me euen now, That the feare they haue of their Religion, is the cause of my death. Now this is no criminall fact committed against the Queene of* England, *but the feare they haue conceiued of me, which hath brought this slaughter vpon me, the whilst some besides (euery one for himselfe, seeking to serue his owne turne) con-*

spired vnder a pretext of Religion, and the Common-weale.

Supper being almost done, she dranke to all her Seruants; who in order, one by one, vpon their knees, tooke her pledge, mingling their teares with the wine, and crauing pardon of her, wherein soeuer they had beene negligent in doing their duties: so did she likewise of them. After supper, she perused her Will, lookt ouer the Inuentory of her vtensiles, and Iewels, and so set downe the names of such to whom shee had bequeathed any thing, to euery one their share apart. To some of them, shee distributed money with her owne hands. Shee wrote also to her Confessor, to pray for her. And to the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Guise*, by her Letters she recommended her Seruants. This done, she retired herself at her ordinary time to her rest, slept a few hours; and awaking, past the rest of the night away in Prayers.

The fatall day beginning to appeare, which was the 7. of *February*, she attired her selfe in such garments as she vsually wore vpon Festiuall daies; and calling her Seruants about her, caused her Will to be read, desiring them to take in good part the Legacies she had giuen them, seeing it was not in her power to make them better. Then wholly fixing her mind vpon God, she betook her self into her Oratory or place of Prayer, where with sighs, grieuous gronings, and feruent prayers, she called vpon God; till such time as *Thomas Andrey*, Sherife of the Shire, signified to her, that it was now time for her to come forth. Then forth shee came, in gesture, carryage, and demeanour, right Princely and majesticke; cheerefull in countenance, and in attire very modest, and Matron-like: shee wore a linnen vaile vpon her, and before her face, which shee discouered: at her girdle hung her Rosarie, or rowe of Beades, and in her hand she held a Crucifix of Iuory.

Shee is brought to the scaffold.

In the Porch or passage of her lodging, met her the Earles, and the rest of the Noblemen, where *Meluine* (one of

of her Seruants) falling on his knees, and pouring forth teares, bewailed his vnlucky fortune, that he was design'd the man, that should carry into *Scotland* the sad message of the tragicall death of his dearest Mistresse. Booke 3.

Oh weep not (quoth she) *for you shall shortly see* Mary Stuart *at an end of all her sorrowes. You shall report, that I dye true and constant in my religion, and firme in my loue to* Scotland *and* France. *God forgiue them which haue thirsted after my blood, as the Hart doth for the water-brooke. Thou (oh God) which art Truth it selfe, and which sounds't the deepest secrets of my inward heart; euen thou knowest how earnestly I haue desired the vnion of the two Kingdomes of* England *and* Scotland. *Recommend me to my Sonne; tell him for certainty I neuer did, or attempted any thing preiudiciall to the Kingdome of* Scotland. *Counsell him to entertaine amitie with the Queene of* England, *and be you his true and trusty Seruant.* Her speeches to *Meluine* her Steward.

By this, the teares flowed from her eyes, shee repeating againe, and againe, *Adieu, Adieu, Meluine*: who wept all the while, no lesse lamentably. Then turning her towards the Earles, she intreated them, that her Seruants might be gently vsed, that they might enioy the things she had giuen them by her Will, that they might be permitted to be with her at her death, and lastly, might be safely conducted and sent home into their Countries. Her two first requests they granted, but for the hauing of her Seruants by at her death, the Earle of *Kent* seemed scrupulous, fearing there might be some superstition in that. To him she said: To the Earles.

Feare you not, Sir: the poore wretches desire nothing but to take their last leaues of me. And I know, my Sister, the Queene of England, *would not you should deny me so small a request: For, for the honour of my sex, my Seruants should be in presence. I am the nearest of her Parentage and Consanguinitie, grand-childe to*

Henry *the seuenth, Dowager of* France, *and anointed Queene of* Scotland:

Which when shee had said, and turned her about, it was granted her, to haue such of her Seruants as shee would nominate. Then she named *Meluine, Bourgon* her Physician, her Apothecarie, her Chyrurgion, two of her Maides, and some others, of which *Meluine* carryed vp her traine. Then the Noblemen, the two Earles, and the Sherife of the Shire going before, she came to the Scaffold, the which was built at the vpper end of the Hall, vpon the which was a Chaire, a Cushion, and a Blocke, all couered with blacke. So soone as she was set, and silence commanded, *Beal* read the Warrant or Mandate, to which she listened attentiuely, as if it had beene some other thing. Then Doctor *Fletcher* (Deane of *Peterborough*) made a large discourse of the condition of her life past, and present, and of the life to come. Twice she interrupted him, intreating him not to importune her: *Protesting, that she was setled and resolued in the ancient Romane Catholike Religion, and ready euen now to shed her blood for the same.* He vehemently exhorted her to be repentant, and with an vndoubted Faith to put her whole trust and confidence in Christ: But shee answered him; *That she had beene borne and brought vp in this Religion, and was ready to die in the same.* Then the Earles saying they would pray for her; Shee replied, *shee would giue them great thankes, if they would pray together with her, but to communicate in Prayer with them which are of a different Religion, were a scandall, and great sinne.* Then they bade the Deane to pray: with whom, whilst the Assembly about him ioyned in Prayer; Shee falling on her knees, and holding the Crucifix betwixt her hands, prayed in Latine, with her owne people, out of the *Office of our blessed Lady.*

After the Deane had ended his Praiers, shee prayed in English for the Church, for her Sonne, and *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, beseeching God to turne his heauy wrath from this

this Iland, and protesting (as she held vp the Crucifix) that she reposed her hope of Saluation in the blood of Christ Iesus: shee called vpon the holy Company of Saints in Heauen, to make intercession for her vnto him. Shee forgaue all her enemies: then kissing the Crucifix, and making the signe of the Crosse, she said: *As thy armes (oh Lord Iesu Christ) were spred forth vpon the Crosse, so receiue me into the same armes of thy Mercy, and pardon me my trespasses.* Then the Executioner asked forgiuenesse, whom shee forgaue: and her seruants (she making haste) tooke off her vpper garments, crying and lamenting aloud: yet neither by her kissing or crossing of them, did shee euer change her cheerfull countenance, but bade them forbeare their womanish weeping, saying; *That shee was at the end of all her calamities.* Likewise turning her selfe towards her other seruants, most pitiously weeping, she signed them with the signe of the Crosse, and smilingly bade them all, *Adieu.* Then hauing a linnen cloth before her face, and laid her head vpon the Blocke, she recited the Psalme; *In thee (O Lord) haue I put my trust, let mee not be confounded for euer.* Then stretching forth her body, and many times together ingeminating these words; *Lord into thy hands I commend my Spirit,* her Head at the second blow was cut off; the Deane crying aloud, and saying, *So perish all the Enemies of Queene* Elizabeth; to which, the Earle of *Kent* answerd, *Amen:* so likewise did the people weeping. Afterwards her body being imbalmed, and solemnly made ready was with Princely Funerals interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborough.* And in *Paris* were her Obsequies in most magnificent manner, also, celebrated by the *Guises*; who neither in her life omitted any offices of loue or kindnes toward her, nor yet after her death, to their great laud and glory.

Here you haue seen what was the lamentable end of the life of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, daughter to *James* the Fift, King of *Scotland*, grand-childe to *Henry* the seuenth King of *England*,

e 3. *land*, by his elder daughter, of 46. yeares of age, and the 18. yeare of her imprisonment. A woman most constant in her Religion; of singular zeale and sanctimonie towards God; of inuincible animositie and courage; in wisedome aboue her Sexe; of surpassing beautie, and worthy to be recorded in the *Catalogue* of those Princes, who of happy and prosperous, became miserable and vnfortunate. Being yet an Infant, shee was with great sedulitie sought for, both by *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*, for his sonne *Edward*; and by *Henry* the second, King of *France*, for *Francis* the Dolphin. Shee was sent into *France* at fiue yeares of age, and at ten married to the Dolphine. After the death of her husband, returning into *Scotland*, and being married to *Henrie*, Lord *Darley*, she had by him IAMES, the First Monarch of *Great Britanne*. Shee was persecuted by *Murrey* her base Brother, and others her disloyall and ambitious subiects deposed from the Kingdome, driuen into *England*, circumuented (as some worthy persons haue conceiued) by certaine in *England*, carefull for the retaining of their Religion, and the preseruation of Queene *Elizabeths* life; exposed into perilous attempts, by others (desirous of re-establishing the Romish Religion) and brought to ruine by the intimations or witnesses of her absent Secretaries; who (as it is thought) were corrupted with coine. By her Tombe was fixed, and soone after taken away, this following *Epitaph:*

MARIA

The Epitaph.

MARIA SCOTORVM REGINA, REGIS FILIA, REGIS *GALLORVM* VIDVA, REGINÆ *ANGLIÆ* AGNATA, ET HÆRES PROXIMA, VIRTVTIBVS REGIIS ET ANIMO REGIO ORNATA. IVRE REGIO FRVSTRA SÆPIVS IMPLORATO, BARBARA ET TYRANNICA CRVDELITATE, ORNAMENTVM NOSTRI SECVLI, ET LVMEN VERE REGIVM EXTINGVITVR: EODEMQVE NEFARIO IVDICIO, ET *MARIA SCOTORVM* REGINA MORTE NATVRALI, ET OMNES SVPERSTITES REGES, PLEBEII FACTI, MORTE CIVILI MVLCTANTVR.

NOVVM ET INAVDITVM TVMVLI GENVS, IN QVO CVM VIVIS MORTVI INCLVDVNTVR, HIC ERAT: CVM SACRIS ENIM DIVÆ *MARIÆ* CINERIBVS, OMNIVM REGVM ATQVE PRINCIPVM VIOLATAM, ATQVE PROSTRATAM MAIESTATEM HIC IACERE SCITO; ET QVIA TACITVM REGALE SATIS SVPERQVE REGES SVI OFFICII MONET, PLVRA NON ADDO, VIATOR.

ke 3.
e prui-
ce of
d plainly
n in her
ath.

IN the lamentable death of this great Princesse, manifestly appeared (as some haue obserued) the prouidence of God: For the things which *Elizabeth* and *Mary* wished from the beginning, and were resolued vpon in all their designes, were hereby effected and consummate. Queene *Mary* (as her selfe confest at her death) desired nothing more feruently, than that the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* (which were diuided) might be vnited and ioyned in one, in her dearest Sonne; Nor *Elizabeth*, but that the true Religion, together with the good and safety of the People in *England* might be continued and maintained. And *England* now with vnspeakable ioy and gladnesse, acknowledgeth, that God Almighty hath granted both their desires, to her vnexpected and euerlasting felicitie.

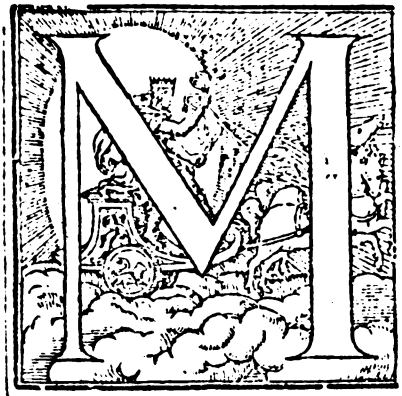
Elizabeth is
orry there-
ore, and
rieueth
hereat.

So soone as report (the messenger of this death) had brought the newes thereof to Queene *Elizabeth*, who not so much as thought of any such matter, she tooke it most impatiently: her speech, and countenance, at once failed her: through the extremitie of her grieuous discontent, shee became quite comfortlesse and disconsolate; and attired her selfe in mourning weedes, bitterly lamenting, and sheading many brinish teares from the compassionate riuers of her eyes. Shee sharply rebuked her Councell, and chased them out of her sight, commanding they should be questioned. And as for *William Danison*, he was brought into the Starre-Chamber to be tryed. And so soone as her passionate anguish and excesse of sorrow, suffered her to write, shee suddenly addrest (by sir *Robert Carey*) to the King of *Scotland*, this Letter following, of her owne hand-writing:

s angry
with her
Councell.

Most

Queene ELIZABETH's Letter to King IAMES.



OST DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER:

Would to God you did know, but not feele, with what incomparable sorrow my sad-afflicted heart is troubled, by the late lamentable euent, which hapned contrary to my minde and meaning: but because my Penne abhorreth the recitall thereof, you shall vnderstand it by this my Kinsman. I beseech you, that (as God and many good men are witnesses with me of my innocencie) you also would believe, that if I had once commanded it, I would neuer haue denyed the same. I am not so base-minded, nor of such a degenerate or ignoble spirit, as that either I am affraid to doe the thing that is iust, or to disclaime it being done.

But as it is most dishonourable in Princes, to couer or colour the conceptions of their hearts, in disguised words: So will I neuer dissemble any action of mine, but let it appeare in its owne liuely colours. Know this for certainty, that as I am sure, it hapned not by any fault of mine; so if I had euer intended such a deed, I would not haue imputed it to others. Nor can I assume that to my selfe which I neuer thought. The rest, the Deliuerer of these lines will impart vnto you.

y part, I would haue you believe, that there is none more intire-
ing you, nor more studiously carefull for the good of you and
, than my selfe. If any haue suggested to you the contrary, be
ersuaded, that such a one beareth more affection to others, than
n. God keepe you long safe and sound.

hilest Sir *Robert Carey* was on the way with these letters, *William*
son was brought into the Starr-Chamber before certain Commis-
ers, to wit, Sir *Christopher Wray* Lo: chiefe Iustice of the K. Bench,
o for that time was likewise made Lord Keeper of the Priuy Seale;
ArchBishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Earles of *Worcester*, *Cumber-*
d, and *Lincolne*; the Lords *Gray* and *Lumley*, Sir *James Crofts* Comp-
ller of the Queens house, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellour of the Ex-
equer, Sir *Gilbert Gerard* Master of the Rolls, *Edm. Anderson* chiefe Iu-
ce of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood* chiefe Baron of the
chequer. In the presence of these, Sir *Francis Popham*, the Qu. Attur-
y generall, accused *William Davison* of contempt against her Maiestie,
the breach of his allegeance, the neglect and omission of his duties;
r that the queene of *England*, out of her royall clemency, being vn-
illing that the queene of *Scotland* (although shee stood condemned)
ould be put to death, for certaine causes best knowne to her selfe, such
were not to bee sounded into by any others, nor could be drawne
om her, eyther by the importunate vrging of the States of the land, or
her Councell: notwithstanding shee had commanded the Warrant
her execution to be drawne (for the preuenting of some eminent pe-
ls) the which she committed to the said *William Davisons* trust and ta-
citurnitie; he, being a sworne Secretary, forgetfull of his faith and obe-
dience, (contemning her Maiesties command) had imparted the same
o the Councell, and brought her to execution, without the knowledge
or priuitie of her Maiestie.

William Davison (such was his singular modesty) answered temperat-
y, and yet with audacitie;

That he was very sorry, that he should be thus troublesome to Commissioners,
concerning the Q. of Scotland, and the indgement giuen against her (most grie-
uous offence) to the impeachment of his credite, if not to the finall losse ther-
of;

of; which to him was all in all. But this most grieued him, to be taxed of contempt against her Maiestie; to whō for her Princely faueurs, he was so obliged, that his offence must thereby be the more intolerable. That hee confessed himselfe guilty of the crimes obiected against him. That he had made shipwrack of his credite, which hee reckoned equiualent with his life. If in making his Apologie he should contest with the Queen, he should do that which were most vnbecoming the obedience of a subject, the respect of a seruant, and the fidelity and reputation of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, *That he had done nothing therein wittingly and willingly, but what he was perswaded was the Queenes will and pleasure; wherein if by ignorance or negligence he had done any thing preiudiciall, he could not but for that be sory, and submit himselfe to the censure of the Commissioners.* Booke 3.

Now as touching the particulars: Whereas the Queene blamed him for hauing beene ouer-hasty in setting the great seale to the Mandate, he auouched;

That she had darkely signified, but not expressely commanded that he should keepe it by him: Neyther, as hee thought, had hee trespassed in matter of secrecie; for that he had not imparted it to any but the Councell. As touching that, that he did not reuoke the Warrant, after the Queene had giuen him to vnderstand that shee had altered her minde; he affirmed, That it was agreed vpon by the generall consent of the Councell, that forthwith it should be sent away, and the Queene of Scotland *executed, for feare the Queene or State might be indangered or damnified.*

Vpon this confession, Sir *Thomas Egerton* the Queenes Sollicitor (hauing read some part of it) began to presse him. But he desired him to reade it all thorow, and not selected parcels here and there; though he had rather it should not be read at all, because in it were contayned some secrets not fit to be reuealed; oftentimes interposing these words, *That as he was vnwilling to contest against the Queene was he* They vrge him vpon his owne confession.

loth his modesty should be preiudiciall to the truth, or his own reputation.

Sir *Thomas Gandy* and Sir *William Pickering*, the Queenes Sergeants at Law, likewise in many and sharpe speeches, rebuked him, for that he had fraudulently abused her Maiesties Priuy Councell, as was confessed by *William Cecill* Baron of *Burghley*, Lo: high Treasurer: to whom (doubting whether the Queene had granted that they should proceed to the execution of the Queen of *Scotland*) he affirmed and protested she had: as also he said the like to the rest, who had subscribed to the Warrant or Mandate, for the execution of the said Q. of *Scotland*. Here *Dauison*, shedding teares, desired the Lawyers not to vrge him any further, but that they would remember, *That he was not to contest against the Queen*; wherefore he wholly submitted himselfe to *her Maiesties conscience, and the Commissioners censure.*

Sir *Roger Manwood*, beginning, made an historicall relation of the Queene of *Scotland*; how from her tender age she had vsurped the Armes of *England*: and so continuing his discourse to *Babingtons* conspiracie, commended the sentence pronounced against her by vertue of the law, made knowne the clemency of the Queene, and gaue censure, that *Dauison*, for his inconsiderate anticipation, should be fined at ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Qu. pleasure.

Sir *Edmund Anderson* argued, that he had done right, but not rightly; otherwise the man was honest.

Gerard was of the same opinion.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*, after he had declared with what mature deliberation, and setled grauity, they had proceeded in iudgement against the Queene of *Scotland*, and by what great, and how many intreaties and imprecations queene *Elizabeth* was drawne thereto; produced against *Dauison* this passage out of the holy Scripture: *The heart of the King is in the hands of the Lord*; and therefore none, much lesse a

seruant

seruant, ought fraudulently or couertly to anticipate the determinate purposes of Princes, without whose aduice nothing ought to be done, especially in matters of so great moment, as is the death of a Prince. But he cleered *Dauison* of malice, yet reproued him, as hauing beene inconsiderate in Princes affaires, and too forward in preuenting the queenes determination. And, for a caueat hereafter to men of his ranke and place, not to commit the like errour; accorded with the rest concerning his fine and imprisonment. Booke 3

Sir *Iacob Croft* checkt and chid him, for hauing vnwisely vttered the things which he ought to haue concealed, for that Princes impart that to some one of their Councell, which they conceale from the rest.

Iohn Baron *Lumley* was of opinion (with the Iudges) that the sentence against the Qu. of *Scotland* was iustly giuen, yet seriously auerred, That in the memory of the precedent times, it was neuer heard or read, so high a contempt to haue beene committed against a Prince, that the Lords of the Councell, in the queenes house, at the Councell Table where her Maiestie was (as it were President of the Councell) should haue decreed such a businesse, and that without her priuity, they (and *Dauison* too) hauing free accesse vnto her when they pleased; protesting, That if he had but one only sonne that were faulty in such a fact, he should think him worthy to be very seuerely punished. But being perswaded of the honest disposition of the man, he would censure him no deeper than others did.

Arthur Lord *Gray*, inflamed with a religious zeale, in a set speech, yet somewhat exasperate, excepted against him, saying: DAVISON *is accused to haue behaued himselfe contemptuously towards the Queene; and this contempt is vrged to the full: for that he imployed his diligence in dispatching the Q. of Scotl. That he bewrayed secrets, and concealed from the Q. the sending away of the Warrant. But what was this Qu. he was so busie to make away? Was it not shee (I pray you) by whose life* The L. Gray defendeth him.

Ace 3. *our religion, the queene, the kingdome, and euery one of vs were in continuall danger? yet it is for her being so cut off, that wee haue this dayes businesse in hand. Now my opinion is, That he which hath deliuered our England from so great euills, deserues to be royally recompenced. I do not thinke him to haue reuealed any secrets, for hauing imparted the matter onely to the Councell, (and Magistrates appointed for matters of State,) whom chiefly it concerned to vnderstand that and such like, and which the queene her selfe before had vttered to two or three. If* Dauison *haue offended in any thing, it is chiefly in this, That the queene meaning to take another course, he told her not, that the Warrant was already sent away. But questionlesse he was driuen into a double doubt: whether to lose the queenes fauour, in sending away the Warrant without her knowledge; or by recalling it, to bring new plots and perills to the queene. Who remembreth not how turbulent the time was? what fearfull rumours were euery where dispersed? If any wrong or violence had then hapned to the queene or religion, whilest the Mandate was in his hands, had not the fault truly beene in him? Should not we, our wiues, and children, haue falne furiously vpon him? Should we not haue imbrued our hands in his blood? haue curst his imprudence, and haue erected, to his eternall ignominy, a trophee of indiscretion, engrauen in letters of blood? What mulct or penaltie soeuer you impose vpon him, shall not displease me; but surely I will alwayes hold him for an honest man.* This is the Orator-like speech, which we heard the Lord *Gray* made, and deliuered with a good grace and manly countenance.

The three Earles agreed in opinion with the rest, concerning the premised penaltie inflicted vpon *Dauison*, and with the Lo: *Gray*, touching his reputation.

The Archbishop of *Yorke* discourfed of matter of Religion, and shewed the blindenesse of heart, and naturall corruption, to be the fountaines from whence it floweth.

The Lords Grace of *Canterbury* approued the act, and commended the author of it, but discommended withall the manner,

maner or circumstance of proceeding which he had vsed.

Lastly, Sir *Christ. Wray* (Lord Keeper of the priuy Seale) hauing made a briefe recapitulation of all the Commissioners opinions, confirmed the penaltie imposed by them, and declared, That although the queene (being iustly moued to displeasure) had submitted her Counsellors to examination, yet notwithstanding she did then pardon them; acknowledging, that what they had done, was from a desire and designe tending to the defence of Religion and the State, and the repelling of eminent dangers.

Davison became humble Petitioner to the Cõmissioners, That they would intreat for him; not to be restored to the honourable place of Secretary, which he formerly enioyed, nor to haue his liberty granted him, nor his fine or punishment mitigated: but that he might yet be partaker of her Maiesties gracious fauour. The which, for all this, he neuer regained: neuertheleſſe she sometimes supplyed and relieued his wants.

And thus this *Davison*, a man of honest disposition and esteeme, not cunning nor acquainted with Court-tricks, was purposely brought vpon the Stage (as diuers haue thought) to be an actor in this Tragedie: and being put out of his part, as being at a *non plus* in the last Act, was for a long time after shut vp in prison, to the great griefe of many. Hitherto hath beene related what was publikely done against him: Now obserue, in briefe, how he excuseth himselfe, as I haue collected out of his owne accusation, and the Apologeticall discourse, which he made thereof to Sir *Fr. Walsingham*,

The queene (said he) *after the Ambassadors of* France *and* Scotland *were departed, wished me to shew her the warrant for the execution of the sentence, pronounced against the queene of* Scotland. *Having shewed it, she willingly set her hand thereto, and bid me likewise affixe the great Seale of* England; *and iestingly said, You will shew this now to* Walsingham, *who is sicke already, but will dye when he sees it. She added by and by,*

That

Booke 3.

Sentence giuen against him.

He maketh request to the Commissioners.

Davison his particular Apologie.

ce 3. *That she had put it off so long, because shee would not seeme to be carried away by violence; yet knowing well the necessitie thereof. Then blaming Sir* Ayme Poulet *and Sir* Drue Drury *for not hauing eased her of that care and trouble; commanded* Walsingham *to know the cause of their cessation and delay.*

The day after I had sealed the Warrant she forbade me, by Killegray, *to doe it; then telling her, that it was done already shee checkt me for my diligence, saying; That by some wise-mens advice, another course might haue beene taken. I answered, that iust courses are alwayes good and sure. But fearing she would cast some blame on me, as she had formerly done vpon the Lo.* Burghley *about the Duke of* Norfolks *death: I disclosed the whole matter to Sir* Christ. Hatton; *protesting, that I would neuer hereafter be so forward in so weighty a busines.* Hatton *presently discouered it to* Burghley, *and he to the rest of the Councell, who all concluding vpon the dispatch of the execution, vowed (as reason was) to be faulty alike; and to effect it, sent* Beale *instantly away with the Warrant and Letters. The third day after (I perceiuing the Queene to be troubled in minde, to haue the precedent night (as her* MAIESTY *sayd) dreamed of the Queene of* Scotland's *death) I asked her, if shee had changed her purpose. She answered me, That some other meanes might haue beene vsed; and then inquiring of me, whether I had receiued any answer from Sir* Ayme Poulet; *I shewed her his letters, wherein he refused to vndertake the execution as vniust: to which, in great choler she replyed; He and his confederats are all faithlesse & periured, in promising great matters, and not performing: but shee should find some, that for her sake would doe it. As for my selfe, I told her how ignominious it was, and into what perills shee should bring* Poulet *and* Drury. *If shee approued the deed being done, her renowne would be blasted with iniustice and disgrace (besides other dangers:) and in disallowing it, shee should ruinate men of worthy merite, and their posterity for euer would be vndone. To conclude, the very day that the queene of* Scotland *dyed, her Maiesty checkt me iestingly, for that it was not yet dispatched.*

Now

Now setting aside to speake of the anger and sorrow which the Queene of *England* conceiued for the death of the Queene of *Scotland*, and her anger against *William Dauison*, the truth is, that the King of *Scotland*, her onely Sonne, drew thereof extreme anguish, bitter and passionate torments; shewing himselfe a more pious Son then any that can be heard or read of; he lamented night and day his deare Mothers lamentable end, in weeping, and shedding many sad and brinish teares in his bitter agony; not thinking that Queene ELIZABETH (in regard of the mutuall loue which was betwixt them, the late and strait contracted league of amity, and the intercession of so many mighty Princes) would haue suffered his Mother to haue beene exposed into the cruell hands of an Executioner, she beeing a Princesse of coequall Maiestie, of her neerest alliance and consanguinity from the Blood Royall: nor could he receiue in *Scotland*, Sir *Robert Carie*, Sonne to *Henry*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, who was sent with Letters from ELIZABETH, to excuse her Maiestie, and to cast the fault vpon *Dauison*, and the Councell. He heard him (but hardly) from the mouth of another, and hardly receiued the Letters he brought. He reuok't the authority of his Ambassadour in *England*, and thought of reuenge: For there was no want of folke, which were busie to egge him on by perswasions, that the Christian Princes would not leaue vnreuenged so great and grieuous an iniury offered to Royall Maiesty, and to the Royall Name.

Booke 3.

The indignation of the Nation of Scotland.

The Estates of *Scotland*, which were then gathered together in multitudinous numbers, protested to his Maiestie, that they were ready, and prest to reuenge this death, to defend the rightfull Title which hee had vnto *England*, and in that to hazzard both life and goods, and that they could not digest this iniury, offered not so much to his Maiestie, as to the whole Nation of *Scotland*. Some perswaded him to demand Nauall assistance of the K. of *Denmarke*,

ke 3.

with whom he had then begun a Treaty, touching marriage with his Daughter. Others (addicted to the Roman Religion) exclaiming against the Queene of *England*, that *She which had slaine the Mother, would willingly slay the Sonne too*; put it into his head to ioyne rather with the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and with the Pope of *Rome*, and that he might easily by this meanes possesse himselfe of *England*. Aboue all, he should not trust the Protestants of *England*; That they were now at the full height of their power, and sought secretly his ruine. Others admonished him, not to shew himself openly inclin'd to any party, but to hold both Papist and Protestant in suspence. Because that if he should openly ranke himselfe with the Protestants, all the Papists of *Europe* in their practices, would make him their marke to shoot at, and would prouide them in *England* some other Support then he, to rely vpon, which could not be without danger to him. Others aduised him, to continue constant in amity with *England*, not to expose or put foorth a certaine hope into the vncertaine hazzard of warre, and to perseuer in the Religion now receiued; wherein if he should seeme to wauer, he could neither purchase friends, nor put off enemies. These were the things propounded to him by one and other, as euery mans particular pleasure or desire carried him. The King himselfe, of perspicuity, and politique apprehension aboue his age, beeing some times alone by himselfe, and sometimes with some few others; not with precipitate rashnes (which is alwayes blind) but with deliberate consideration, at many times, and for a long space together, cast these things in his mind.

But Queene ELIZABETH, after shee had laid all the fault vpon *Dauison*, and the rash credulity of her Councell, seeketh by little and little to weare away his griefe, lest consolations vntimely applyed, should the more irritate; and attendeth till the dolour (being appeased by the protraction of time) would suffer it selfe to be dealt withall.

Questions to the Q.

Q. Elizabeth indeuoureth to appease them.

For,

For, perceiuing then, that the *French* did sharpen and incitate the young King to reuenge, and fearing, that through suttle sleights, and eager desire of reuenge, he might be diuerted from the Protestant Religion, and from louing the *English*, she imployed all her possible industry, and Princely meanes, to cure his wounded heart, and alienated from her: Booke.

And for that cause propounded to him, by such Agents as shee had in *Scotland*, as also, by the Lord of *Hunsdon*, Gouernour of *Berwicke*.

First, what danger there was in making warre vpon England, *for this cause, which now to all the Estates of* England *seemed necessary for the good of the whole Iland, and most iust. And whether hee were of power to goe thorow withall,* England *being then neuer more potent in military men, money, and munition, and* Scotland *neuer weaker, being brought low, and exhaust by ciuill and intestine broyles. If hee would haue the assistance of forreine powers, let him learne by the experience of his Mother, (who so long and often implored that in vaine,) what labour and trouble he would haue to obtaine it. And if he should procure it, what successe could he hope for by it, seeing that* England *ioyning with the shipping of* Holland *and* Zeland, *feared not the most puissant Princes of* Europe. *What hope could he put the King of* France *or the King of* Spaine *in, sith his power being once increased with the addition of* England *and Ireland to his Crowne, ought to be contrary to their designe, and that his Religion was so directly opposite to theirs, that they could not ayde and succour him, but to their owne preiudice. That the King of* France *could not behold, but with griefe, the King of* Scotlands *Dominion augmented by the Kingdome of* England, *without feare that he* By what reasons.

he should pursue the ancient right which the English *haue in* France, *or giue assistance to the* Guizes *his Allies, who at this instant gape for the Kingdome of* France. *That the King of* Spaine, *who would questionlesse giue place to his ambition, because that he brags (though falsly) to be the first Catholique King issued from the Bloud-Royall of the* English, *and of the house of* Lancaster. *That to this purpose some Iesuites and others haue with their vttermost power endeuoured, during the life of Queene* MARY *of* Scotland, *to enthrone him by election, in the Kingdome of* England, *as most fit to re-establish there the Romane authoritie in ejecting from the Crowne both Mother and Sonne. Nay moreouer, they begun to persuade the Queene of* Scotland *to make him thereof a legacy by her Testament, if King* IAMES *her Sonne would still perseuer in the Protestant Religion. Let the King consider whither these things doe tend, what succour hee can looke for from* Spaine, *and to what ignominy hee will precipitate his Soule to his eternall damnation, and all* Great-Britaine *to his vtter ruine, if hee forsakes the true Religion in which hee hath beene educated. That the Peeres and States who haue giuen sentence against his Mother, seeing that hee meditates vpon a reuenge, will not fayle to exclude him from the Crowne of* England, *by a new Act of the right of Succession. That in giuing place to necessity, and keeping in the agitation of his courage, hee will mediate easily their loue, sith that which is done, cannot be vndone. Let him then expect to possesse in his time the most flourishing Kingdome of* England, *and enioy in the meane while a Crowne of securitie, and beleeue that those which can tell well how to weigh and prize things, will iudge, that hee hath sufficiently fore-seene to his honour, in not fayling in due opportunitie to doe his Mother all the duti-*

full

full seruices of a most pious sonne. Moreouer, let him likewise assure himselfe, that the Queene *of England will accounnt, hold, and esteeme him as her owne sonne, and will doè him all offices of amity, and vse him as a Mother her dearest sonne.*

These are the things that Queene ELIZABETH endeuoured with great care to possesse the King with: and to the end hee should not doubt but that his Mother had beene put to death without Queene ELIZABETHS consent, shee resolued to send him the sentence pronounced against *William Dauison*, sealed with the broad Seale of *England*, and all the Commissioners hands subscribed thereunto: and to appease his Maiestie the more, another iudgement signed by all the Iudges of *England*, certifying that that sentence pronounced, could in nothing hinder or bee preiudiciall to his right to the Kingdome of *England*.

Sir Francis Drake is sent into Spaine, to preuent the comming of the Inuincible Nauy for the inuasion of England.

In the mean time that Q. ELIZABETH by these or such like reasons endeuoured gently to calme the King of *Scotlands* agitations, fore-seeing the warre wherewith she was furiously threatned by the King of *Spaine*, whose hopes to frustrate, shee sent Sir *Francis Drake* with foure Royall Ships well appoynted, to the Coast of *Spaine*, and elsewhere, with command to take, burne, and pillage all such Ships as hee could finde, as well in the Harbours and Port-Townes, as on the Ocean: *Drake* arriuing in the Streight of *Gibraltar*, entred the Hauen thereof, where, after he had caused sixe great Ships to flye vnder the Forts protection, hee tooke and burnt a hundred Ships, more or lesse, in the which there was infinite prouision of warlike munitions & victuals, and among others, the Great *Gallion* of the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*, called *Ragenusa*, richly loaden with merchandize. From thence, returning to Cape S. *Vincent*, hee there burnt all such Ships and Fisher-boats, which lay in that Rode: And then went to *Cascalet* Hauen, which is situated at the mouth of *Tage*: he vrged there the Marquis

His expeditions.

Santa Cruz to fight: but hee not daring, stirr'd not, but let *Drake* freely sayle along that Coast, and take their Ships without the least impeachment. Then, hauing turned saile to the Ile of *Azori*, met by chance (which he tooke with ease) a great and lusty Ship, most rich, and well furnished, called Saint *Philip*, which was returning from the East-Indies: This act caused the vulgar sort of Mariners of diuers Countries to take the name of *Philip* for an ill signe or prognostication against *Philip* King of *Spaine*.

By this *Drakes* worthy, though briefe expedition, *England* was much enriched and; the *Spaniards* sustayning so great a losse of munition and warlike preparations, were constrayned to giue ouer their designe they had to inuade *England* for that yeere: Since which time, the *English* begun with alacrity couragiously to assault those great and huge Ships, most like vnto Castles, which they before did much dread and feare, and discouered so plainely the opulent and rich commodities of the Indies, & the meanes how to trade and traffique in those Easterne parts, in such sort, that they haue since established an aduantagious trade, and profitable nauigation in those Countries, hauing established an East-Indie Company of Merchants.

At that very time, *Thomas Cauendish*, a *Suffolke* man, which two yeeres since was gone out of *England*, with three good Ships was sayling the Sea in another Climate of the World, and hauing past beyond the Streight of *Magellan*, burnt and ransacked in the entry of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New Spaine*, many Townes of the *Spaniards*, tooke and pillaged neere *Calliforma*, eighteene rich Ships loaden, and a sumptuous Ship-Royall of *Spaine*, with infinite riches, returning happily the same yeere into *England* (by *Philippinas*, *Molaques*, the Cape of *bona Speranza*, and the famous Ile of Saint *Helen*) with a precious bootie, and memorable glory, as beeing onely the third, who, since *Magellan*, circuited the whole Earth.

As

As Sir *Francis Drake*, and Master *Iohn Cauendish* purchased to their perpetuall honors an illustrious glory & splendent reputation, in doing their Countrey good seruice, so at that time two other *English* men, Sir *W. Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke*, got an ignominious name of Traytors. This *Yorke*, borne in *London*, was a man most negligent and lazy, but desperately hardy; he was in his time most famous among those who respected Fencing, hauing been the first that brought into *England* that wicked and pernicious fashion to fight in the Field in Duels, with a Rapier called a Tucke, onely for the thrust: the *English* hauing till that very time, vsed to fight with Backe-swords, slashing and cutting one the other, armed with Targets or Bucklers, with very broad weapons, accounting it not to be a manly action to fight by thrusting and stabbing, and chiefly vnder the waste. This *Yorke* hauing receiued some light iniury by the Earle of *Leicester* in the Low-Countries, ran away, and liued as a Souldier a certaine time on the *Spanish* side; and lastly, being reconciled, was made Gouernour of a strong Fort, situated neere the Towne of *Sutphen*. But as he was not vsed to pardon wrongs, & suffer himself to be despised, hee hammered in his head how he might be reuenged: and he being corrupted with money, yeelded vp not onely the said Fort to the Enemy, but also many and sundry times hee protested by oath to Sir *William Stanley* (who had formerly borne Armes in the warres of *Ireland*, with a singular fidelity and generous valiancy) that he was manifestly accused and conuicted to haue been one of *Babingtons* conspiracy, by the assertion and confession of the Conspirators; and that hee looked but for the houre that he should be apprehended and hanged. By these or such like perswasions hee drew him to be a consort to his wickednesse, and second to his wicked designes, causing him to yeeld vp the faire, strong, and rich Citie of *Dauentry* to the *Spaniard*, against the oath and faith hee had giuen both to the Earle of

Stanley and Yorke, Traitors.

New kinde of Duels brought into England.

c 3. of *Leicester*, and the *States*. After this perfidious man had committed this deplorable crime, hee considered the haynousnesse of his offence, and fore-saw that hee should be forthwith exclaimed of, and attainted of Treason: but hee fortified his affrighted and trembling conscience vpon this, that hee had restored a place detained by Rebels, to him who was the right Lord and owner thereof: and as he was a ranke Papist, caused incontinently Papists to flocke to his Regiment, which consisted of one thousand and three hundred *English* and *Irish*, for to instruct them in the *Romish* Religion, vanting, hee would make a Seminary of souldiers, who would by armes couragiously defend the *Romane* Church, as Seminary Priests by words and writings: and to that purpose *Allen* (who shortly after was made a Cardinall) sent him suddenly Masse-Priests, publishing withall a little Booke, by which he commended his treason in the behalfe of Pope *Pius* the Fifth his Bull against Queene ELIZABETH, exhorting and exciting the rest to doe the like trechery, as if they had not beene bound to serue and obey a Queene excommunicated by the Pope. But behold, marke here the end, the *Spaniard* set *Yorke* and *Stanley* together by the eares; afterward, they poysoned *Yorke*, who dyed thereof miserably, they pillage his goods, and his bodie hauing beene buried in the ground, three moneths after, the *States* of *Holland* caused it to be taken vp, and hanged on a Gallows in chains. (So much for *York*). Now for *Stanley*; they turn'd him and his Regiment out of *Dauentry*, and exposed them to danger, leauing them to stray and wander vp and downe at the mercy of their Enemies, to their great despise and disgrace; so that some perished lamentably with hunger, others fled away, with much adoe to escape and saue their liues. Sir *William* himselfe went into Spaine, hoping to be there questionlesse made much of, and well rewarded: but neyther was he welcome, nor receiued according to his expectation there, but abhorred and detested; neuer-

b what esse.

neuertheleſſe offered hee his ſeruice to aſſiſt in the inuading of *England*: but the *Spaniards*, who neuer truſt a Traytor twice, would not put their confidence in him: for the *Spaniards* hold ſtill this for a Maxime,

That it is lawfull to honour in ſome ſort a Traytor, but not to put any truſt in him.

Sir *William* then thus learned, (but too late) that he had firſt wronged and betrayed himſelfe.

The States of the vnited Prouinces doe blame the Earle of Leiceſter.

Theſe Treaſons cauſed the Earle of *Leiceſter* to be greatly hated of the Confederate *Netherlanders*, becauſe that theſe Traytors had beene his Fauourites, and likewiſe *Engliſhmen* borne, which Nation that people free and too licentious in ſpeech, ceaſed not to offend by iniuries, vntill they were reprehended for it, and forbidden by the *States*. In the meane while, they wrote tedious lines to the Queene, by which they greatly condemned the Earle of *Leiceſter*, blaming him to haue vnaduiſedly adminiſtrated the Common-wealth in that which concerned their treaſure, the warre, and trading, and imputing the dammage and hindrances cauſed by theſe Traytors, to the reſtraint which he had made of their power, and his credulitie. The Queene, (as euer wiſe) for to examine and accord the buſineſſe, alſo to ſound if they would condiſcend to a peace with Spaine, ſends thither, to that end, the illuſtrious Lord *Thomas Sackuile*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, whom, in *Leiceſters* abſence, her Maieſtie had newly made one of her Priuy-Councell; together with *Norris* and *Clarke*; all which, laboured with no leſſe care than fidelity about it. But the ire and choller of *Leiceſter* (who was of a minde that the Lord *Buckhurſt* ſhewed himſelfe ſo officious and diligent, to no other purpoſe but to ſpye and obſerue his actions) and the fauour and power which he had about the Queene, were ſo great,

that the Lord *Buckhurst* at his returne was confined to his House the space of many moneths.

Afterwards, the *States* called backe *Leicester* from *England* for to succour their City of *Sluce*, which the Duke of *Parma* had then beleaguered with seuenteene thousand men, battering it so furiously, that hee made a great breach: but Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *N. Baskerville*, with both the *Wallownes*, and *English* Forces of that Garrison, defended it along time couragiously with great praise and applauded valiancy; but *Leicester*, which should haue succoured them, being retyred, by reason of his weake force, they wery forced to yeeld.

And indeed the *States* hauing truely reserued that Soueraigne degree and power which they at first had giuen him by words, would not furnish him with a great and sufficient Army, and hee dained not to subiect himselfe to particulars of small ranke and note, who vnder the name of *States*, striued to domineere ouer him, notwithstanding that their Gouernour had the same authority that *Charles* the Fifth had ouer his Commanders of the Low-Countries.

From thence deriued open hatred on both sides, the which discouered themselues yet apparantly, after that he had mentioned to agree vpon with Spaine: for their eares abhorr'd, and their hearts detested the very name of peace, as preiudiciall and obnoctious to their affaires.

Euen as then he perceiued his authority to diminish, hee had recourse to fraudulous deceit, and resolued to breede factions with the people there, and to make himselfe Master of the City of *Leyden*, with other Townes. But being frustrated of his hope, of the losse of some with his men, & to the great discontentment that this action prouoked, (Queene ELIZABETH sending for him) he gaue ouer the gouernement and free administration of the *States* of the Vnited Prouinces, and was derided and laughed at of many, but most by those who enuied him, hauing forsaken the

the Title of his *Excellencie*, which neuer any *English*-man had taken vpon him before him.

Book 3.

The Title of his Excellency.

Leicester, vpon his departure for *England*, distributed, for a perpetuall memory of his person, to such as were of his faction, a *Medaille* or pieces of Gold which he had caused to be coyned; on the one side, there was his picture; on the other, a Flocke, with some lost Sheepe, a Dogge, who going from them, turned backe his head to looke on them, as if it were for pitty, with this Inscription;

Leicester distributes Medailles coyned in memory of his person, to those of his faction.

Ie quite malgre moy,
I forsake to my griefe,

And neere it this;

Non point le troupeau, mais les ingras.
Not the Flocke, but the vngratefull.

And questionlesse hee intended to inuade the *Netherland* Dominions for himselfe: but those Nations haue not only kept, by their care and diligence, the liberty which they hold by their Ancestors, wholly to themselues, against the *Spaniards* might, who warre as well with their art and deceits, as with their goods, as likewise against the *French* and *English* by craftinesse & policy, yea, against the Prince of *Orange* himselfe, who acted the *Foxes* part; but also they haue it maruellously increased by the fauour of their neighbouring friend; and which is more worthy admiration, is, that whereas other countries are ruinated by the war, these vnited Prouinces are inriched thereby.

The *States* established in his roome, for Gouernour of the vnited and confederate Prouinces, Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, then about twenty yeeres of age, son to the Prince of *Orange*, by his Wife the Lady *Anne de Saxe*, Daughter

The Estates doe put in Leicesters place, Prince Maurice of Nassau.

3. to that Heroick Elector *Maurice*; and Queene ELIZABETH established in *Leicesters* stead, *Peregrine Bartue*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Generall of the *English* auxiliary Forces which then were in the Low-Countries, whom those of *Leicesters* faction much troubled: for the Garrisons of *Geertruiden-Berg*, *Worcom*, *Nerden*, *Heusden*, & aboue all, that of *Middlebourgh*, being at the *English* deuotion, excited troubles, vnder pretext that they had sworne loyalty and obedience to the Queene. And Sir *William Russell*, Gouernour of *Flushing*, hauing drawne to his side the inhabitants of the Townes of *Emuid* and of *Campe*, were mistrusted by the *Estates*, to haue a determination to reduce the whole Iland of *Zeland* vnder the *English*: and this suspition was increased the more, by the comming of *Englands* Lord High Admirall out of *England*, who though hee much laboured to pacifie these troubles, the *States* neuertheless possest with feare, dissembled not their mistrustings, but witnessed it both openly to the World by certaine pieces of Siluer, which ingeniously they caused to be coyned and stamped with the figure of two earthen Pots swimming vpon the Sea (according to the ancient Apelogue) with this Inscription;

Si nous nous hurtons, nous nous casserons.

If wee knocke one at another, wee shall be broken.

And priuately by Letters which they wrote to the Queene, who (being most carefull of them, and yet in nothing forgetfull of her selfe, could prudently fore-see those infinite dangers then apparant, the Spanish *Fleete* being then imminent,) commanded the Lord *Willoughby* to bring into submission such *English*, as excited or stirred vp troubles; to be punished

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punished by the States, which hee most happily performed with the Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, *Leicester* being then back, and quickly finding out that the Baron of *Buckhurst*, and others, prepared themselues to accuse him to haue ill administrated the affaires of *Holland*, and that therefore he ought to come into iudgement before the Councell Table, wisely with-drew himselfe priuately to the Queen, and prostrating himselfe humbly at her feet, beseeched her *Maiestie* to testifie and speake for him, coniuring her not to receiue ignominiously him whom she had sent magnificently, neither to bury liuing and seeing, him, whom shee had raised from the dust. He, by these sweet and eloquent speeches, calmed so her discontents, that moderating the anger of her wrath, shee receiued him into her fauour as before.

Booke 3.

Leicester auoids his aduersaries accusation.

Therefore being called in question, and brought before the Councell Table, he (whereas he should haue appeared in an humble manner according to the custome of others) tooke his place among the Lords of her Maiesties Priuy-Councell, and as the Clerke had begun to reade the chiefe Articles of his accusation, interrupted him, complayning they had done him wrong to haue restrained those publike instructions granted vnto him, to priuate ones; and, in appealing to the Queenes iudgement, auoyded and annihilated all accusations, whereby his aduersaries were much indignated: but they broke their anger in silence.

In this yeere, in the moneth of February, died *Henry*, Lord *Neuill*, Baron of *Abergauenny*, grand-child of *Edward Neuill*, who in King HENRY the Sixth's Reigne, enioyed the title of Baron of *Abergauenny*, by his wife, who was onely Daughter & Heire to *R.* Lord *Beauchamp*, Earle of *Wigorn*, and Baron of *Abergauenny*, by whose right, the Daughter and Heire of this *Henry*, Lord *Neuill*, challenging the title and honour of this ancient Barony, had a memorable suit in Law about it, with *Edward Neuill*, the next Heire-male to the said Lordship, to whom the Castell of *Abergauenny*

The death of the Lord Neuill, Baron of Abergauenny.

was legacied by Testament; and since, the honour and title of the same Barony was conferred and confirmed vnto him by Act of Parliament, where hee tooke place among the Peeres of that High Court, as the first Baron of *England*.

There died also in the same yeere and moneth, foure Noble persons, both illustrious and famous: the first was, the Lady *Anne Stanhop*, Duchesse of Somerset, about ninetie yeeres of age, wife to *Edward Seymor*, late Duke of Somerset, and Protector of *England*. This Duchesse, by meere enuy and hate she bore to the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Queene of *England*, and Dowager of King HENRY the Eighth, excited diuers tragedies in the Noble House of the *Seymors*, at *Dudley* Earle of *Warwickes* perswasion, during his plotting of the ruine of this puissant and princely House; and all, to preuent, lest shee, who was Wife to this Noble Protector, should giue place or precedence to this Queene Dowager, who then was her Husbands Brothers wife. The next was, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a prudent and learned man, whose worth and vertue had beene approued in diuers weighty and important affaires of State. He was the last Banneret of *England*: which worthy dignity of Knighthood had bin conferred on him at the famous Battel of *Musselborough*. After him, also died Sir *Thomas Bromley*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, hauing scarce attained to the sixtieth yere of his age, a man excellently well seene in the Law. Six dayes after, he was followed by *Edward Manner*, Earle of Rutland (to whom the Queene had chosen and appointed for his Successour, the third of the Noble House of *Manner*, a Noble man, most learned and skilfull in the Law, and humane Arts) hauing but the Lady *Elizabeth*, one onely Daughter for heire, then but very young, who was married to *William Cecill*, Baron of *Burleigh*, Lord High Treasurer. Sir *Christopher Hatton*, who was a Noble personage, excellently endued with

with rare vertues, (flourishing at that time illustriously at the Court, as one whose merit had purchased him the honour to be dearely affectionate & intimate to her Maiestie, in whose fauour his worth greatly aduanced him) was from a Courtier established to this high dignity of Lord Chancellour of *England*, not with little discontent of the Iudges and professors of the Law, who since Church-men had bin deprived and dismist of that honour, had iudiciously discharged that place, with no lesse glory and equity, than prudence and discretion, which is the supreme magistracy of the Law; yet in former times past it was oftner prouided for with Ecclesiasticall men, and Nobles, than of others: Neuertheless, though Sir *Christopher Hatton* had been aduanced to that place, by the subtill art of some Courtiers, who hoped, that by his absence from Court, and the difficulty he should haue to exercise duly so high and so weighty a Magistracy, should weare out and diminish the great fauour he was in neere Queene ELIZABETH. Neuertheless, hee behaued himselfe in that high Seat of Iustice, discreetly and worthily, to the well-liking of the Queene, and admiration of all her Subiects, discharging that Dignity with as great magnificence and honour, as any whatsoeuer had done before him, studying to supply by equitie, that which he wanted in the knowledge of the Law.

is made Lord High Chancellor.

Sir *Iohn Perot* being this yeere sent for out of *Ireland*, left that Kingdome very peaceable to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*: for he had drawne from those persons whom hee suspected to be apt to rebell, oathes and hostages, which they as soone granted vnto him, as hee demanded; for, not seeming any way to fauour rebellion, hee imprisoned diuers *Irish* Rebels; and such as were more dangerously giuen to rebellion, he hanged them, shewing & admonishing the rest of their duety, and the fidelity which they ought to their Soueraigne in so doubtfull a time. The *Irish* seeing the sincere loue, respect, and affection he bore to them who were true

William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputie of Ireland for the same time.

true subiects, most willingly lent their eares thereunto, and were true obseruers of his instructions.

Hitherto (that I may a little stray) were the *Irish* warres very easie to the *English*: and eight hundred foot, with three hundred horse, were esteemed an inuincible Army: For *Randolph*, with sixe hundred *English*, with much facility defeated *O-Neale* with foure thousand *Irish*. *Collier*, in the yeere 1571. with his onely one Company, preuayled likewise against one thousand *Hebridians* in *Connach*. The *Butlers*, with a great Company of the Rebels, were ouerthrowne by three hundred Horse-men. And (to passe the rest ouer) two Companies of foot, surprized in one day aboue twenty of the *Irish* Castels. But after that the *Perots* had by command daily exercised themselues at home in their owne Countrey, and were well instructed in the discipline of Armes, and in the vse of their Muskets, to resist the *Hebridians*, and being practized in the wars of the *Netherlands*, had learned the arts of fortification, they vexed the *English* (as wee shall finde) with a difficult and dangerous warre.

THE

THE THIRTIETH

and most maruelous yere of her *Reigne*, the euer-remembred Yeere of the Lord.

Anno Dom. 1588.

TO this admirable yeere of Christ 1588. are we now arriued: Which by *Regiomontanus* the Astrologian, was foretold about a hundred yeeres before, to be a *Yeere of Wonder*; and by the Germane Chronologers to be the *Climacterical yeere of the World*. The rumors of warres, which were before but slender relations, began now daily to be augmented, and were now become, not as before, a variable report, but an assured

A wonderfull and admirable Yeere.

sured certainty by the generall voice of all men; that the *Spaniard* had prepared a most inuincible Nauy against *England*; and had out of *Italy*, *Sicilie*, and also *America*, gathered into *Spaine* the old experienced Commanders, such as were most famous Captaines, skilfull in military affaires.

For the Pope of *Rome*, with certaine religious and deuout *Spaniards*, and some *English* Fugitiues, had long agoe diligently exhorted the *Spaniard* to inuade and conquer *England*, but that counsell was by the *Portugals* warres for tenne yeeres before interrupted; which now they carefully reiterated, and with much instigation perswaded him; that since Heauen had heaped vpon him infinite benefits and blessings, by subiecting to his Empire the Kingdome of *Portugall*, with the *East-India*, and many other wealthy Ilands; that it was now his part, of duety to enterprize something, which might bee agreeable and pleasing to God. That there could be nothing more acceptable to God, nor ought more worthy himselfe, than the aduancing of his Church. That the Church could not with more glory and merit be aduanced, than by the conquest of *England*, and there, by the extirpation of Heresie, to plant the Roman Catholique Religion. That these warres would be most iust, not onely because they were most necessary, but because they were vndertaken to propagate the Religion of Christ, seeing that the Queene of *England* being excommunicated, notwithstanding obstinately persisted against the Church of *Rome*, had succoured the Rebels in the *Netherlands*, molested the *Spaniards* with continuall pyracies, had surprized and pillaged diuers townes both in *Spaine* and *America*, and lately, violating the Maiesty of all Princes, had caused the Queene of *Scots* to be put to death: Therefore such warres should bee no lesse profitable than iust.

Because by this meanes the King of *Spaine*, making addi-

tion

tion to his Empire of the most flourishing Kingdomes, he might easily extinguish the *Netherlandish* Rebellion, which was nourished (as it were) by the breath of *England*, hee should assure to himself the voyages to both *India's* in safetie, and so lessen the annuall expences, laid out for the conuoying of his Fleetes forward and backward. To prooue this to him with more facility, they suggested that the *English* Nauy was neither in number, greatnesse, nor strength, comparable to the *Spanish*, (the *Portugall* Fleet being then added.) That *England* was altogether vnfortified, neyther was it furnished with Commanders, Souldiers, Horse, or prouision for warres, but destitute both of friends and money; besides, there were many through the Kingdome, which were addicted to Papistrie, and would soone ioyne themselues in his ayde. Last of all, so great were the forces of the King of *Spaine*, both by Sea and Land, and the vertue of the *Spaniards* such, that none would dare to oppose him, and therefore they promised assuredly a certaine victory. To this enterprise also, that God had presented a fit opportunity: for the Turke hauing then cōcluded a truce with him, and the *French* beeing intangled with intestine warres, were neither to be doubted or feared. That it was more facile to subdue *England* than the Low-Countries; because the passage out of *Spaine* into *England*, is more short and commodious, and through a vast and open Sea, but into the *Netherlands* of greater length and difficultie, through a narrow Sea, and very neere adiacent to *England*. That the *Netherlands* were in a manner continually a strong Bulwarke, being on all parts fortified with Townes and Castles, but *England* not with any; and therefore it would be an easie matter euen at the first, in an instant, for him to penetrate to the very heart of the Land with an Army. Finally, according to that military Axiome: *That the Enemy should not be left behinde*; therefore it was most necessary for the *Spaniard* to subdue *England*, being a mor-

Booke 3. 1588.

The reason why.

tall enemy, by whose assistance the Low-Countries had so long sustained a great warre; and with whom they could not at all stand; So that if *England* were but once conquered, the *Netherlands* must of necessity yeeld to subiection.

These matters thus resolued, they began seriously to deliberate vpon some meanes for the inuasion of *England*. *Aluarus Bassanus*, Marquesse of *Santa Croix*, Generall of the Nauy, was of a minde; That before all, some Port or other in *Holland* or *Zealand*, should by those Land-troupes which the Prince of *Parma* had, and some few *Spanish* Ships sent before, be vnawares to them surprized, where the *Spanish* Fleete might make their retreate, and from thence most opportunely begin the inuasion, because that in the *Brittish* Sea, being tempestuous, the windes are subiect to often changing, the ebbing and flowing thereof principally to be obserued, the Fleete could not safely ride. Of this aduice likewise was the Prince of *Parma*, who earnestly vrged this expedition. Others notwithstanding disallowed thereof, as being a thing difficult, full of danger, requiring much time, great labour, large expence, yet vncertaine of successe; neyther could it be done secretly or vnawares, and by the *English* would easily be hindred and frustrated. And these were of opinion; That one might at lesse charges, and with more facilitie, assault and subdue *England*, if at the mouth of the *Thames* a puissant Army of *Spaniards* and *Flemmings* were placed and conuayed in a powerfull Nauy, to take at the first (vnawares) the City of *London*, the Capitall and Chiefe of the Kingdome. This seeming easie, was resolued vpon, and speedily determined to be put in execution; yet some, neuertheless, were of a mind, that war should first be proclaymed by a *Herauld*, and that in so doing, it would be a sleight to take away all suspition from all Neighbouring-Princes, and moue the Queene to call to her helpe, forreine souldiers,

souldiers, (who as mercenary, being insolent and vile) would behaue themselues rudely, and tumultuously, ransacking and pillaging the Countries in such sort, that it would take away the loue of her Subiects, and put *England* in confusion. But these mindes were not seconded by those who were obstinate, as relying vpon the assurance of their forces and strength, contenting themselues to put their cause, their Nauy, & Armada's into the Popes hand, and into the intercessions of the Catholiques to the Saints; and to afright and terrifie *England*, they set out a Libell, printed, containing the particulars of so great an equipage, which truely was such, that in *Spaine*, *Italy*, and *Cicilia*, the *Spaniards* were amazed, & astonished at it; and therefore audaciously termed it:

Booke 1588

The inuincible NAVY.

The Duke of *Parma* caused also Ships to bee built in *Flanders* by the commandement of the *Spaniard*, and likewise a number of Flat-bottom'd Boats, each of them bigge enough to transport thirtie Horses, with Bridges fitting to them; hyred Mariners out of the East-Land Countries of *Germany*; prouided Pikes sharpened at the one end, and shod with Iron, with hookes on one side; twenty thousand Vessels, and an infinite number of Wicker Baskets, and placed in the Sea-Townes of *Flanders*, one hundred and three Companies of foot, and foure thousand horse, amongst which were seuen hundred *English* Fugitiues, a most contemned and despised Company; Neyther were *Stanley* their Generall, nor *Westmerland*, nor any other who had assisted eyther with purse or person, regarded: but for their impietie against their Countrey; prohibited all accesse, and deseruedly, and as ill presages, not without detestation, reiected. And Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, lest hee should seeme to be wanting, renewes vnto Cardinall *Alane*

Preparation in Flanders.

Traytors hated.

(an *English* man, sent into the Low-Countries) [*The Declaratory Bulls of* Pius *the Fifth*, and Gregorie *the Thirteenth*,] excommunicates the Queene, deposes her from her gouernement, absolues her Subiects from their allegiance, publisheth in print the [*Crusado*] as against Turks and Infidels, whereby out of the Treasury of the Church, hee bestowes vpon all assistants plenarie indulgence: whereupon the Marquesse of [*Burgan*] of the House of *Austria*, the Duke of *Pastrana*, *Amadeus* of *Sauoy*, *Vespasian Gonzaga*, *Iohn de Medices*, and diuers other noble Gentlemen serued in this warre as Volunteers.

On the other side, Queene ELIZABETH, lest shee should be vnawares oppreſt, with singular diligence prepares as many ships and warlike necessaries as was possible. And shee her-selfe (who was of a piercing iudgement in distinguishing of dispositions, and when shee was at her owne election, without commendation of others, alwaies happy) designed by name the principall Officers to the seuerall Offices in the Nauie; and made *Charles Howard* of [*Essingham*] Lord high Admirall of *England*, Generall; of whose good successe shee was very well perswaded, as a man whom she knew to be skilfull in Nauigation, prouident, valiant, industrious, and of great authority amongst Sea-men, by reason both of his moderation and Nobility. Shee sends him seasonably enough to the West parts of *England*; where *Drake*, whom shee made Vice-Admirall, ioyned himselfe with him; Shee commands *Henrie Seimer*, the second sonne of the Duke of *Sommerset*, to lye in waite vpon the *Belgique* shores, with fortie Ships, *English* and *Dutch*, to hinder *Parma's* comming out of the Riuers with his forces; Although there wanted not some who earnestly aduised to expect the Enemy, and receiue him in a Land-battel, as it was deliberated in HENRY the Eighth's Reigne, when the *French* threatned *England* with a mightie Nauy.

For

For the Land-seruice, there were twenty thousand Souldiers dispersed vpon the South shores: besides, two Armies of choyce trained Souldiers were leuied and enrolled; Of the one consisting of one thousand horse, and two and twenty thousand foot; *Leicester* was Generall, and had his Campe at *Tilbury*, not far from the mouth of the *Thames*; (for the Enemy had certainely determined to approch *London* first.) And of the other which consisted of thirtie foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse for the Queenes guard, shee made the Baron of *Hunsdon* Generall.

Booke 3. 1588. *And Leui*

Consultation for defence.

Arthur, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knollys*, Sir *Iohn Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Knights, great and expert Souldiers, were appointed to consult about the Land-seruice; They aduized, That all those places which were fit for the Enemies approch, eyther from *Spaine*, or the *Low-Countries*, as, *Milford-Hauen*, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the *Ile of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the *Downes* vpon the Shore of *Kent*, the *Thames mouth*, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *&c.* should be fortified with workes and with Garrisons; that the trayned Souldiers vpon all the Sea-coasts, should meet, vpon giuing a signe, to defend these places, they should with all their endeuour hinder the Enemies landing; But if hee should happen to land, that they should waste the Countrey farre and neere, spoyle euery thing that was vsefull, that he might finde no victuals but what he brought vpon his shoulders; and to keepe the Enemy continually busied and distracted with assiduous alarmes, and crying, [*Arme, arme,*] day and night; But that they should not fight till other Commanders should ioyne their forces with them; That amongst the Leaders, they should nominate one which should command the forces of euery seuerall Prouince: But it is superfluous to set downe in particular what inland Prouinces were appoynted to guard both the shores, what number, what armes, and what manner

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manner of sight was prescribed by them.

About this time, there were diuers who made often remonstrances to the Queene, that the *Spaniards* were not more dreadfull abroad, than the Pontificians dangerous at home; for that the *Spaniards* had not dared to haue entred into hostility with *England*, but vpon confidence of and from them, and therefore that [some pretences were tobe deuised to make them shorter by the head;] alledging the example of HENRY the Eighth, when the Emperour and the French King, vpon the Popes instigation, were ready to inuade *England*, Presently, as soone as hee had caused the Marquesse of *Exceter*, the Baron *Montacute*, *Edw. Neuill*, and others, whom hee suspected to fauor the Enemy, to be executed, the inuasion fell with them; but shee refusing this counsell, as too cruell, thought it sufficient to commit to prison to [*Wisbich*] in the Fen-Countries, certaine of the Pontificians, and those none of prime note neyther. And hauing an eye and a care of euery place, with frequent Letters excites those of the Nobility and Gentry, which were without them ready enough, giues instruction what was to be done in *Ireland* by [*Fitz-Williams*] the Deputy; Admonisheth the King of *Scotland*, both by his owne Seruants, and her Messengers to be vigilant ouer the Papists, and *Spanish* Faction in his Country: But hee well knowing how great a tempest and destruction threatned him, out of his perpetuall loue to true Religion, and the Queene, of his owne accord, had now before refused to giue audience to the Bishop of *Dunblan*, sent to him from the Bishop of *Rome*; and had caused a League to be made amongst the Protestants in *Scotland* to resist the *Spaniards*; And hee himselfe, marching with his Army into [*Annand*] hauing taken *Maxwels* campe, who contrary to his faith giuen, was then lately returned out of *Spaine*; and enclining to the *Spanish* faction, caused him to be cast into prison, proclaymed the *Spaniards* Enemies, and with

he King of Scotlands a-gainst the Spaniards.

with great alacrity prouided armes against them.

Amongst these great preparations of Warre on both sides, ouertures of peace were neuertheless made. About two yeeres before, when the Prince of *Parma* had considered with himselfe how difficult a thing it was to end the Low-Countrey warre, while they were daily aided with supplies from the Queene, had by Letters (vsing also the assistance of *Iames Crofts*, a Priuy-Counceller, a man very studious of peace, and of *Andrew Loe*, and others) seriously negotiated for a treaty of peace, and that hee had authority from the *Spaniard* to that purpose; Shee fearing that this was but a pretence, whereby to make a breach of friendship betwixt her and the Confederate-Prouinces, and secretly to draw them to the *Spaniard*, deferred the matter for a time. But now that the imminent warre might be auerted and auoyded, she resolued to treat of peace, but with the Sword in her hand, and the Duke of *Parma* refused not the treaty.

Booke 5

Conferences of peace in the meane time.

Therefore, in February, there were sent into *Flanders*, *Henrie*, Earle of *Derby*, *William Brooke*, Lord *Cobham*, *Iames Crofts*, Controller of her Houshold, *Valentine Dale*, and *Iames Rogers*, Doctors of the Lawes, who being with all humility receiued in the Dukes name, they forthwith sent *Dale* vnto him, to consult of the place of meeting, and to peruse his Commission from the *Spaniard*. Hee appointed a place neere to [*Ostend*,] not in [*Ostend*] it selfe, which was now held against the King by the *English*; and promised to shew his Commission at the meeting. He aduized them to be speedy, lest something might fall out which might disturbe or interrupt the treaty of peace. *Richardot* said openly, [That hee knew not what might bee done to *England* in the meane time.] Not long after, *Rogers* was sent to the Prince, by the Queenes expresse commandment, to know certainly, if the designe for the inuasion of *England* were yet enterprized, which both hee and

Commissioners sent to that end into Flanders.

Richardot seemed to intend. Hee affirmed, That hee had not so much as thought of the inuasion of *England*. When he desired a quicke dispatch and expedition of that affaire, hee blamed in some manner *Richardot*, who was sorry to haue vttered any such words concerning *Englands* inuasion.

The twelfth of Aprill, the Earle of *Arenberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, Doctor *Maesie*, and *Garnier*, Commissioner from the Duke of *Parma*, sat in Commission with the *English* vnder Tents, neere the Towne of *Ostend*, to whom they gaue place and precedence; and after their protestations that the Duke had full power giuen him to treate and conclude a Peace, the *English* propounded to them, that before all things it was requisite to embrace a truce. But they refused it, alledging, that if a Peace was not forthwith concluded, it would be preiudicious to the *Spaniard*, who since sixe moneths, had to their great charges maintained a puissant Army. The *English* insisting, replyed, that that Peace was promised, before those troupes were conueyed into *Flanders*. They answered againe, that it was true, they had promised it sixe moneths agoe, but that it was not then accepted. Moreouer, that it was not in the Queenes power to vndertake it for the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, who daily acted deeds of hostility. But the *English* maintained, that it would be generall for all the Queenes Dominions, and likewise for the Kingdome of *Scotland*. Yet they neuertheless would not agree thereunto, but meerely for those foure Cities which the Queen then had in possession, as *Ostend*, *Flushing*, *Bergen vp Zoom*, and the *Breele*, and that during the said Treaty, and twentie dayes after, prouided that in the meane while it was lawfull to the Queene of *England* to assault *Spaine*, and to the King of *Spaine* to inuade *England*, as well out of *Spaine*, as of *Flanders*. During that time thus runned in speech about this Truce, and the place appoynted for the conference, which

which at last was appoynted at *Bourbourgh*, Sir *W. Crofts*, who for the great desire hee had of peace, was gone to *Bruxels*, without the knowledge of the rest of the Commissioners, propounded in particular some Articles, for which hee afterwards was imprisoned vpon the Earle of *Leicesters* accusation (though that to the iudgement of others, hee ought not to haue beene reproued or disauowed) (yet it is not lawfull to Commissioners to exceede the limits of their Commissions prescribed vnto them.) Finally, the *English* seeing they could not obtaine a full and intyre cessation of Armes, nor to see at all the Commission containing power for the Duke of *Parma* to treat of peace, they propounded: Booke

THat the ancient alliances betweene the Kings of England, *and the Dukes of* Burgundie, *might be renewed and confirmed. That the* Flemmings *might peaceably enioy their priuiledges, and serue God with libertie of conscience. That the* Spaniards, *and other strangers might be sent out of* Flanders, *to ridde the* Flemmings, *and the neighbouring-Prouinces of all feare. And that if they would grant these things, the* Queene, *to shew that shee had not taken vp Armes for her owne particular interest, but for the necessary defence both of the* Flemmings, *and her selfe, would willingly hearken vnto any reasonable conditions touching the Townes which shee then possessed in the Low-Countries, paying the mony which shee had laide out about them.*

Whereunto the Dukes Deputies answered:

THat when it would please them friendly to conferre with them about the renewing of their ancient alliances, there should be no disagree-

ment in that regard. That stranger Princes had nothing to doe with the Flemmings *priuiledges, of grace graunted as well vnto the reconciled Townes and Prouinces, as vnto the rest which by force of Armes haue beene brought vnto obedience. That their stranger-Souldiers were of necessitie retained there, because they were vp in armes both in* Holland, England, *and* France. *As for Townes taken from the King, and expences of money, the King of Spaine might well demand recompence of the Queene, of many thousands of Crownes spent in the warres of the Low-Countries since her assisting and taking into her protection the rebellious* Flemmings.

About this time, Dr. *Dale*, by the Queens cõmandement, was sent vnto the Duke, to make a friendly complaint vnto him of a Booke lately set forth by one *Allin*, an *English* Cardinall, by which hee admonished the Nobles and people of *England* and *Ireland*, to ioyne with the forces of *Spaine* vnder the Dukes conduct, for the execution of Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth his Sentence published by a Bull against the Queene, by which he declared her an Heretique illegitimate, and cruell against the Queene of *Scots*, &c. and commanded her Subiects to assist the Duke against her. Many of those Bulls were printed at *Antwerpe*, to be dispersed in *England*. The Duke made him answere, that hee had not seene any such Booke or Bull, and that hee would not vndertake any thing in the Popes name, yet that hee was to obey his King. Moreouer, that he honoured and admired so much the Queene for her Royall vertues, that next vnto the King, he made more account of her Maiestie, than of any other Prince. That hee had counselled the King to treate of that peace which would be more profitable to the *English* than to the *Spaniards*; for, (quoth hee) if the *Spaniards* be ouercome, they can easily recouer their losse again: but

but if you be once vanquiſhed, your Kingdome is vtterly loſt. Whereupon Doctor *Dale* replyed, That the Queene was powerfull enough to defend her Kingdome, and that himſelfe might well iudge, according to his graue wiſdome, that ſhee could not eaſily be ouerthrowne by the loſſe of one battell, ſeeing the King of *Spaine* himſelfe, by ſo long a warre, could not as yet recouer the inheritance of his Anceſtors in the Low-Countries. Well, (ſaid hee) theſe things are in the hands of the Almightie God. Booke

Afterwards, the Commiſſioners had many conferences and alterations, and, as it were, weaued the ſame webbe againe. When the *Engliſh* deſired a toleration of Religion to be granted but for two yeres to the [*Vnited Prouinces*,] it was anſwered, That [as the *Spaniard* interceded not in the like kinde for the *Engliſh* Catholikes: ſo they hoped that the Queene, in her owne wiſedome, would forbeare to requeſt any thing of the *Spaniard* preiudiciall to his honour, his oath, and his conſcience.] When they required re-payment of the money which the States of *Brabant* owed the Queene, they anſwered, That [that money was lent without the Kings priuity or authoritie. But all accounts beeing caſt vp, it might appeare both how much that money was, and how much the King had ſpent in this warre, to whom more ought to be paid.] By ſuch kinde of anſweres, they deluded the *Engliſh*; vntill the Spaniſh *ARMADA* approched the coaſt of *England*, and the thunder of their Ordnance was heard from the Sea. Then receiuing a conuoy from the Prince, (who, during this treatie, had brought almoſt all his forces to the ſhore) by his Commiſſioners were honourably conducted to the borders neere *Calais*. So vaniſhed this treatie into nothing; vndertaken by the Queene (as the wiſeſt ſort of men iudged) to auert the Spaniſh *Fleete*; continued by the *Spaniard*, to ſurprize *England* vnawares, & vnprouided: ſo that both of them ſeemed to ſew the *Foxes* tale to the *Lyons* ſkin.

The conferences broken vp.

ke 3. Spanish Armade

That Spanish *ARMADA*, the greatest and best furnished with men, munition, and all warlike preparations that euer the Ocean did see, and arrogantly named *Inuincible*, consisted of one hundred and thirtie ships, in which were nineteene thousand, two hundred and ninety souldiers, eight thousand, three hundred and fiftie Mariners, two thousand eightie Gally-slaues chayned, two thousand, six hundred and thirty peeces of great Ordnance. The Generall was *Alphonsus Perez Guzman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*. (For *Antonius Columna*, Duke of *Palian*, of *S. Cruz*, or of the holy Crosse, designed Generall, dyed during the preparation) and vnder him was *Iohn Martinus Recaldus*, a most skilfull Nauigator. The third before the Calends of Iune, they loosed from out of the Riuer of *Tagus*, and bending their course towards the *Groin* in *Galicia*, by a strong tempest they were dispersed, three Gallies with three Oares on a seat,

3. Maij.

ets forth, and dispersed.

The Spanish Forces to assault *England*.

The number of the Gallions of *Portugall*.

THe Gallion S. Martin, *as Captaine Generall, and principall of the Fleet, was of the burthen of one thousand tunne, there were in her three hundred choyce Souldiers, one hundred and seuentie Mariners, and she carried fiftie pieces of Ordnance.*

S. Iohns *Gallion, called the Admirall generall, of the burthen of one thousand and fiftie tunne, had in her two hundred thirty one souldiers, one hundred seuentie nine mariners, and fiftie Canons.*

S. Markes *Gallion, of the burthen of seuen hundred ninety two tunne, with two hundred ninety two Souldiers, and one hundred and fourteene mariners.*

The Gallion S. Philip, *of eight hundred tunne, foure hundred and fifteene souldiers, and fortie Canons.*

The Gallion S. Lewis, *of eight hundred and thirtie tunne, with three hundred seuenty six souldiers, one hundred and sixteene mariners, and forty Canons.*

S. Matthews *Gallion, of seuen hundred and fifty tunne, with two hundred seuenty seuen souldiers, two hundred mariners, and fortie Canons.*

S. Iames *Gallion, of fiue hundred and twenty tunne, with three hundred souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirty Canons.*

The Gallion of Florence, *of nine hundred sixty one tunne, with foure hundred souldiers, one hundred mariners, and fifteene two canons.*

S. Christophers *Gallion, of three hundred fiftie two tunne, with three hundred souldiers, ninety mariners, and thirty Canons.*

S. Bernards *Gallion, of three hundred fifty two tunne, and two hundred and eight souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The Ship called Zabra Augusta, *of one hundred sixty six tunne, with fifty fiue souldiers, fifty seuen mariners, and thirteene canons.*

The other Zabra, *called* Iulia, *of one hundred*

dred sixty six tunne, with fifty souldiers, and seuenty two mariners, and foureteene canons.

The whole body of the Portugall Fleet, consisted of twelue Vessels, viz. tenne Gallions, and two Zabra's, the whole burthen whereof, made vp the number of seuen thousand seuen hundred thirty seuen tunne, and three thousand three hundred thirty souldiers, one thousand two hundred thirty three mariners, and three hundred and fifty canons, with all other necessaries, as Bullets, Powder, Match, &c.

The Fleete of *Biscay*, commanded by the Generall, Don *Iean Martinez*, de *Ricalde*.

THe *Admirall, called Saint* Anne, *of seuen hundred sixty eight tunne, with three hundred twenty three souldiers, one hundred and foureteene mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Admirall Grangrina, *of one thousand one hundred sixtie tunne, with three hundred souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirtie six canons.*

S. Iago, *of five hundred sixty six tunne, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, one hundred and two mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Conception of Zebeleu, *of foure hundred sixty eight tunne, one hundred souldiers, seuenty Mariners, and twenty canons.*

The Conception of Iohn, *of foure hundred and eighteene tunne, one hundred sixtie foure souldiers, seuenty mariners, and twenty fiue canons.*

The Magdalen *of* Iohn Francesco d' Ayala, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, two hundred souldiers, seuen mariners, and twenty two canons.*

S. Iohn, *of three hundred and fifty tunne, one hundred thirty souldiers, one hundred mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The Ship called the Mary, *of one hundred sixtie three tunne, one hundred and eightie souldiers, one hundred mariners, and twentie foure canons.*

Another,

seat, beeing by the industry of *Dauid Guin*, an *English* slaue, and the perfidiousnesse of the Turkish Gally-slaues, carried to the coast of *France*, after some time, with great difficulty met at the *Groin*, and the Hauens thereabouts. So distressed and weather-beaten was it, as it was reported, that the Queene was constantly resolued not to expect it that yeere, and Secretary *Walsingham* wrote to the Lord Admirall, (as if the Warre were at an end) to send back foure of the greatest Ships. Hee (a man not very credulous) excusing himselfe fairely, intreated him not to beleeue any thing in so important a matter, without mature deliberation; and desired that hee might retaine them, though at his owne charges. And hauing a prosperous winde, sayled towards *Spaine*, with hope to surprize the Weather-beaten ships in the Harbours. When he was almost vpon the coasts of *Spaine*, the winde became South: and hee, who was commanded to defend the *English* shores,

Booke 3.

ke 3.

shores, fearing lest they with the same wind might arriue in *England* vnespied, returned to *Plimouth*.

With the same wind, the twelfth of *Iuly*, according to the *Iulian* computation, the Duke of *Medina*, with his whole Fleet, weighed ancor againe, and set forward from the *Groin*. About two dayes after, he sent before into the Low-Countries, *Roderick Telius*, to aduertize the Duke of *Parma* of the approch of the *ARMADA*, and to informe him of other needfull businesse. For hee had commandement to ioyne himselfe with the Forces and Fleete of the Prince of *Parma*, and to waft them ouer into *England*, vnder the protection of his *Armada*, and to set on shore his land-forces at the mouth of the *Thames*. Now what was done euery seuerall day in this Nauigation, according to the most credible relations, both of the *Spaniards*, and our owne Countreymen, that the truth may more cleerely appeare, I wil briefly deliuer.

The

Another, called the Manuel, *of fiue hundred and twenty tunne, one hundred and thirty souldiers, forty three mariners, and sixteene canons.*

A Ship called S. Mary *of* Monte Maior, *of seuen hundred and seuen tunne, two hundred and twenty souldiers, fifty mariners, and sixteene Canons.*

Other Vessels belonging to this Fleet, called *Pinnaces*.

THe Pinnace, called the Mary *of* Aguirra, *of seuenty tunne, thirty souldiers, twenty three mariners, and tenne canons.*

A Ship named Isabella, *of seuentie one tunne, thirty souldiers, thirty two mariners, and twelue canons*

The Pinnace, called the Miguel de Susa, *of ninety five tunne, thirty souldiers, twenty sixe mariners and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace of S. Stephano, *of seuentie eight tunne, thirty souldiers, twenty sixe mariners, and twelue canons.*

This whole Fleete consisted of foureteene Vessels, tenne great, and foure lesser, called Pinnaces, their whole burthen amounted to fiue thousand fiue hundred sixty seuen tunne, two thousand thirty seuen souldiers, eight hundred sixty three mariners, which make vp two thousand eight hundred and two. Also, two hundred canons, one thousand one hundred and ninety bullets, foure hundred sixtie seuen quintalls of powder, euery quintall accounted for one hundred twenty fiue weight, one hundred and forty of bullets, and eighty nine of match.

The Fleete of *Castile*, whereof *Diego Flores de Valdes* was Generall.

THe Gallion generall, called the Christopher, *of seuen hundred tunne, hauing in her two hundred and fiue souldiers, one hundred*

dred and two mariners, and thirty canons.

The Gallion S. Iohn Baptist, *of seuen hundred and fifty tunne, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, one hundred and fortie mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Gallion S. Peter, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and thirty souldiers, one hundred and forty mariners, and forty canons.*

S. Iohns *Gallion, of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, and one hundred and twenty mariners, and forty canons.*

The Gallion S. Iago el Maior, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with two hundred and thirty souldiers, one hundred thirty two mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Gallion S. Philip *and S.* Iago, *of two hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and fifty souldiers, one hundred and sixteene mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Gallion S. Medela, *and* Celedonia, *of fiue hundred and thirty tunne, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, one hundred and tenne mariners, and thirty canons.*

S. Annes *Gallion, of two hundred and fifty tunne, with one hundred souldiers, eighty nine mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

Our Lady of Vigenia, *of seuen hundred and fifty tunne, with one hundred and ninety souldiers, one hundred mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Ship called the Trinity, *of seuen hundred and eighty tunne, with two hundred souldiers, one hundred twenty two mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Katherina, *of eight hundred sixty two tunne, with two hundred souldiers, one hundred and sixty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Iohn Baptist, *of sixe hundred fifty two tunne, with two hundred souldiers, and one hundred and thirty mariners, and thirty canons.*

Our Lady of Rosaria, *called the Pinnace, with thirty souldiers, twenty sixe mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The Pinnace called S. Anthony *of* Padua, *with three hundred souldiers, and fortie sixe mariners, and sixteene canons.*

The

The sixteenth day, there was a great calme, and a thicke cloud couered the sea till noone, and then a strong North-winde blew, then a South-winde till mid-night, and then an East: So that the *ARMADA* beeing much scattered, could hardly re-collect it selfe, till it came within sight of *England*, which was the nineteenth day of the moneth: which day the Lord High-Admirall of *England*, being certainely aduertized by Captaine *Flemming*, that the Spanish Fleet was come into the *Brittish* sea, (vulgarly called the Channell,) and discouered not farre from the *Lizard*, the winde then keeping the *English* Nauy in the Port, with great difficulty, and no lesse industry, and alacrity of the mariners, (himselfe not disdaining to pull at the hawser amongst the common Souldiers) at length brought them into the open Sea.

The English Nauy sets out.

The next day, the *English* came within ken of the *Spanish ARMADA*, built high like Towres and Castles,

ke 3.

rallied into the forme of a Crescent, whose horns were at least seuen miles distant, comming slowly on, and although vnder full sayles, yet as though the windes laboured, and the Ocean sighed vnder the burthen of it, the *English* purposely suffered them to passe by them, that they might pursue them with a fauouring gale of winde.

The one and twentieth of Iuly, the Lord high Admirall of *England*, sending before him a Pinnace called the *Defiance*, by discharging a peece of Ordnance out of her, prouoked them to the fight, and presently out of his Ship called the *Arke-Royall*, the *Admirall* thundred vpon a *Spanish* Ship, which hee thought to haue beene the *Admirall* of *Spaine*, but was the Ship of *Alphonso Leua*. At the same instant, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, *Furbisher*, peale terribly vpon the Reare which *Ricaldus* commanded; who performed all the parts of a valiant and discreete Commander, to stay the Ships vnder

The number of this whole Fleet of Castille, consisted of foureteene Gallions, and two pinnaces; their entyre burthen amounting to eight thousand seuen hundred thirty foure tunne, bearing in it two thousand foure hundred eighty fiue souldiers, one thousand seuen hundred and nineteene mariners, together amounting to foure thousand one hundred seuenty seuen men, and three hundred eightie foure canons, with all other necessaries, and bullets, powder, and match.

The equipage of the ships of *Andeluzia*, commanded by the Generall D. *Pedro Valdes*.

THE *Admirall Ship*, *of one thousand one hundred and fifty tunne, hauing in it fifty souldiers, one hundred and eighteene mariners, with fiftie pieces of canons.*

The S. Francis, *of nine hundred and fifteene tunne, with two hundred and thirty souldiers, sixtie mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The Gallion S. Iohn Baptist, *of one hundred & ten tun, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, twenty mariners, and forty canons.*

The S. Iohn Gargaren, *of fiue hundred and nine tunne, with one hundred and seuentie souldiers, sixty mariners, and twentie canons.*

A Ship called the Conception, *of eighty tunne, with two hundred souldiers, sixty fiue mariners, and twenty fiue canons.*

The Beare, or Ship called S. Anne, *of nine hundred tunne, with three hundred souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The S. Katherina, *of seuen hundred and thirty tun, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Trinitie, *of fiftie tun, with two hundred souldiers, twenty mariners, and thirtie canons.*

The S. Mary de Iuncar, *of seuen hundred and thirtie tunne, with two hundred and forty souldiers, eighty mariners, and twenty foure canons.*

The

The S. Bartholomew, *of nine hundred seuenty five tunne, with twenty five souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirtie canons.*

A Pinnace called the holy Ghost, with forty souldiers, thirty three mariners, ten canons, and well stored with bullets, powder, and other necessaries.

The Fleet consisted of ten Gallions, one Pinnace, which in barthen amounted altogether to eight thousand seuen hundred and two tunne, hauing in it two thousand foure hundred souldiers, eight hundred mariners, two hundred and sixty canons, and all other necessaries thereunto belonging.

The Fleete of *Guypuscoa*, by *D. Michell de Quendo.*

THE *Generalls Ship, called S.* Anne, *of one thousand two hundred tunne, hauing in it thirty souldiers, ninety mariners, and fifty canons.*

The Admirall, called the Lady of Roses, *of nine hundred forty five tunne, with two hundred and thirty souldiers, sixty foure mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Sauiour, *of nine hundred fiftie eight tunne, with thirty three souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Martha, *of five hundred fortie eight tunne, with one hundred and eightie souldiers, seuenty mariners, and twenty five canons.*

S. Stephen, *of nine hundred thirty six tunne, with two hundred souldiers, seuentie mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Barba, *of five hundred twenty five tunne, with one hundred and sixty souldiers, fifty mariners, and fifteene canons.*

The Mary, *of two hundred ninety one tunne, with one hundred and twenty souldiers, fortie mariners, and twenty canons.*

The S. Crosse, *of five hundred and eighty tunne, with one hundred and fifty souldiers, forty mariners, and fifteene canons.*

The Vrsadoncella, *of five hundred tun, with*

der his gouernement from flying, desiring to ioyn with the body of the Fleet, vntill his owne Ship, extremely battered with shot, became vnseruiceable; and with much difficulty mingled her selfe with the rest of the Fleet: Then did the Duke of *Medina* re-collect his dispersed ships, and with full sayle held on his course. Neither could he do otherwise, in regard both that the Winde stood faire for the *English*, and that their ships inuaded, retyred, and re-inuaded them vpon euery quarter with incredible celerity. When they had continued the fight sharply two houres, the Lord high Admirall of *England* thought good to retyre, in respect that hee wanted forty ships which were not yet come out of the Hauen.

The ability of the English Fleet.

The night following; a Spanish Ship, called the St. *Katherine*, being very much battered in this conflict, was receiued into the middest of the army to bee repayred. And a huge great **Catalonia* ship of *Oquenda*, in which

* Castilia

c 3. was the Treasurer of the Fleet, was set on fire with Gun-powder, by the deuice of a *Flemmish* Gunner. But the fire was seasonably quenched by other shippes sent in for the purpose; amongst which, a *Gallion* of *Peter Valdes*, falling foule with another Ship, and her fore-mast intangled & broken with the others sayle-yard, the Ayre being stormy and the night darke, and none able to relieue or succour her, was forsaken, and became a prey to Sir *Francis Drake*, who sent *Valdes* to *Dertmouth*, and gaue the Ship to bee rifled and pillaged by the Souldiers. And *Drake* being that night commanded to carry the Lanthorne in the poope lighted, neglected it: for following certaine Germane Merchants Hulkes, whom hee tooke to be enemies, it was the occasion that almost all the *English* Fleet lay still, because they could not see the Lanthorne.

Valdes

Neyther could hee and the rest of the *English* shipping come neere the Admirall, *with sixty souldiers, forty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The Pinnace called the Ascension, *of six hundred tunne, with thirty souldiers, twenty mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace called S. Barnaby, *and another named Our Lady of* Guadalupa, *with the Pinnace called the* Magdalen, *these three in burthen, souldiers, mariners, canons, and other necessaries, equalled the pinnace of the* Ascension.

There was in this Fleet of Guypuscoa, *fourteene Vessels, which were in burthen all together five thousand nine hundred ninety one tunne, had in it two thousand ninetie two souldiers, six hundred and seuenty mariners, making vp the number of two thousand seuen hundred and eight men, two hundred seuenty seuen canons, with all other necessaries.*

The Fleet of Easterne ships, called, *Leuantiscas*, whose Generall was *Martin de Vertendona.*

THe Generall Ship, called Ragazone, *of one thousand two hundred ninety foure tunne, having in it three hundred and fifty souldiers, ninety mariners, and thirty five canons.*

The Admirall ship, called la Laua, *of seuen hundred twenty eight tunne, with two hundred and teane souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty canons.*

La Rata S. Mary, the crowned, *of eight hundred and twenty tunne, with three hundred and forty souldiers, ninety mariners and forty canons.*

The S. John *of* Cicilia, *of eight hundred and eighty tunne, with two hundred and seuenty souldiers, seuenty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Trinity Valencera, *of one thousand one hundred tunne, with two hundred and forty souldiers, ninety mariners, and forty five canons.*

The

The Anunciade, *of seuen hundred and three tunne, with two hundred souldiers, ninety mariners, and thirty canons.*

The S. Nicholas Predaneli, *of eight hundred thirty foure tunne, with two hundred and eighty souldiers, eighty foure mariners, and thirty canons.*

The Iuliana, *of eight hundred tunne, with three hundred and thirty souldiers, eighty mariners, and thirty sixe canons.*

The S. Mary *of* Pison, *of sixe hundred sixtie sixe tunne, with two hundred and fifty souldiers, eightie mariners, and twenty two canons.*

The Trinity of Escala, *of ninety tun, with three hundred and two souldiers, ninety mariners, and twentie fiue canons.*

The whole Fleete consisted of ten Ships, whose burthen was seuen thousand seuen hundred and fiue tunne, and had in it two thousand eight hundred and eighty souldiers, eight hundred and seuen mariners, and three hundred and eleuen canons, with all other necessaries.

The Fleet of Ships called *Vreas*, whose Generall was *Lopas de Medina*.

THe *Generals Ship, called the great* Griffin, *of sixe hundred and fifty tunne, hauing in it two hundred and fifty souldiers, sixtie mariners, and forty canons.*

The Admirall, called S. Sauiour, *of sixe hundred and fiftie tunne with two hundred and thirty souldiers, sixty mariners, and thirty canons.*

A Ship called the Pedro Martino, *of two hundred tunne, with eighty souldiers, thirty mariners, and thirty canons.*

The white Falcon, *of fiue hundred tun, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, forty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The Blacke-Castle, *of seuen hundred and fifty tunne, with two hundred and fiftie souldiers, fiftie mariners, and fiue and twenty canons.*

A rall, till the euening following, who the precedent night, with the ships called the *Mary*, and the *Rose*, hotly pursued the Spaniards. All this day, the Duke was securely busied in setting his Fleet in array, and commanded *Alphonso Leua* to draw vp, and ioyne the auant-gard and the reare together, and assigned euery seuerall Ship his station, according to the forme prescribed in *Spaine*, with paine of death to euery one that forsooke their stations, sends Ensigne *Glich*, to the Duke of *Parma*, to informe him of the estate of the Fleete; and committed the Ship of *Oquenda* in *Biscay*, (hauing first remoued into other Ships, the Kings treasure and the mariners) to the mercy of the Seas. Which the same day, with fifty mariners and souldiers more or lesse, miserably maimed and halfe burnt, fell into the *English* mens hands, and sent to the Port of *Weymouth*.

The Ship of Oquenda taken.

The three and twentieth day of the moneth, at breake of the day, the *Spaniards* ha-

Ke 3.

uing a prosperous North-winde, turned sayle towards the *English*, who to get aduantage of the winde, easily turned themselues towards the West, and after they had contended to preuent each other of the benefit of the winde, both parts prepared themselues to the fight, and fought confusedly, and with various successe, while in one place the *English* valiantly fetched off the *London* ships dangerously circled in by the *Spaniards*, in another, *Ricaldus* then in danger, with no lesse resolution of the *Spaniards*, was disingaged. There was neuer more lightning and thundring of the Artillery, then there was on both sides, most of which notwithstanding went in vaine from the *Spanish*, flying sheere ouer the *English* Ships. Onely *Cocke* an English-man, in a small Barke of his owne, dyed gloriously in the middest of his Enemies. For the *English* Ships beeing much lesse thã the *Spaniards*, with great dexterity inuaded the enemy, and hauing discharged their

A Barke of Hambourgh, *with five hundred souldiers, fifty mariners, and twenty fine canons.*

La Cassa de Par-grand, *together with* Sir Pedro el Maior, *the* Samson, *and* S. Pedro el Minor, *of as great burthen as the Barke of* Hambourgh.

The Barke of Danske, *of foure hundred and fiftie tunne, with two hundred and ten souldiers, fifte mariners, and twentie fiue canons.*

The white Falcon Mediana, *of three hundred tunne, with eightie souldiers, thirtie mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The S. Andrew, *of foure hundred tunne, with two hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fortie mariners.*

La Cassa de var Chica, *of three hundred and fifty tunne, with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, forty mariners, and fifteene canons.*

La Cuerba Bolante, *of foure hundred tunne, with two hundred and tenne souldiers, forty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

The white Polonia, *of two hundred and fifty tunne, with sixty souldiers, thirty mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Aduenture, *and S.* Barba, *which were as much in burthen as the S.* Iago, *of fixe hundred tunne, with sixty souldiers, forty mariners, and nineteene canons.*

The Ship called El gatto, *of foure hundred tunne, with fifty souldiers, thirty mariners, and nine canons.*

The S. Gabriel, *of two hundred and eightie tunne, with fifty souldiers, and twenty fiue mariners.*

The Esayas *of like burthen.*

So that these twenty fine Vrcas, are in burthen, ten thousand two hundred seuentie one tunne, and carried three thousand two hundred twenty one souldiers, seuen hundred and eight mariners, and foure hundred and tenne canons, with all necessaries, as Powder, Lead, and Match.

Pinna-

Pinnaces and Zabra's commanded by Don *Antonio de Mendoza*.

THe *General's Ship, called* our Lady del Pilar de Zaragossa, *of three hundred tunne, with one hundred and twenty souldiers, fifte foure mariners, and twelue canons.*

La Caridade Inglesse, *of one hundred and eighty tunne, eighty souldiers, thirty mariners, and twelue canons.*

S. Andrew d'Estoches, *of one hundred and thirty tunne, fifte one souldiers, thirtie mariners, and twelue canons.*

The Pinnace of the Crucifix, *of one hundred and fifty tunne, with fifty souldiers, thirty mariners, and eighteene canons.*

A Ship called our Lady del puerto, *containing as much as the Pinnace of the* Crucifix.

The Conception of Caraffa, *and of our Lady* de Beguoa.

The Conception of Capitillo, *with the* S. Ieronimo, *are of sixtie and seuenty tun, with fifte souldiers, and thirty mariners, and eight canons apiece.*

Our Lady of Grace, *the Conception of* Francis Lasterò, *our Lady of* Guadalupa, *the Conception of the* Holy-Ghost, *and our Lady of* Fresneda; *these Ships containe iust as much as those aboue-mentioned. Moreouer, a Ship called* Zabra la Trinidad, *with another* Zabra S. Andrew *the Conception, together with the conception of* Sommarriba, S. Katherine, S. Iohn de Caraffa, *and the* Assumpcion, *containe as much as those that went next before.*

The whole number of the twenty two Pinnaces and Zabras, were in burthen, one thousand one hundred thirty one tunne, and had in them foure hundred seuenty nine souldiers, fiue hundred seuenty foure mariners, and one hundred ninetie three canons, with all other necessaries.

The

their Ordnance, retyred presently into the open Sea, and leuelled all their Shot with a certaine and successefull ayme, against the great and sluggish Ships of the *Spaniards*: And yet the *English* high Admirall thought not fit to grapple, and so try the fortune of a fight hand to hand, as many inconsiderately perswaded: For the enemy had a strong and wel appointed Army abroad, which hee wanted: their Ships were farre more in number, greater of burden, and stronger, and higher of building, and they fighting from aboue, threatned nothing lesse than certaine destructiō to them that fought against them vpon the lower Ships: And hee did likewise fore-see, that the losse of his men would be much more preiudiciall to him, than the victory could be profitable; For beeing vanquished, hee should haue brought the Queene into almost ineuitable danger; and being *Victor*, hee should onely haue a little blaze of glory, for the dissipation and discomfiture of

The English Admirals prouidence.

Sec 3.

of his Enemy, and slaughter of his Souldiers.

The foure and twentieth day of the Moneth, there was a mutuall intermission of all hostile acts. The Admirall sent diuers small Barkes to the next shores of *England*, for supply of ammunition, and diuided his whole Fleet into foure squadrons; the first of which himselfe cōmanded; the second, *Drake*; the third, *Hawkins*; and the fourth, *Forbisher*; and appoynted certain Pinkes or Pinnaces out of euery squadron, to make impressions vpon the enemy at the dead of night in seuerall quarters; but a calme following, that counsel wanted successe.

The fiue and twentieth, which was Saint *Iames* his day, a *Gallion* of *Portugall*, called the S. *Anne*, which could not keepe company with the rest of the Fleete, was set vpon by diuers small *English* Barkes; In ayde of whom, *Laua* and *Diego Telles Enriques*, with three *Galleasses*, made out, whom the Lord Admirall, & the Lord *Thomas*

The foure *Galleasses* of *Naples*, commanded by D. *Vgo de Mencado*.

THe Generals Galleasse, called San Lorenzo, *with two hundred and seuenty souldiers, one hundred and thirty mariners, three hundred slaues, and fifty canons.*

The Galleasse Petrona, *with one hundred and eightie souldiers, one hundred and twelue mariners, three hundred slaues, and fifty Canons.*

The Galleasse Giona, *with one hundred and seuenty souldiers, one hundred and twenty mariners, three hundred slaues, and fifty canons.*

The Neopolitan *Galleasse, with one hundred twenty foure souldiers, three hundred slaues, and fifty canons.*

These foure Galleasses carryed altogether, eight hundred and seuenty souldiers, foure hundred sixty eight mariners, two hundred canons, and one thousand two hundred slaues.

The foure *Gallies* of *Portugall*, vnder the command of D. *Diego de Medrana*.

THe Generals Gallie, with a hundred and tenne souldiers, one hundred and sixe mariners, one hundred slaues, and fiftie canons.

The Princesse Gallie, the Gally Diana, *the Gallie* Vazana, *containing as much as the Generalls Gallie.*

The briefe and generall account of the whole Fleete.

THe whole Fleete together, was composed of twelue Gallions of Portugall, *in burthen seuen thousand seuen hundred thirty seuen*

seuen tunne, carrying foure thousand three hundred and thirty souldiers, one thousand two hundred thirty three mariners, foure hundred canons, with ammunition of bullets, powder, and match.

Of foureteene Ships of Biscay, *commanded by* Iohn Martinez de Ricalde: *These Ships all together were of burthen, sixe thousand fiue hundred sixty seuen tunne, and carried two thousand and fifty souldiers, nine hundred mariners, and two hundred and seuentie canons.*

Of sixteene Galliens of Castile, *in burthen one thousand seuen hundred tunne, carrying two thousand fiue hundred and sixty souldiers, and foure hundred and twenty canons.*

Of eleuen Ships of Andaluzia, *in burthen eight thousand seuen hundred sixty two tun, two thousand fiue hundred twenty fiue souldiers, nine hundred mariners, and two hundred and sixty canons.*

Of foureteene Ships of Guipuscoa, *in burthen sixe thousand nine hundred ninetie one tunne, two thousand one hundred and two souldiers, seuen hundred and eighteene mariners, and two hundred and eighty canons.*

Of the Easterne Fleete, with tenne Ships in burthen, seuen thousand seuen hundred and fiue tunne, carrying two thousand nine hundred souldiers, one hundred sixty seuen mariners, and three hundred and tenne canons.

Of the Fleete of Vreas, *twenty three in number, in burthen ten thousand two hundred fourtie one tunne; and in them, three thousand three hundred twenty one souldiers, seuen hundred and eight mariners, and foure hundred canons.*

Of twenty two Pinnaces or Zabras, in burthen one thousand two hundred twentie one tunne; and in them, three hundred seuentie sixe souldiers, fiue hundred seuenty foure mariners, and one hundred and tenne canons.

Of foure Galleasses of Naples, *carrying eight hundred sixtie foure souldiers, fiue hundred mariners, two hundred canons.*

Of foure Galliesses, which carried foure hundred

Thomas Howard in the *Golden Lyon* (which by reason of the great calme, were faine to be towed by fisher-Boats) so battered with the canon, that not without great difficulty, and with great losse of men, they brought off; after which time the *Galleasses* neuer offered to fight: The *Spaniards* report, that that day the *English* at a neerer distance than euer, with their great Ordnance extremely rent the *Spanish* Admirall, being at that time in the Rere; and hauing slaine many of their men, shot downe their maine Mast, but that *Mexia* and *Recaldus* came opportunely, and repelled the *English*. That then the *Spanish* Admirall, accompanied with *Recaldus* and others, inuaded the *English* Admirall, which escaped by the sudden changing of the Winde; that thereupon the *Spaniards* left the pursuit, and holding on their course, sent another messenger to the Duke of *Parma*, with all speed to ioine his *Fleet* with the Kings *ARMADA*,

Booke

The third fight.

-ke 3.

and to send supply of Bullets. Of this the *English* were ignorant, who write, that they shot off the Lanthorne from one of the *Spanish* Ships, the beake-head from another, and terribly battered a third; that the *None-such*, and *Mary Rose*, hauing had onely a short conflict with the *Spaniards*, left them, and with other Shippes went to the rescue of the *Triumph* then in danger. So that the relations of them that were present at the same actions, are different for the manner, while euery one remembers that which hee obserued of his owne side.

The day following, the Lord High-Admiral of *England*, for their valour and fortitude, Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townesend*, *Iohn Hawkins*, and *Martin Furbisher*. And it was concluded, thenceforth not to assault the Enemy, till they came to the *Streights of Calais*, where *Henry Seymor*, and *William Winter* expected their comming. So the *Spanish Fleet* went

ights cre-d for their lours, by Right honourable harles howard, arle of ottingham, Lord igh-Admirall.

dred souldiers, and twenty canons.

In foure Galleasses, there were likewise, one thousand two hundred Gally-slaues, and in the foure Gallies, eight hundred eightie eight; which together, make vp the number of two thousand eighty eight persons.

And beside the above-mentioned Powder, there were, if any danger or necessitie should happen, sixe hundred quintalls of powder.

So as in the whole Fleete, there was one hundred and thirty Ships, twenty fiue Vrca's of the burthen of fiue hundred, & seuen hundred tunne; nineteene Pinnaces, of the burthen of seuenty and an hundred tunne; thirteene Zabra's, with two of Portugall, foure Galleasses, and as many Gallies, of the burthen of fifty seuen thousand eight hundred sixty eight tunne; and in them, nineteene thousand two hundred ninety fiue souldiers, and eight thousand foure hundred and fifteene mariners, with two thousand sixe hundred and thirty gally-slaues, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of Ordnance of all sorts; among which, were great and middle culuerings, and some great canons.

There was likewise twenty small Vessels, called Carrels, for the seruice of the Fleete, and tenne Falua's, with sixe Oares apiece.

There were in this Fleete, one hundred twenty foure Voluntaries, attended by foure hundred fifty & sixe seruants bearing armes, and two hundred thirty eight entertayned by the King, with one hundred sixty three seruants.

There was one hundred seuenty seuen persons appointed to wayte vpon the Ordnance, with two Engineers, one Physician, one Surgeon, and thirty seruants. Fourescore and fiue both Physicians and Surgeons, with one hundred and eighty Church men, all Dominicans, Franciscans, Hagellans, *or* Iesuites.

The

The *Colonels Regiments*, or *Tertois* payed by the King in this Fleet, with the number of Men vnder euery *Regiment.*

DOn Francisco de Bouadilla, *the Kings Camp-master generall.*

The Regiments of Sicily, commanded by Don Diego Pimentell, *vnder whom were twenty foure Captaines.*

The Regiment of Tertio, commanded by Don Francisco de Tolete, *vnder whom were twenty fiue Captaines.*

The Regiment of Don Alonzo-Luzon, *vnder whom were twenty six Captaines.*

The Regiment of Vessa com.m. by Don Augustino Mexia, *vnder whom were twenty six Captaines.*

Diuers Companies of free bands, some of which were drawne from the troupes of Castile, by Don Iuan de Guzman; *the others, from Portugall, by* Gasper Sossa.

So that there were in the aboue-mentioned Regiments, or Tertois, and in the companies of Suelty, *one hundred seuenty one Ensignes, amounting to the number of eighteene thousand nine hundred seuenty three souldiers, with thirty more, to make vp the number of nineteene thousand two hundred ninety fiue, with diuers ministers, and officers, as well of iustice as of the Dukes Court, one hundred eighty fiue persons.*

To be short, the whole Fleete consisted of eighteene thousand nine hundred thirty seuen foot, eight thousand sixe hundred and fiftie mariners, two hundred twenty foure Voluntaries, with foure hundred fifte fiue seruants that were allowed; and two hundred thirty eight other seruants on one part, one hundred sixty three on another; one hundred sixty seuen persons appointed to attend the canons, eighty fiue for the Hospitall to sicke persons, one hundred and eighty Church-men of all orders, twenty three Gentlemen of the Dukes Court, fifty seruants, seuenteene per-

went on with a full South-west winde, the *English* fleet following them. But so far was the title of *Inuincible*, or their terrible aspect vnable to affright our *English* shores; that the Youth of *England*, (leauing their Parents, Wiues, Children, Kindred, and Friends, out of their dearer loue to their Countrey) with Ships hyred at their owne charges, ioyned themselues in great numbers with the Fleete, with generous alacrity, and incredible courage; and amongst others, the Earles of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *Robert Cecill*, Sir *Henrie Brooke*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Carey*, Sir *Ambrose Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, and other worthie Nobles, of great note and account.

The seuen and twentieth day of the moneth, towards euening, the *Armada* cast anchor neere *Calais*, being aduized by the Pylots, that if they went further, it would

Booke

Diuers Noble-men and Knights of England, ioyne themselues with the English Fleet before Calais.

The Spanish Fleet lyes at anchor, and rests betwixt Calais and Douer.

would bee in danger to be carryed into the North Ocean by the tyde; and ouer against them, within cannon shot, lay the Admirall, and the *English* Fleet at anchor, to whom *Seymor* and *Winter* ioyned themselues. Now was the number of the *English* Ships come to bee one hundred and forty, all able for the fight, swift of sayle, & apt to cast about to take any aduantage, and yet there were not aboue sifteene of them, which bore the weight and burthen of the Warre, and repelled it. The *Spaniards* presently (as often before) by frequent messengers, vrged the Duke of *Parma*, to send forty *Fly-boates*, without which he could not fitly fight with the *English*, by reason of the magnitude and sluggishnesse of the *Spanish* Ships, and the great dexterity and agility of the *English*; and earnestly required him to put forth to sea with his Fleete, whom the *Armada* (as was agreed) should protect as it were with wings, till their arriuall in *England*: But he being vnprepared, could not readily come, his flat-bottom'd Boats being withall very broad, were full of leakes, victuall was wanting, and the mariners detayned a long time against their wills, were stolne away. Besides, the *Hollanders*, and *Zelanders* ships of Warre which houered about the Ports of *Newport* and *Dunkerke*, whence they were to set out, were so well prouided of great Ordnance, and Harquebuzziers, that he durst not come from the shores, vnlesse wittingly and willingly hee should cast himselfe and his souldiers into visible and manifest danger: yet did hee not omit any thing worthy of a diligent, industrious, and valiant

perintendants generall of the Army, one hundred seruants more belonging to them as to the offices of iustice.

So that in the whole Army there were twenty eight thousand five hundred eighty seuen persons, besides two thousand eight hundred and eight Gally-slaues, that tugg'd the Oare in the Gallioffes and Gallies.

All these had good and sufficient prouision, victuall, and things necessary for so great and inuincible an enterprize, which I for breuity will omit to shew at large, praying to God that theirs or others ambitious enterprises vpon England, *may be still by the Almighty and euer-saueing hand of God confounded, and ouer-whelmed like* Pharao. *Amen.*

ABRAHAM DARCIE.

ke 3.

e Duke of rma is for a-ge by the niards.

is vnpre-red.

he good nice of the Hollanders, ho Hundred arma *from ning his ces with he Spanish Navy.*

valiant Prince, being strongly inflamed with a desire to subdue *England*.

Forces to defend *England*, against *Spaines* pretended inuasion.

By SEA.

Vnder the command of the Right Honourable Charles Howard, *Earle of Nottingham*, L. High Admirall of *England*.

ROYALL Ships.

SEuenteene *Royall Ships*, attended by twelue other warlike Ships, and sixe Pinnaces.

LONDON Ships.

Sent out by the City of *London*, sixteene tall Ships for warre, and foure Pinnaces.

BRISTOW Ships.

From *Bristow*, three Ships, and one Pinnace.

BARSTABLE Ships.

From *Barstable*, three good Ships, and one Pinnace.

EXETER Ships.

From *Exeter*, two Ships and one Pinnace.

PLIMMOVTH Ships.

From *Plimmouth*, seuen brane Ships, well appoynted, with a Fly-boat.

Also, one Pinnace of the Lord *Admirals*.

Another, of the Lord *Sheffields*.

And one of Sir *William Winters*.

MERCHANTS Ships.

The *Merchants Aduenturers* of England also sent ten lusty Ships at their owne proper charges.

But the industry of the Queene preuented both his diligence, and the credulous hope of the *Spaniards*. For, by her command, the day after the *Spaniards* had cast anchor, in the dead of the night, the Admirall sent eight of his worst Shippes, dawbed on the out-sides with Greeke Pitch and Rosin, & filled full of sulphure, and other materials suddenly combustible, vnder the conduct of *Young* & *Prowse*, with a full gale of winde directly vpon the *Spanish Armada*; which, as the *Spaniards* saw approch neerer and neerer to them, (the flame shining ouer all the Sea) thinking those burning ships besides the danger of the fire, to be filled with some deadly Engines; with a howling and fearefull outcry, weyed anchor, cut their Cables, hoysed their sayles, cried out vpon their rowers, and strooke with a horrible and a pannique feare, with impetuous haste betooke themselues to a confused flight.

Booke

The Spaniards confusedly.

Anno 1588. flight. Amongst which, the *Admirals Galleasse* had her Rudder broken, and went almost adrift, and the day following, making fearefully towards *Calais*, ranne vpon the sands, and after a doubtfull fight with *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, & *Harvey*, was taken; *Hugh Moncada*, the Captaine, beeing slaine, and the souldiers and rowers eyther drowned or slaine, they found and carried away a great quantity of Gold. The Ship and Ordnance were seyzed by the Gouernour of *Calais*.

Moncadaine.

The *Spaniards* affirme, that the Generall seeing these fiery shippes comming, commanded all the Fleete to weigh anchor, that the danger might passe them, and to take againe euery one his place. And surely, he himselfe tooke his owne againe, after warning giuen by a shot which was notwithstanding heard but of a very few, because the Ships being on all sides scattered, were some of them in that affright carried into the North Sea, & some others on the shores and

In the BRITTISH *Sea.*

There were also sixteene *Royall ships* sent into the narrow Sea, vnder the command of the Right Honourable Lord *Henry Seymer*, with many other small Ships, Barkes, and Pinnaces, sent out of the North and West parts of *England*, by diuers Noblemen, and other honourable persons, Gentlemen, and Merchants.

By LAND.

The Land-forces (which were encamped at *Tilbury* in *Essex*, vnder the command and gouernement of *Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leicester*) were *these following.*

BEDFORDshire.

OVt of *Bedfordshire*, there were seuenteene Lances, forty light horses, and fiue hundred foote sent, well appoynted.

BVCKINGHAM.

From *Buckingham shire*, eighteene Lances, fourescore and three Light-horses, and fiue hundred foot.

HARTFORD.

Out of *Hartford shire*, twenty fiue Lances, threescore light horses, and one thousand foot.

KENT.

Out of *Kent*, fifty Lances, one hundred light horses, and fiue thousand foot.

SVFFOLKE.

From *Suffolke*, fifty Lances, two hundred light horses, three thousand foot.

ESSEX.

Out of *Essex*, fifty Lances, one hundred light horses, and fiue thousand footmen.

MIDDLE-

MIDDLESEX.

Middlesex, thirty fiue Lances, foure-score and eight light horses.

SVRREY.

Raized out of *Surrey*, eight Lances, foureſcore & eighteene light horses, and a thouſand foot.

NORFOLKE.

Raized in *Norfolke*, three thouſand foote.

LONDON.

Out of *London*, one thouſand foot.

BARKESHIRE.

From *Barkeſhire*, came one thouſand foot.

OXFORD.

From *Oxford ſhire*, one thouſand foot.

More by LAND.

There was likewiſe rayſed out of theſe *Shires* following, another ARMY, conſiſting of foure hundred foureſcore & one Lances, one thouſand foure hundred thirty and one light horſes, and thirty foure thouſand and fifty foot, for the ſafegard of her *Maeſties* Royall Perſon, and were vnder the command of the Lord *Chamberlaine*.

GLOCESTER Shire.

OVt of *Glocester ſhire*, there were twenty Lances, one hundred light horſe, and two thouſand fiue hundred foot.

SOMERSET.

Out of *Somerſet ſhire*, fifty Lances, one hundred light horſe, and foure thouſand foote.

SVS-

and coaſts of *Flanders*. In the meane time, *Drake* and *Fenner* aſſayle with great noyſe of Cannon-ſhot that part of the *Spaniſh Fleete*, which were rallying themſelues before *Grauelin*, and were by and by ioyned by *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beaſton*, *Croſſe*, *Raymon*, and anon, by the Lord Admirall himſelfe, *Thomas Howard*, and *Sheffield*. The Duke, *Laua*, *Oquende*, *Ricauld*, and others, being come from the ſhore, ſuſtained as well as they could, the charge, which was ſuch, as the moſt part of their Shippes were torne and bruiſed, and the *Gallion* S. *Matthew*, commanded by *Diego Pymentel*, and appointed to aſſiſt *Franciſco de Toleda*, in the *S. Philip*, was broken with the continuall batteries of *Seymor* and *Winter*, and being driuen towards *Oſtend*, was againe beaten by the *Zelanders*, and taken by them of *Fluſhing*, as was the other called Saint *Matthew*, and all the reſt of the *FLEET* grieuouſly afflicted all that day.

The fourth combate.

The

ke 3.

The last day of the Moneth, at the breake of day, the Winde turned North-west, and the *Spaniards* striuing to get into the straight againe, are driuen towards *Zeland*. The *English*, as the *Spaniards* beleeue, ceased their fight, perceiuing some of their Ships in great danger, and ready to runne on the sands and shelues on the Coast of *Zeland*, but the winde changing to South-west, the *Spaniards* tooke the benefit thereof, and beeing gotten out from amongst those sands, consulted in the Euening what they were to doe, and by common consent, resolued to returne into *Spaine* by the North Ocean, because they wanted many necessary things, and aboue all, Bullets, that their Ships were broken, and that they had little hope of the Duke of *Parma's* putting to Sea.

e Spanids resolue returne ne by the orth-Sea.

Being then already at sea, they tooke their route towards the North, followed by the *English Fleete*, vnto whom they would sometimes shew their prowesse: and many being of opinion they

SVSSEX.

Out of *Sussex*, were twenty Lances, one hundred light horse, & two thousand fiue hundred foot.

WILTSHIRE.

Out of *Wiltshire*, were twenty fiue Lances, one hundred light horse, and two thousand three hundred foot.

BARKESHIRE.

Out of *Barkshire*, ten Lances, foure-score and fiue light horse, and fiue hundred foot.

OXFORD.

Oxford, twenty three Lances, one hundred and three light horse, and one hundred and fifty foot.

CAMBRIDGE.

Cambridge, thirteene Lances, forty light horse, and seuen hundred foot.

NORTHAMPTON.

Northampton, twenty Lances, foure-score light horse, and fixe hundred foot.

LEICESTER.

Leicester, nine Lances, three-score and tenne light horse, and fiue hundred foot.

WARWICKE.

From *Warwicke*, seuenteene Lances, three-score & sixteene light horse, and fiue hundred foot.

HVNTINGTON.

From *Huntington*, fixe Lances, twenty fixe light horse, and foure hundred foot.

DORSET.

Dorset, one hundred and twenty Lances, and one thousand foot.

SVFFOLKE.

Out of *Suffolke*, were three-score and tenne Lances, two hundred and thirty light horse, and three thousand foot.

NORFOLKE.

Norfolke, foure-score Lances, three hundred twenty one light horse.

HARTFORD.

Hertfordshire, fiue hundred foot.

SVR-

SVRREY.
Out of Surrey, fiue hundred foot.
WORCESTER.
Worcester-shire foure hundred foot.
SOVTHAMPTON.
Southampton two thousand foot.
DEVON.
Devon, two thousand foot.
LONDON.
London, niue thousand foot.
MIDDLESEX.
Middlesex, one thousand foot.

This true Description of Englands *and* Spaines *Forces thus particularly set downe, was faithfully gathered, for the better satisfaction of the Reader, out of sundry true English Manuscripts, and French Bookes, by*
ABRAHAM DARCIE.

they would returne, the Queene, with a Kingly courage, mounted on horsebacke, and holding in her hand the trunchion of an ordinary Captaine, made a review of her Army, & campe, which was at *Tilbury*, walkes vp and downe, sometimes like a Woman, and anon, with the countenance and pace of a Souldier, and with her presence and words fortifieth the courages both of the Captaines and Souldiers beyond all beliefe.

The Q. visits her Campe.

The very day of the last fight, the Duke of *Parma* hauing paid his vow to our Lady of *Halle*, came to *Dunkerke*, but too late, and was there receiued by the *Spaniards* with reproach, as if to fauour Queene ELIZABETH, hee had willingly caused them to lose so faire an occasion to execute their enterprise. Therefore, in some sort to content them, he punished some that had charge of the victuals, and mocking notwithstanding at the *Spaniards* insolency and arrogancy, who bragge that in all parts where they beare Armes, they euer draw after them an assured victory, and that the *English* dared not to looke them in the face, much lesse endure their countenance. And surely, *Bernard Mendoza*, with great pride and vanity sung forth in France, by a printed Pamphlet, the triumph before the victory: But the *English* Lord Admirall, to keepe the Prince of *Parma* from comming out of *Dunkerke*, commanded *Seimer* and the *Hollanders*, to keepe the Coasts of *Flanders*, and hee himselfe fol-

lowed the *Spaniards* behinde, vntill they were past *Edenborough Frith* in *Scotland*. For, some feared they would retyre to the King of *Scots*, at that time much incensed for the death of his Mother; & that to appease him, *Asbbey*, her Maiesties Ambassadour there, offered him very good conditions, *to wit*, the dignitie of a Duke in *England*, a yeerely pension of fiue thousand pound, and a guard for his person, at her Maiesties costs, and other things. Now whether he did this of himselfe, or by procurement of others, I cannot well say, nor take no pleasure to enquire thereafter: but so it chanced, that the fault was imputed vnto him, and these conditions were neuer accomplished.

The *Spaniards* then hauing lost all hope of pursuing their enterprize, and iudging their safety to consist meerely in their flight, follow still their route, without staying in any place. Thus did this *Fleete* returne shamefully into their Countrey, which was preparing three whole yeeres with so infinite expences, after hauing beene fought withall so oftentimes in one Moneth, and then put to flight with the losse of many men, (and not of aboue one hundred *English*, nor no Ship but *Cocks* Barke onely lost) all the shot of those great *Spanish* Ships, being spent in vaine, flying ouer the *English* Ships) hauing also gone round about the Iland of Great-Britaine, by *Scotland*, the Iles of *Orchades*, and *Ireland*, and beene furiously beaten, and greatly diminished by tempests, wrackes, and all sorts of miseries.

In memoriall of which defeat, there were certaine *Medailles* coyned, wherein some had a *Fleete* grauen vndersayle, and hastning away with all speed, with this Inscription,

Il est venu, il a veu, il a fuy.

Hee came, Hee saw, Hee fledde.

And others, in honour of the Queene, with some Ships on fire

fire among a confused *Fleete*, with these words;

Vne Femme a conduict ceste action:

A Woman conducted this Action.

As thus they fled, many of their Ships were lost vpon the Coasts of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, where some seuen hundred Souldiers and Mariners were cast ashore, who, at the request of the Duke of *Parma*, vnto the King of *Scotland* in their behalfe, and by the Queenes permission were passed into *Flanders* a yeere after. But those poore wretches which were cast away in *Ireland*, were not so mercifully dealt withall: for some of them were slaine by the *Irish* dwelling in the woods; the other, by the commandement of the Deputy, who fearing lest they should ioyne with the *Irish* Rebels; and seeing that *Bingham*, Gouernour of *Connaugh*, had refused vpon his reiterated commandement to kill those which had yeelded themselues, hee sent *Fowle* the second *Marshall*, who, drawing them forth which had hidden themselues, cut off the heads of about two hundred of them, which the Queen detested with all her heart, as a deed full of cruelty. This so affrighted the rest, that sicke and weake as they were, and halfe starued, they re-embarked themselues in their broken vessels, and were for the most part sunke at Sea.

Misery of the Spaniards in Ireland.

The *Fleete* being returned home, imputeth this mischiefe vnto the Duke of *Parma*, and vnto their too-much obedient prudence, in taking it for so haynous a crime, to disobey the commandement imposed vpon them: For they were straitly charged to attempt nothing, vntill the Duke of *Parma* were ioyned vnto them with his Forces, without reseruing any liberty vnto themselues to iudge of occasions which might happen: a thing very fit to haue bin done: & they boasted to haue bin able without that, to haue defeated the *English Fleete* in their Port; and the men of

Causes of the defeat.

warre were in great dispute, whether it were necessary, whatsoeuer hapned, to obserue religiously what is commanded, lest by the neglect of obedience, the commandement should be lost: Or if it were fitter to correct things commanded by necessity, and apply them to present vse, according to the growth of affaires, that the occasions and moments of doing expeditions might not be lost.

The *Spaniard* did constantly beare this losse, as comming from aboue, rendring thankes vnto God that it was no greater, and vsed singular mercy and charity for the comfort of the Souldiers and Mariners.

Queene ELIZABETH likewise commanded publique prayers and thanks-giuing to be made in all the Churches of *England*, and went her selfe in triumph amongst the Companies and Societies of *London*, which marched on both sides of her *Maiestie*, with their Banners, and roade thorow the Streetes (which were richly hung with blue hangings) in a Chariot drawne with two Horses, (Princes themselues not vsing foure, as now adayes particular persons doe) to Saint *Pauls* Church, where shee gaue God humble thankes, heard the *Sermon*, (which shewed the glory due to GOD alone,) and caused the Ensignes taken, to be there set vp and shewed vnto the people. Then shee assigned some reuenewes vnto the Admirall, for the seruice which hee had performed with so good and happy successe; praised highly her Sea-Captaines, as men borne for the preseruation of their Countrey; and as often as shee saw any of the other, called them by their names, to witnesse that shee tooke note of their deserts: which they tooke as sufficient reward for their seruices: Shee also recompenced the maymed and poorer sort with honourable pensions.

This publique reioycing was increased by the arriuall of Sir *Robert Sidney*, who being come out of *Scotland*, assured her *Maiestie*, that the King of *Scots* embraced most affecti-

affectionately the Queenes friendship, made sincere profession of true Religion, and would defend it with all his might: Hee was sent vnto him before, when *Great Britaine* was first threatned with the *Spanish Fleete*, to acknowledge by his reioycings and thankes-giuing, of the good will which he bore to the Queene, to praise his forwardnesse to defend the common cause; to promise him reciprocall succours, if the *Spaniard* made any inuasion in *Scotland*; To giue him to vnderstand with what ambition the *Spaniard* gapeth after the whole Monarchy of *Great Brittaine*, solliciting the Pope to excommunicate his Royall person, both to spoyle him of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and to exclude him out of the succession of the Kingdome of *England*; To put him in minde of the threatnings which *Mendoza*, and the Popes *Nuntio* vttered against him, and that therefore hee was to take heed of Papists. Whereunto, (that wee may note it by the way) the KING answered graciously and merrily:

I expect no other courtesie of the Spaniard, *then such as* Poliphemus *promised to* Vlysses, *(to wit,) That he would deuoure him the last of all his fellowes.*

Booke

About this time, died the Earle of *Leicester*, on the fourteenth of *December*, of a continuall burning Feauer, as hee was on his way to goe to *Killingworth*: which death, although the Queene much grieued at, yet this ioy was neuer a whit diminished thereby. Hee was the fifth sonne of *Iohn*, Duke of *Northumberland*; vnder King EDVVARD, first Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, vnder Queene MARIE, who restored him to his first honours, together

The death of Robert Dudley, *Earle of Leicester.*

with his Brothers and Sisters, Master of the Artillery at the Siege of Saint *Quintaines*; and vnder *Queene* ELIZABETH, who affected him, because of a simpathy of spirits betweene them, occasioned perhaps by some secret constellation, which the Greeke Astrologers call *Sinastria*; he was Master of the Horse, Knight of the Royall Orders of the Garter, and of S. *Michael*, one of the Priuy Councell, Steward of the Queenes House, Chancellor of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, Iustice in Eire of all the Forrests beyond *Trent*, the Queenes Lieutenant, and Captaine of the *English* Forces against *Spaines*, Gouernour, and Captaine generall of the vnited Prouinces of the *Netherlands*: he began in his latter time to conceit a new hope and title of honour and authority, looking to haue, with Soueraigne power annexed thereunto, a generall Lieutenancy vnder the Queene, both throughout all *England* and *Ireland*, of which he had gotten Letters Patents, if that the Right Honourable *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*, and Sir *Christopher Hatton* had not opposed themselues thereunto, and also if the Queen had not betimes preuented the danger which might haue insued, in giuing too-much power to one man alone. Hee was reputed a compleat Courtier, magnificent, liberall, a protector and benefactor of Souldiers and Schollers, very skilfull in temporizing, and fitting himselfe to the times, to serue his owne turne, very officious, and cunning towards his ill-willers; for a time much giuen to Women, and finally, a good husband in excesse. To conclude, as long as he preferred a power subiect vnto enuy before a solid vertue, euill speakers tooke occasion to tugge and teare at him continually, during the best of his fortune, by defamatory libels, which contained some slight vntruths. And to say the truth, hee was openly held to be in the ranke of those which were worthy of praise, but the things which hee secretly plotted, displeased many. The Queene, who was flexible ynough in all other things, & was hardly euer

seene

ſeene to remit any thing due to her treaſure, cauſed his goods to be ſold to their vttermoſt value, to pay that which he ought her. Booke

Leiceſters goods are ſold.

The Duke of *Parma* hauing now broken off his purpoſe of inuading *England*, to carry away notwithſtanding with this great prepared Army for that end, ſome glory from the *Engliſh*, and by the ſame meanes to open the way of *Zeland*, and deliuer *Brabant* from incurſions, beſiegeth *Bergen ap Zoom*, a Towne of *Brabant*, ſtrong by reaſon of the ſituation thereof, and the Forts round about it, and garded by a garriſon the moſt part *Engliſh*. But his indeuour was fruſtrated by the fore-ſight of the Noble Lord *Willoughby*, and the valour of the Garriſon Souldiers: For although that during the whotteſt of the ſiege, there aroſe a great diſcord amongſt the beſieged, ſome fauouring *Drury*, Gouernour of the place, eſtabliſhed by the Lord *Willoughby*, the *Engliſh* Generall, and others adhering vnto *Morgan*, prouided thereof by the Queenes Letters, each of them notwithſtanding hauing a care of the common good, behaued themſelues valiantly, and by ſallies and other military deuices, did all of them ſo finde the Enemy buſied, that after hauing ſlaine, taken, or drowned about foure hundred, which *Grimſton* and *Redhead*, feigning themſelues to be Fugitiues, had drawne into the Fort by great promiſes, proteſtations, and oathes; the Duke hauing loſt all hope of ſhutting vp their Hauen, and to make himſelfe Maſter of the Towne, and ſeeing the Winter at hand; and victuals fayling, rayſed his ſiege two Moneths after. And the Lord *Willoughby*, to honour with ſome recompence the well-deſeruing, knighted Sir *Francis Vere*, who then began to ſhew himſelfe, Sir *Thomas Knowles*, Sir *N. Parker*, and Sir *I. Pooly*, for their worthy valours.

Bergben ap Zoom beſieged by the Duke of Parma.

Who raiſed the ſiege.

England being now freed from the preſent feare of a forreine Warre, found not her ſelfe ſo happily deliuered of an

Innouations in England.

Luke 3. an inward *Schisme*; For schismaticall impiety waxeth alwaies insolent when any Warres be stirring, nor euer did shamelesse and rebellious impudence, and outragious malice more insolently beard the *Ecclesiasticall Magistracie*: For whereas the Queene, who was

EVER THE SAME,

was very vnwilling to innouate any thing in Religion, thinking it the way to cut the nerues of the *Ecclesiasticall* administration, and the *Royall Prerogatiue*; some, which onely admired the discipline of the *Church of Geneua*, iudging that there was no better way to establish it, than by blazoning the *English Hierarchie*, and bringing the Prelates in hatred with the people, did in scurrilous maner spit out their slanderous venome against this *Hierarchie*, by certaine iniurious printed Bookes, which carryed the Titles of,

Martin Mar-Prelate, or

A Whip for the Prelates:

Minerales Diotrephes *demonstration of* Discipline, *&c.*

Martin Mar-Prelate, and other scandalous Bookes.

That the Authors of them seemed not to be professors of Pietie, but rather Roysters: neuertheless, they were Ministers, the one was named *Penry*; and the other, *Vuedall*, and *Iob Throckmorton*, a learned man, but a merry conceited fellow, and had for their fautors or suppostes, Sir *Richard Knightlie*, and Sir *R. Wigston*, worshipfull Knights, graue and prudent personages (who had beene seduced by like Ministers) & had bin fined deepe in the Starre-Chamber, in case the Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, according to

to his accustomed goodnesse and mildenesse, had not with much adoe appeased the Queene.

Whilest these, I say, by slandering made way to this discipline, other companions in this their enterprize, in contempt of the Laws, began to put it in practice, in diuers corners of the Kingdome, holding Synods and Assemblies in certaine places, establishing to that end Presbyteries, of which number *Thomas Cartwright*, *Edmund Snap*, *Andrew King*, *Prondlow*, *Pain*, and other Ministers beeing committed, some turbulent spirits thought to haue rescued them. But I leaue vnto the *Ecclesiasticall Historian*, the description of the petulancy of these people, which was stayed by the wisedome and patience of the Lords Archbishops, vnto whom the knowledge of that businesse appertained.

Beginning of a great Rebellion in Ireland.

Although that tempest which had thundered so loude, and with such threatnings from out of *Spaine*, was now blowne ouer, yet fell there some little gusts, as reliques thereof in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and out of *England* vpon *Spaine*, rushed out a more grieuous, as anon wee shall declare. For, in *Ireland*, by reason that *Fitz-Williams*, the Lord Deputie, who made search for all *Spanish* goods lost by wrecke, did exact them with rigour, and by occasion thereof, imprisoned some as fauourers of the *Spaniards*; amongst other matters, occasion was thence giuen & taken of all the troubles since hapning.

Daniel Rogers sent into *Denmarke* to condole the death of *Frederick* the Second, and confirme the ancient alliances with his Successour, treateth with the Curators of the Kingdome, to procure

Ambassadour in Denmark.

THat the Danes *should not beare Armes against the* Queene *in the seruice of any Enemies of her Kingdome. That they should not grant permission to stay Ships for particular faults,*

in the straits of Denmarke *or* Seiland. *That the Iland-fishing, whereof the libertie was to be renewed euery seuen yeeres according to ancient order, might not be hindered by any new deuices. That the* English *might not pay any custome in the Sound, but at their returne from the* Baltique Sea, *nor in other Money than with that of* Denmarke. *That the proprietaries of the Ships should not be holden by the fraud or deceits of Pilots and Ship-masters. That the things wherewith Cloth are made vp, were free and exempted from paying any custome; and that the Tribute called* Last gelt, *should be forginen to the* English.

But these things were put off to another time, because of the Kings being vnder age: for the *Danes* were in some fashion ill pleased & discontẽted with the *English*, for not passing then by the straits of *Denmarke*, going into *Russia*, but along the Coast of *Norwegue*, *Finmarck*, *Lappy*, *Scrusinic*, and *Biarmie*. But *Boris Theodoride* elected and chosen *Theodore Iohannide's* Successor to the Empire of *Russia*, who dyed vpon the beginning of this yeere, he mist no occasion to helpe and succour the *English*, purchasing carefully, by all meanes possible, the Royall amity of Queene ELIZABETH.

Empe- of Rus- gest fa- ble to English.

FINIS.

To the READER.

MAruell not, READER, why I ſhould produce,
In the Omega of my Worke, excuſe,
And craue remiſſion of my errours paſt,
Leſt any *Zoylus* ſhould aſperſion caſt
On this my labours of-ſpring: but doe know,
Though I ſuch height of baſeneſſe will not ſhow,
To ſay all's bad, ſo my ambition is
No wayes ſo great, to ſay that nought's amiſſe:
The Sunne, ſometimes eclipſt, denyes his light;
So that the Day ſeemes turned into Night:
Faire *Venus* had a Mole vpon her Chinne;
The luckieſt Gameſter cannot alwayes winne:
The rareſt Man may erre, and tis moſt ſure,
There's none but GOD, that ſpotleſſe is and pure.
Then farre be ſuch a Philautie from mee,
To ſay that none, faults in this Worke can ſee.
'Twere ſtrange, if that a Strangers Penne, and Preſſe,
Should haue no faults, when beſt Workes haue no leſſe:
Then ſtay (raſh Cenſurer) and forbeare
To condemne all, though ſome miſtake be there.

A. D.